

**Establishing Nourishing Food Networks in an era of Global-local Tensions:
An Interdisciplinary Ethnography in Turkey**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation ethnographically explores the social concerns related to the global, agro-industrial system's impact on many communities' potential for livelihood and health. At the core of this study is the desire to understand the complex and dynamic ways that communities strive to develop, and make sense of, networks that address these wicked problems and to understand how these strategies might aggregate to promote community resiliency.

An investigation of alternative food networks (AFNs) was contextualized in one province in Western Turkey. The AFNs were articulated by an ethnographic design that utilized tools from different fields of study. Integrating actor-network theory, new social movements theory, and the nourishing networks framework allowed for robust triangulation of data. I conclude that AFNs in this province are nascent and remain fragmented. At present, AFNs have not been leveraged for community resiliency efforts. However, they hold the seeds of what may become a food sovereignty social movement.

This ethnography reveals that the province has assets, including numerous affinity groups, and a durable connection to heritage with strong reverberations of a nature-culture. I illuminate the broad spectrum of submerged and visible actants and actors that prime the AFNs' development. The wide variance creates diffuse and contradictory cultural implications. Actors report they constantly negotiate cultural aspects related to AFNs. They conceptualize this work as a polymorphous phenomenon of fragmented communities and a culture of dependency; but they show fortitude by negotiating multi-phasic actions and multi-vocal resistance messaging.

By way of this study I illustrate that their cultural politics take place where economy and identity interface. Actors seek legitimization. They speak of infusing heritage-based ideals into projects. They are firm that agricultural modernization must come from Turkish values. And, they are formulating and strengthening ideological-based discourses.

I further clarify their development strategies by showing how AFNs are experimenting with new governance strategies and focusing on social embedding. Promotion of niche markets has begun. However, public and private resources are limited, which hinders the momentum of AFNs. Additional research is needed to better understand the processes for high functioning AFNs in Turkey.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

This study explores the social concerns related to the globalized food system, particularly, the impact on many communities' potential for food security. At the core of this study is the desire to understand the complex and dynamic ways that communities strive to make sense of and develop networks that address these problems and to understand how these strategies might promote community resiliency.

Alternative food networks (AFNs), one way that communities try to secure their food system, was investigated in one province in Western Turkey. I spent 10 months living in the province and interacting in the daily lives of participants. Analytical tools from different fields of study (actor-network theory, new social movements theory, and the nourishing networks framework) were integrated for data collection, analysis, and reporting.

I conclude that AFNs in this province are just coming into existence and remain fragmented. At present, AFNs have not been leveraged for community resiliency efforts. However, they hold the seeds of what may become a food sovereignty social movement.

Through this study, I illuminate the broad spectrum of submerged and visible actants and actors (both human and non-human agents) that prime the AFNs' development. Actors report they constantly negotiate cultural aspects related to AFNs. I stress the findings that their push to change politics take place where economy and identity interface.

I clarify development strategies used by the AFNs, by showing how they are experimenting with new governance strategies and focusing on ways to address social, economic, and environmental connections to food and agriculture. Promotion of niche markets has begun. However, public and private resources are limited, which hinders the momentum of AFNs. Additional research is needed to better understand the processes for high functioning AFNs in Turkey.

DEDICATION

With a heartfelt desire that every one
have abundant, wholesome food and
that Mother Earth be nourished as we are nourished by her,
I dedicate this work to the activists
who seek daily to co-create a caring, equitable, and healthy world
for all beings.



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The love, advice, and support of countless people and institutions are woven into an opulent mantle, which I proudly place upon my shoulders. However, I must acknowledge this that dissertation was kindled by the people who stimulated my previous careers, in Peace Corps and in public health. You, by countless names, showed me the ways society replicates injustices. You also taught me that from the crucible of deprivation, hope for a life of abundance and merriment can, and should, rise. Because of you, I endeavor to wear a mantle of integrity and hope.

Dear family, the grounding you provided instilled in me a passion for service to society. Your nurturance guided me toward the way of the heart. Dear friends, both old and new, your devotion buffered me when I felt alone and weak. Especially Sherri and Angie, I envision you with me and feel loved!

Dear academic advisors, your acumen at challenging and supporting helped me develop the erudition and skills that spurred my belief in my ability to do this work. Dr. Eric Kaufman, your generosity of time and our long talks about community leadership buttressed and encouraged me. Dr. Nick Copeland, your ability to delve deep into the societal fabric and to help me bring my values into scholarship truly brought this project into fruition! Dr. Kim Niewolny, witnessing how your passion for food justice hastens our university into action is one of the most meaningful gifts I will take from these years here. Dr. Max Stephenson, your thought provoking contemplations on the integration of ethics and deeds in society stimulated me to use my voice in new arenas. I am fortunate to have such scholarly mentoring!

Dear Turkish allies, your welcoming attitude and collaboration nurtured my dreams and expanded them beyond my imagination. Çok teşekkür ederim! Dr. Ferhan Savran, your power to open doors and the insights you shared kept me in a constant state of awe. Dr. Yasemin Kavdir, your inquisitiveness about agriculture's sociological conundrums helped me tighten my focus and feel good about sharing my knowledge.

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With gratitude I thank my department for receiving me into this program and allowing a creative space in which to develop. Dr. James Anderson, I am thankful for your listening ear and advocating stance. I also deeply appreciate the Office of International Research, Education, and Development who welcomed, and funded, me as a graduate assistant. Lastly, I am thankful for the trust placed in me by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and the support of the Fulbright scholarship, which funded my fieldwork in Turkey.

AUTHOR'S NOTES

In keeping with my desire to protect participants from potential retribution, I altered individual names and villages from their originals. Only the name of public figures and non-governmental organizations remain in their original form. One is Viktor Ananias, the founder of Buğday Ekolojik Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (Buğday Ecological Living Support NGO) who was no doubt one of the most pivotal figures in the story of Turkey's alternative food networks. Sadly, Viktor is deceased. Because of this I have no fear of disclosing his name. Other known figures include Professor Agustine Sepulveda Sariego, a renowned permaculture activist in Chile, Sertap Erener, who sang the gripping Kiz Leda, and Dr. Vandana Shiva, the trenchant food movement activist and prolific author. These public figures have nothing to lose by being mentioned in these pages.

Lastly, between my first visit in 2014 and leaving in August 2016, I witnessed intense changes to Turkey's political landscape. I sit with an awareness that considering the implications of these seismic shifts may be both fruitful and futile. I err on the side of caution because I have fallen in love with Turkey and hope to continue working with colleagues in the nation. Therefore, in this document, I have only reported what participants in this study disclosed. I ask the readers to consider that holding my personal opinions is the best way to ensure the Turkish people have an ally who can continue to work with them to bring their stories out of Turkey.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Ve bir sonraki gün tüm tohumlar, kurda kuşa aşı diyerek toprak ile buluştu.
(And the next day all the seeds met with the earth, calling it a bird of prey.)
Mustafa Alper Ülgen¹

The post-modern era in which we live is characterized by progressively complex and interconnected “wicked problems” (Brown, Harris, & Russell, 2010; Churchman, 1967) that are products of dominant paradigms for organizing economic and political life and that are increasingly contested by the voices of subaltern groups demanding to be heard (Ermath, 2007; Escobar, 2008). Whether describing this “second age of modernity” as “risk society” (Beck, 1995; 2000), “age of anxiety” (Ermath, 2007), one of “cultural crossroads” (Johnson & Ranco, 2011), or “the end of big” (Mele, 2013), the concerns arising from the new awareness of risks to all forms of life are numerous. Concerns that instrumental rationality has penetrated “deeper and deeper into previous forms of human existence” and that “lifeworlds” are subordinated to the point of dystopia (Habermas, 1981a, p. 4-8) have increased alongside the spread of free market policies. These have fomented heated debates on a large variety of issues such as food security, human and cultural rights, rising inequality, the role and place of human relationships in a techno world, and a host of ecological conundrums. A palpable sense of anxiety about the future of societies is visible across the world (Beck, 2007; Holt-Giménez, 2011a; Polletta, 2015). One scholar-activist sharply sketched this:

We face a set of interconnected economic, energy and environmental crisis that require all the courage, creativity, and cooperation we can muster. These crises are forcing us to fundamentally rethink some of our most basic assumptions, like where our food and energy come from, and where we invest our savings...Challenges we face require not solutions that make problems go away but *responses* that recognize our vulnerabilities, build our capacities, and adapt to unpredictable changes. (Asher Miller quoted in Ackerman-Leist, 2013, p.vi, italics in original)

¹ Ülgen, M. A. (2014, May 9). *On the story of reclaiming the Saz Rye*. Retrieved from http://www.bugday.org/portal/haber_detay.php?hid=7149

As many have shown, twenty-first century problems are interlocked, rooted in the foundations of technoscientific, capitalist modernity; the underbelly of dominant narratives of progress. I approach a dissection of these wicked problems with a focus on the intense debates surrounding the global, agro-industrial system and the multitude of provocations it causes.

The Global, Agro-industrial System as a Wicked Problem

Nominally, the multifaceted agriculture-food system includes food production, processing, distribution, marketing, purchasing, and waste elimination or recycling. As such, the agri-food system influences all of a community's capitals, or assets, including the commonly identified ones such as built, cultural, financial, human, natural, political, and social (Emory & Flora, 2006; Flora & Flora, 2008). The food system and our roles of creating and maintaining the system are inherently personal, communal, and political. I am reminded of Wendell Berry's poignant 1989 speech:

There is, then a politics of food that, like any politics, involves our freedom. We still (sometimes) remember that we cannot be free if our minds and voices are controlled by someone else. But we have neglected to understand that we cannot be free if our food and its sources are controlled by someone else. But if there is a food politics, there are also a food esthetics and a food ethics, neither of which is dissociated from politics. (Berry, 2010, para. 2-3)

Since the end of World War II, major shifts in governance and technology have led to the paradox of simultaneous progress and dysfunction in the food system (Guptill, Copelton, & Lucal, 2013; McMichael, 2011). For example, at the same time that transnational commodity chains proliferated, the wages of farmers diminished and many family farms disappeared. Although the "Green Revolution" initially brought higher yields per acre, these crops were dependent on expensive, contaminating inputs. Corporations strengthened while farmers became more vulnerable. In nations where subsistence crop production was still a way of life, the global peasantry found themselves caught in development schemes that disfigured their way of life (Handy & Fehr, 2010; Shiva, 1991; Webb, 2009).

Further, the ever-increasing pressures of market rationality enabled transnational agro-industrial giants to expand and to enforce efficiency and productivity standards at all levels of an increasingly global supply chain. As neoliberalism, an economic and political ideology, spread across the globe the logic of the exchange-value of goods and labor resulted in countries

moving away from state level independence and toward exchange markets (Jessup, 2010). This resulted in an extreme reorganizing of patterns of local, national, and global food production and distribution (Guptill, Copelton, & Lucal, 2013; Long, 2001; Whatmore & Thorne, 1997). A case in point is that 40 years ago the Global South had annual agricultural trade surplus of over \$1 billion; by 2001 these same nations were importing \$11 billion per year in food (Holt-Giménez, 2008). The winners of these shifts are nations with the largest food export valuations. A recent report listed the top five nation and the values of food exports: United States (\$149 billion), Netherlands (\$93 billion), Germany (\$87 billion), Brazil (\$789) and France (\$74 billion) (World Atlas, 2017).

To the point, in a short 40-to-50-year span, the industrialization and conglomeration of traditional agri-food systems created a tangled food nexus: the global, agro-industrial system (McMichael, 2011). As ecological and social problems created by practices of this new “food regime” (Friedmann & McMichael, 1987) emerged, localities and nations began to realize fully their powerlessness to ameliorate these conditions (Marsden & Murdoch, 2006; Wittman, Desmarais, & Wiebe, 2010). For example, Norman Long (2001) exposed how transnational corporations often crafted deals directly with agro-food commodity brokers inside nations rather than go through channels of governmental administration. This new regulatory framework superseded national boundaries and laws. Walmart, “America’s ordinary behemoth”, and largest retail operation in the world, accumulated so much power that its buying decisions raise or lower world commodity prices (Copeland & Labuski, 2013; Gensler, 2016). In Mexico, Walmart “exercises coercive control of suppliers who deliver goods on consignment, with no possibility of negotiating a payment price or date” (Nigh & González Cabañas, 2015, p.321).

We are now firmly planted in a second wave of green revolution ideology, with the transnational agro-food entities claiming that the commodity exchange model they created combined with agro-technology can “feed the world” (Patel, 2013). According to Lowry (2014), 70% of the seed industry is controlled by six companies, 90% of the global grain trade is controlled by four companies, and 10 companies control more than 90% of the fertilizer supply. Yet, activists retaliate with unrelenting critiques of the corporate owned foods and push

forward preformative visions of different trajectories (Horlings & Marsden, 2011; Winne, 2010). The yoking of agriculture and food to the arenas of cultural, environmental, political, and social concern create a fecund environment for contestations.

Resistance to the Global, Agro-industrial System

Across the globe, activists who often focus on locale specific agri-food situations attack dilemmas arising from the globalized agro-industrial system at numerous points of entry (Cobb, 2011; Hewitt, 2010; Holt-Giménez, 2011a). A dramatic increase in the level of public awareness and engagement in food issues resulted in a veritable explosion of strategies. Food movements, as disputes to the global, agro-industrial system, have entered their fifth decade. Explorations of the movements' beginnings in the United States (US) trace the history to the late 1960s (Ackerman-Leist, 2013; Reti & Rabkin, 2012) and a correlated body of research focused on the emergence in Europe orients toward the mid-1980s (Goodman, Dupuis, & Goodman, 2013; Marsden & Murdoch, 2006). Scholarly literature illuminating food movements in the Global South joined the discourse in the 1990s about the time the "politics of consumption" became a focal point of social justice scholars (Escobar, 2008; Goodman et al., 2013; Jaffee, 2007; Sherwood et al., 2013). Stories highlighting contestations around the world come into focus with each passing year.

Advent of Alternative Food Networks

A body of literature developed around a set of strategies that contest the hegemonic power of the corporate food system by attempting to concurrently relocalize the food system and instill social, ecological, and economic values (McMichael, 2011; Treagear, 2011). Initially researched in the late 1990s, individual community initiatives were the focus using supply chain and political economy lenses. Researchers documented the rise of community-supported agriculture, community gardens, the reemergence of farmers' markets, and other tactics (Desjardins, Lubcznski, & Xuereb, 2011; Lyson, 2004). Researchers perceived emergent linkages between initiatives; the phenomenon was termed "alternative food networks (AFNs)." Scholarly focus transferred to questions of who was initiating and why these were evolving, resulting in a body of literature showing the initiatory power of consumer-activists (Cox et al., 2008; Glowacki-Dudka, Murray, & Issacs, 2012; Metcalf & Widener, 2011).

Recently, scholars began conceptualizing AFNs as social movements and focus shifted to the potential capacities of regional, national or international networks (Ballamingie & Walker, 2013; Levkoe, 2014a; Marsden & Franklin, 2013; Murray, 2013; Trauger, 2014; Trauger et al., 2010; Wald & Hill, 2016). In the vein of social movements, I propose the lens of cultural politics could further enhance our understanding of AFNs as social movements seeking to alter social and political patterns of the food systems. Scholars state that:

Culture is political because meanings are constitutive of processes that, implicitly or explicitly, seek to redefine social power. That is, when movements deploy alternative conceptions of woman, nature, race, economy, democracy, or citizenship that unsettle dominant cultural meanings, they enact a cultural politics...Cultural politics are also enacted when movements intervene in policy debates, attempt to resignify dominant cultural interpretations of politics, or challenge prevailing political practices. (Alvarez, Dagnino, & Escobar, 1998, p. 6-7)

Scholars Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2013a) explored the cultural politics of peasants in Latin America. They found that focused attention toward the knowledge systems and ways of knowing among rural cultures fighting for land and food rights was a foundation that led to the rise of a large transnational resistance. They argued that this led to new imaginaries of the (re)construction of peasant territories and implications for cultural agroecology.

Multi-scalar Tactics

International resistance organizations provide platforms for transnational representation. The critical connection between local AFNs and the global manifestos lies in the potential for each to inform and empower multi-scalar tactics. A recurrent theme among many local and international conversations is that neoliberal approaches legitimized by the transnational agro-food corporations undermine community resiliency. Raj Patel's (2012) exposé, *Starved and Stuffed: The Hidden Battle for the World Food System*, gave voice to international resistance movements working to create a more democratic and sustainable food system that can energize community resiliency. For example, La Via Campesina is an international peasant movement that initiated the Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform in which "the basic starting point consists in the human right to feed oneself and the right of farmers to produce and safeguard their food sovereignty" (La Via Campesina, n.d., p. 11). Their focus coincides with the work of five hundred representatives from more than 80 countries

who gathered in Mali on February 27, 2007 to proclaim the Nyéléni Declaration of Food Sovereignty. In riveting speech they defined their stance:

Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations (para. 2). What are we fighting against? Imperialism, neo-liberalism, neo-colonialism and patriarchy, and all systems that impoverish life, resources and eco-systems, and the agents that promote the above...and governments that are antagonistic to their peoples.... (para. 5)

Slow Food International is another key international player, with campaigns on biodiversity, food sovereignty, and food justice. Their founder, Carlo Petrini, stated:

Slow Food was founded to counter the rise of fast food and fast life, the disappearance of local food traditions and people's dwindling interest in the food they eat, where it comes from, how it tastes, and how our food choices affect the rest of the world. (Slow Food International, n.d., para. 5)

Collaborations between localized AFNs and international organizations are beginning to look like a global network of resistance (Counihan & Siniscalchi, 2014; Martínez Torres & Rosset, 2010; Patel, 2012). A recent example, from May 2015, is a joint call to action voiced by La Via Campesina and Slow Food International. Speaking together during The People's Expo in Milan, Italy, the leaders issued a call for everyone "to come together with those who produce the food we eat, ensuring that it is better, cleaner and fairer food, creating awareness and forming a group that exerts more political influence than it does at present" (Slow Food, 2015, para. 1). Pérez-Vitoria, as translated and cited in Nigh & González Cabañas (2015), proposed that these uniting messages stimulate the new "Return of the Peasants" era (p. 338).

Role of Scholar-activists

Scholar-activists also took up the challenge by disputing the hegemony of dominant discourses that support the existing global, agro-industrial system. Until recently, political economy aspects of the agricultural system constituted the majority of the debate (Akder, 2007; Desjardins, Lubcznski, & Xuereb, 2011; Handy & Fehr, 2010). Others focused on political ecology and specific sustainability issues, including environmental and animal welfare (Paulson

& Gezon, 2005; Shiva, 2012). Still others spoke to the food justice needed for farmers and food workers, and the women and children who often toil with no rights (Patel, 2010; Pionetti, 2005). Equally stimulating were the transdisciplinary discussions about food security: food access, food safety, and food quality (Bowie, Wohlgemuth, & Ritzel, 2008; Hamm, 2008; Levkoe, 2006), especially for minorities and people with low-incomes (Donald, 2013; Holt-Giménez, 2011b; Levkoe & Wakefield, 2011). A growing number of scholars and nonprofits exposed concerns of food sovereignty and proclaim rights to Indigenous foodways and *terroir* - a concept that privileges the culture-nature connection due to the belief that a culture is intrinsically connected to a food's epigenetic qualities (Cobb, 2011; Msachi, Dakishoni, & Kerr, 2009). Further still, some pushed on the boundaries of normative, human-centric food discourse and illuminated the inherent nature-human juxtaposition in agriculture, appealing for a reconsidering of the artificial binary (Berkes, 2012; Shiva, 1997; Warner, 2007).

Cultural politics as a conceptual frame are beginning to be explicitly embedded in discourses of resistance to the corporate food system. Scholar-activists have detailed enactments of cultural politics as Indigenous citizens debate the conflicts and assumptions of the modern world relative to their knowledge systems (Alvarez, Dagnino, & Escobar, 1998; Berkes, 2012; Biltekoff, 2013; Nigh & González Cabañas, 2015; Si, 2014). Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2013b) noted the emergence of culturally appropriate "farmer-to-farmer" communication methodology in nations aligned with La Via Campesina campaigns. Cultural politics enacted as a "peasant pedagogy" resulted in promotion of agroecology. Norman Long, a professor of rural development, advocated for this approach. A key aspect of Long's (2001) conceptual model of cultural politics, and others who work in the same arena (e.g., Lockie, 1996; Turnbull, 1998), was that different strategies for social change emerge under the similar structural circumstances due to variations in cultural applications as communities' search for meaning and negotiation. "It follows that conceptions of rationality, power, and knowledge are also culturally variable and cannot be separated from the social practices of actors" (Lockie, 1996, p. 46).

Problem Statement

At the core of my scholarship is the desire to understand the complex and dynamic ways that communities strive to develop, and make sense of, networks that address the wicked

problems of the global food regime, and to understand how these strategies might aggregate to promote community resiliency. There is a very real social concern related to the global, agro-industrial system's impact on many communities' potential for livelihood and health.

The vast majority of AFNs research centers on US and European populations. With such a Western focus, cultural insights about AFNs from other parts of the world are being lost. Melucci (1995) asked, what voices are "reduced to silence and cultural death?" (p. 290); I extend that line of inquiry by asking "And why?" Why are the conundrums of major parts of the world left unvoiced?

Moreover, as trade becomes tightly globalized, we must also ask how other nations' economic, environmental, political, and social landscapes shape and shift the global face of agriculture and food. We must be prepared for the reality that one nation's lack of resiliency can have a domino effect on global resiliency. By ignoring the challenges, and successes, in other nations, new imaginaries for potential food-oriented social change are unheeded.

Further, this research aimed to answer the call to broaden conceptualizations of AFNs. Despite the fact that food movements contesting the complexities in the global, agro-industrial system captivated scholarly attention, and resulted in numerous publications, "even scholars who make reference to the elusive 'food movement' rarely explain what it is, what unites it...or of the networks being built across the sectors and scales by actors, and what these might mean for the food movement" (Levkoe & Wakefield, 2014, p. 303). Franklin, Newton, & McEntee (2011) acknowledged that to develop and enhance community resiliency, there is a need to "approach these initiatives and the activists leading them from the perspective of the broader social context of the community in which they are located" (p. 772). By deepening the narrative, researchers could better address the complex socio-cultural problems encountered.

An array of scholars argue that the subfield of AFNs is at an impasse. Specific critiques focus on the repetitive messages and failing to "open up" to different ways of conceptualizing, positioning, and studying AFNs (Anderson, Brushett, Gray, & Renting, 2014; Freedman & Bess, 2011; Maye, 2013). Addressing this deficiency calls for "transdisciplinary imagination" (Brown, Harris, & Russell, 2010) and the weaving of different theories, methods, and analysis.

To explore the nexus between the global, agro-industrial system and AFNs, and to broaden our conceptualizations of AFNs I turned to the Republic of Turkey as the site of this research. Turkey is a developing nation that is profoundly involved in the global, agro-industrial system. Thirty years of neoliberal reforms resulted in increased vulnerability by way of depopulated villages (traditionally the main sites of agriculture), increased rural poverty and urban unemployment, and escalating food prices. In Turkey, as with much of the world, real people's ability to continue their traditional land-based lifestyles is diminished. In urban areas, food insecurity is on the rise.

Additionally, a recent report by Capone et al. (2013) outlined four major sectors that must be addressed to keep Turkey stable: economy (food prices), environmental conditions (water scarcity, climate change preparedness, and biodiversity preservation), nutrition and health (food security), and socio-cultural issues (erosion of heritage diets, homogenization of lifestyles). Further, activists claimed that the encroachment of the globalized food system in the form of corporate agriculture, genetically modified organisms (GMOs), and land consolidation was impinging on their food sovereignty (personal communications, June and July 2014). These concerns increasingly were voiced in Turkey's pop culture, resulting in both anxiety and anger, leading to a desire for AFNs (personal communications, 2014).

Alternative Food Networks contextualized: Turkey's Involvement

The entanglement of Turkey with neoliberal globalization created a scenario that on the surface appears to be similar to occurrences across the globe. Although scholars have focused on Turkey's economic, environmental, and political conundrums, scholarly literature lacks an analysis of the social aspects of the agri-food system. In fact, prior to my 2014 exploratory fieldwork there was no definitive baseline to know if AFNs actually existed. Further, as has been evidenced by studies on Turkish civil society (Ketola, 2013), there is an idiosyncratic nature to this nation. Specifically, the comingling of the Islamic values of the Ottoman Empire with Kemalist secularism and later with neoliberalism, along with longstanding tensions between minority groups, have resulted in unique governance and social patterns (Atasoy, 2009). With this in mind, the lands of Anatolia are fertile grounds for expanding our knowledge of AFNs in developing countries.

What we know about Turkey's agri-food system is that it is deeply entrenched in the global, agro-industrial system and that Turkey plays a key role in global agriculture (Arcuri, 2013). According to the US Department of Agriculture (2014), Turkey's agricultural exports have more than tripled in the past decade. It is the leading global exporter of wheat, sunflower oil, hazelnuts, and raisins with export levels of wheat products, poultry, and other dried fruits and nuts being close to the top producing nations' levels (USDA, 2014). "With growing exports, Turkish industry has around \$5 billion in trade surplus" and "as part of its targets set for [the] agriculture sector, by 2023 Turkey aims to be among [the] top 5 producers globally" (ISPAT, 2014, p.2). In 2014, Turkey's overall exports accounted for 27.7% of the gross domestic product, a total of \$168.9 billion (OECD, 2016b).

Turkey is not only an emerging global superpower with a strong potential to affect world agriculture and energy production (Arcuri, 2013), but also is geopolitically significant due to its "big brother" status at the juncture of the Mediterranean, Middle East, North Africa, and Southern European regions (Aktar, Kızılyürek, & Özkırımlı, 2010; Cagaptay, 2014; Cengiz & Hoffman, 2013; Kinzer, 2008). The current government "seized the [Arab] uprisings as an opportunity to increase its influence in the region by assigning itself a central role in the transition processes in various countries" (Ayata, 2015, p. 95). As such, its geopolitical significance rapidly moved from the margins to the center (Cengiz & Hoffman, 2013; Kinzer, 2008).

Moreover, at the same time that Turkey's international importance increased, internal tensions related to numerous social issues also rose. European Union ascension moved from the chronic stalemate to now having no foreseeable progress since Turkey disbanded its media and judicial systems in 2016. It appears that Turkey's progressive social momentum is frozen. From the protests around Gezi Park in 2013, to the on-going "Kurdish question," to the current international concerns about President Erdoğan's policy initiatives related to Syria and the EU, there is deepening concern that both Turkey's internal and external diplomacy is on rocky terrain (Afacan, 2015). These relational issues are also intimately tied with concerns over the growing regional instability.

Thus, there is a principal concern of how Turkey's civil society organizations and activists are working to create viable AFNs that can address the continued stresses. For people within Turkey, the problematics of food insecurity are alarming. Moreover, it is a daunting reality that in a globalized food system there could be serious ramifications for us all if Turkey destabilizes. Scholarship and activism play a complimentary role in expanding this dialogue and identifying potentialities for community resiliency. As Long (2001) pontificated:

Clearly, then, globalization processes generate a whole new range of conditions and socio-political responses at national, regional, and local levels. These changes; however, are not dictated by some supranational hegemonic power or simply driven by international capitalist interests...It is for this reason that we need to study in detail the disembedding of localized ideas and relations as they acquire global significance, and their subsequent reembedding in yet other locales...Such processes entail the emergence of new identities, alliances, and struggles for space and power within specific local/global scenarios. (p. 220)

Purpose, Objectives, and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to uncover the social conditions and repertoire of actions that influence development of AFNs within Turkey's Çanakkale Province, while suggesting strategies that might increase their potential positive impacts. Three objectives anchored this purpose and each had corresponding research questions. These addressed gaps in the literature, gave resolution to the research purpose, and will create a product that is useful to the communities with which I worked. In the following, I map the three objectives and accompanying research questions that resolve the alternative food networks in Turkey research problem:

Objective 1: Uncover existing actants and actors that influence development of AFNs in the Çanakkale Province and their functional characteristics.

Research Question 1: Which actants and actors are influencing development of AFNs?

Research Question 2: How do characteristics of these actants and actors influence development of AFNs?

Objective 2: Investigate the socio-cultural interfaces of actors working toward developing AFNs in the Çanakkale Province and their possible influences on the global food system.

Research Question 3: How do these actors negotiate and transact cultural aspects related to AFNs?

Research Question 4: How does their cultural politics challenge and/or reinforce dominant representations and reproduction of the global food system?

Objective 3: Consider how strategies employed by the actors working toward developing AFNs in the Çanakkale Province might increase community resiliency.

Research Question 5: How do strategies employed by actors working on AFNs match to sustainability trajectories from SUS-CHAIN's nourishing networks framework?

Methodology

The research methodology was influenced heavily by my ontological and epistemological philosophies. An overarching ontological perspective based in network approaches (Callon, 1986; Latour, 2005; Law, 2009; Long, 2001; Melucci, 1996) resulted in a project that micro-analyzed a geographically bound network, with both human actors and non-human actants, as the unit of analysis. Complementarily, the project was firmly grounded in ethnography and associated epistemologies (Pelto, 2013). This allowed me to establish rapport with a wide range of actors and learn patterns of their cultural politics. Additionally, I championed a participatory research approach, with community partners helping to determine the unfolding of the project, reviewing and speaking about aggregated data, and guiding me in projects that were beneficial to their communities. Methods of qualitative data collection included qualitative ethnographic methods.

Invoking a Participatory Stance

Both critical scholars and my own orientation pointed to a need to embrace participatory research approaches. Over the last decade, the participatory research paradigm gained center stage as a way to actively include communities when trying to decipher complex relationship dynamics (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). This epistemic slant on research created a debate considering a fundamental reconfiguring of the relationship between researchers and the researched. No longer was knowledge seen as something that could or should be extracted from participants (Long, 2001, p. 86; Turnbull, 1998, p. 73). Rather, participation had an “emphasis on the interplay of different lifeworlds and knowledge constructions” (Long, 2001, p. 87). Further, Long (2001) insisted that this type of work required an ethnographic, versus experimental, stance and a focus on building trusting relationships by entering “everyday lifeworlds of actors to learn how these latter deal with the complexities of relationships” (p. 91).

Participatory approaches are a basis of this study and I detail methods in chapter three. My goal was to embrace a partnership approach as much as was possible (Arnstein, 1969).

However, I acknowledge up front that implementing participatory strategies was a challenging pursuit for a doctoral dissertation and I make no claim that I followed all the standards as framed by critical research models. As I continue my relationship with Turkey, my work will continue to evolve with a belief that it should be grounded, as Borrás (2016) suggests in his review of scholar-activists and agrarian movements, in a reflexive “two-way, mutually reinforcing interactive approach” (p. 37).

Analytical Framework

Both data collection and data analysis were supported by amalgamation of three analytic frames from different academic spheres that provide complementary investigative support. Actor-network theory aligned well with my network ontology and provided a grounding in how to seek networks and how to discern and appreciate agency of both human actors and non-human actants (Latour, 2005). New social movements theory (NSMs) (Laraña, Johnston, & Gusfield, 1994; Melucci, 1980) provided a frame for asking sociological questions from a social movement perspective and suggested ways to decipher enactments of cultural politics. The nourishing networks framework (NNF) (Wiskerke, 2006), from the field of value supply chain and rural development, asked about strategies used in the development of AFNs. It arose from a study of seven European nations and its inclusion added two benefits to the study. First, NNF allowed for findings from Turkey to enter and expanded the AFNs dialogue by adding to preexisting cases. Second, NNF provided a tangible assessment that Turkish lay actors can use to bolster their community resiliency strategies.

Thus, this interdisciplinary analysis allowed for triangulation of data and strengthening of findings. The richness of the outcomes also enhanced the meaningfulness for the study participants in that they could look at the data from the varied lens or as a composite, as best suited their needs. Further, this project highlights both the strengths and weaknesses of each of these frames and may reveal new insights about their potential future usage.

Significance

The potential benefits of this project were aimed at activists/practitioners, community members within the study area, policy makers, and scholars. This research, for the first time, brings Turkey into the AFNs and agri-food systems literature. This is a significant contribution in that, as Long (2001) stated:

In order to understand the complex and diverse nature of the changing world we must do our best not to draw boundaries...in fact the most striking thing about the age we live in is of course that boundaries are breached all the time and political and economic borders are redrawn and constantly transgressed. (p. xi)

My supposition of significance for different groups follows:

- Activists/practitioners reading this document will augment their knowledge base related to the social conditions, and the actions and strategies that arise. This will enhance their capacity to lead.
- The community members within the study area had the potential to benefit by being involved in co-creating various forms of knowledge that will benefit their community directly. Participation also provided a way to enhance their skillsets and boost their proficiency in positioning themselves, developing a clear strategy, finding the right allies, and building capacities (Israel et al., 2005).
- Policy makers can learn which actions and strategies are working, or not. The insights gleaned can inform decisions about support and resources directed to AFNs.
- Scholars will find that the empirical data broadens conceptualizations of AFNs. Further, the methodology presented is a new strategy that may spur insights about their own work. The interdisciplinary nature of this research can also be a guide regarding the process, and struggles, of intertwining three distinct analytical lenses.
- Additionally, it is my hope that activists/practitioners, community members, policy makers, and scholars who develop a deeper understanding of the cultural politics at play in this province, will work together to consider how cultural politics where they live either support or impinge effective collaborations.

Study Support

This project built upon preliminary fieldwork conducted in 2014. Funding came from the US Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, which provided me with a Fulbright Doctoral Student Grant. Further, the Turkish Ministry of Education approved the study, with day-to-day support from Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University. Virginia Tech's Institutional Review Board approved the research (Appendix A IRB Approval).

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I positioned my research within the literature on the wicked problem of the global, agro-industrial system and resistance toward it. More specifically, I situated my research by defining the explicit context of interest as the Republic of Turkey and briefly reviewed the agricultural situation in Turkey. I illuminated the study purpose: to uncover the social conditions and repertoire of actions that encourage development of AFNs within this province in Turkey, and the objectives that resolved the problem. I revealed the methodology encompassing ethnography and participatory ideology. I also previewed that the analytical framework was interdisciplinary, integrating actor-network theory, new social movements theory, and the nourishing networks framework. I disclosed sources of support. Lastly, I ended with a discussion on the study's significance to activists/practitioners, community members within the study area, policy makers, and scholars.

Clarification of Key Terms

Throughout this study, the following terms are defined and utilized as such:

Actor-network Ontology A world view that calls for the researcher to follow, dissect, and scrutinize the multiple human actors and non-human actants (e.g. soil, water, seeds, etc.) that cohere to create interactive networks. Of importance is the “tracing of the critical sets of social relationships and networks, as well as the meanings and values, generated and negotiated within the different arenas and scenarios” (Long, 2001, p. 240).

Agri-food Systems Includes all processes, inputs and outputs involved in feeding people: growing, harvesting, processing, packaging, transporting, marketing, consuming, and disposing of food and food-related items. It operates within and is influenced by cultural, economic, environmental, political, and social contexts (Wilkins & Eames-Sheavly, 2003.)

Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) Seen as networks of actors seeking to contest the global, industrial agri-food system, they generally exhibit the following characteristics:

Shorter distances between producers and consumers; small farm size and scale and organic or holistic farming methods...; the existence of food purchasing venues such as food cooperatives, farmers' markets, and CSA (community supported agriculture) and local food-to-school linkages; a commitment to the social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainable food production, distribution and consumption. (Jarosz, 2008, p. 231)

Community Resiliency “The ability of human communities to withstand and recover from stresses, such as environmental change or social, economic or political upheaval” (Stockholm Resilience Centre, 2007, para 4). Stresses studied have ranged from freshwater, food, and ecosystem services to adaptive governance, networks, learning, and other social complexities (Stockholm Resilience Centre, 2010).

Cultural Politics Arising from social and cultural theory, it is “the discursive process enacted when sets of social actors shaped by, and embodying, different cultural meanings and practices come into conflict with each other as they negotiate the meaning of social practices, identity, power, and subjectivity statements” (Alvarez, Dagnino, & Escobar, 1998, pp. 5-8).

Ethnography A research tradition, with ontological and epistemological properties, that studies the socio-cultural contexts, processes, and meanings within cultural systems. It is dependent on immersive fieldwork (participant observation) and written interpretations of such and involves a process of discovery, making inferences, and continuing inquiries in an attempt to achieve emic, insider, validity (Whitehead, 2004).

Interface Analysis Qualitative research method developed by Norman Long as part of his conceptual model for researching actor-networks. It has the researcher:

Seek critical junctures or arenas involving differences of normative value and social interest, [and] entails not only understanding the struggles and power differentials taking place between the parties involved, but also an attempt to reveal the dynamics of cultural accommodation that make it possible for the various worldviews to interact.
(Long, 2001, p. 72)

New Social Movements Theory (NSMs) A sub-field of social movement theories that developed out of forms and dimensions of struggle and resistance that differed from class-based movements (Handler, 1992; Laclau, 1985; Melucci, 1985). These movements focus on social and cultural concerns arising from modern life struggles with lifestyles and identity, as well as “the colonization of the lifeworld...among other things the shift of control from the local, parochial level to the national, state level as well as the shift of control from individual to corporate actors in general” (Kriesi, 1988, p. 356 as cited in Tarrow, 1989, p. 571).

Nourishing Networks Framework (NNF) Analytical tool arising from value supply chain and sustainable rural development discourse; it articulates three main constituting processes in the

evolution and maintenance of AFNs initiatives (governance, embedding, and marketing) and how the strategies cohere (Wiskerke, 2006).

Social Movements Sustained campaigns of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organization, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these claims. The base is the social background, resources, and cultural framework of contention and collective action. (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, Appendix A)

Wicked Problems Term used when discussing:

Social system problems which are ill-formulated, where the [available] information is confusing, where there are many clients and decision makers with conflicting values, and where the ramifications in the whole system are thoroughly confusing... [such that] proposed 'solutions' often turn out to be worse than the symptoms. (Churchman, 1967, B-141)

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Toprağı çatlatan tohum ne güzel.

(How beautiful is the seed that bursts open the soil.)

Turkish saying

In this chapter, I dissect the body of literature related to alternative food networks (AFNs) and expose the relationship of AFNs to resistance strategies. I then explore the major bodies of literature that relates to and supports my analytical framework in order to dissect this phenomenon. The framework was developed as an interdisciplinary, scaffolded approach. This allowed for development of a layered understanding, adding insight from and toward the fields of networks, social movements, and agricultural development. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of what is known about AFNs and social movements in Turkey. The following chapter dissects the methodology and specific methods used.

Conceptualizations of Alternative Food Networks

AFNs are primarily grassroots efforts that emerge in geographic regions in an attempt to change how the food system operates. They are idealized as democratic attempts to shift power from the agro-industrial system back to farmers, producers, and consumers while implanting, or reestablishing, values that are community and ecology centric. These efforts are multi-faceted and include initiatives such as community gardens, community supported agriculture, farmers' markets, food hubs, regional foodshed distribution centers, etc. (Venn et al., 2006). AFNs are heterogeneous in nature and even within the same type of initiative diversity is seen within them (White & Stirling, 2013). Complimentary concepts which blur the lines include alternative food initiatives, civic agriculture, civic food networks, and community food systems. There are nuances to uncover within each of those terms; however, in this research I connect to the body of AFNs literature due to the explicit definition, which includes: "alternative" and "networks."

A definitive ability to authenticate the significance of AFNs is challenging due to the fact that a multitude of multi-dimensional and multi-scaler attempts are documentable; often through a particular lens or predisposition. For example, multi-dimensionality is seen when

farmers' markets are conceptualized as spaces that can be alternative, capitalistic, complacent, ephemeral, and/or reactionary (Kirwan, 2004). The multi-scalar attributes mean that reports may document results at the hyper-local, local, or regional levels. In the US, significant shifts were recently documented at regional (Hardy, Hamm, Pirog, Fisk, Farbman, & Fischer, 2016) and state levels (Harden, Bain, & Heim, 2015).

Despite criticisms that AFNs do not adequately address all the ills within the corporatized food system, contemporary comprehensive reviews show that some are moving toward positive social, economic, and environmental impacts with a growing potential to contribute to agricultural sustainability (Kneafsey et al., 2013; Taylor & Taylor-Lovell, 2014). Douthwaite (2006) proposed through empirical analysis that when communities internalize the food supply they reduced risk and dependence on outside forces. He concluded that initiatives such as community supported agriculture (CSAs), food cooperatives, and locally owned shops helped return power and control to the community. In resonance, Goddeeris (2012) advocated that citizen engagement by policy makers could further enhance the resiliency, entrepreneurship, and place making capacities of AFNs.

Over the last two decades, the characteristics of AFNs have been defined and redefined as they continue to evolve in scope and scale. In this section, I discuss five bodies of thought related to how AFNs can be understood. An underlying thread to these discussions is consideration of the epochs of food system development. Terry Marsden (2008), rural sustainability scholar, followed agri-food discourses for 20 years and noted three distinct development periods. He placed the start of the last period, which he argued gave rise to AFNs, in Europe around mid-1990s. The characteristics of each are delineated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Three Competing Development Dynamics and Characteristics

Competing Development Dynamics	Characteristics
The Agro-industrial Dynamic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capital intensification Standardized products/Quantitative (optimum level) of production Long/complex supply chains High levels of public funding Continual development of “technological fixes” Decreased value of primary produce Economics of scale Rural space as agricultural space Private-interest regulation/crisis management Nature management
The Post-productivist Dynamic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rural space as consumption space/development space Nature as attractant to counter-urbanization process Public sector services to social economy Marginalization of agriculture/declining industry
The Rural Development Dynamic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agro-ecological research and development Revised state/market/civil-society/nature relations leads to new policy support structures Reembedding food supply chains Associational design/networks Rural development as counter movements Revaluing rural livelihoods/resources Co-evolving supply chains Evaluation paradigm for sustainability

Note. Adapted from Marsden (2008, p. 193).

A 2006 literature review confirmed there was no common vernacular for AFNs. The authors suggested looking at the “relative connectedness of food consumers to the act of food production” (Venn et al., 2006, p. 254). They argued that a simple, relational framework focused on how producers and consumers interact would help academics and laypersons come to agreement on terminology. Four categories were proposed and are presented in table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Four categories of AFN activity

Category	Example
Producer is also the consumer	Community gardens
Producer-and-consumer partnerships	Community supported agriculture
Producer direct sales	Farmers' markets
Producer-to-specialty retailer	Specialty food stores

Note. Adapted from Venn et al., 2006.

Following on this relational approach; another comprehensive review by Jarosz (2008) defined what she considered four “social” features: 1) shorter distances between producers and consumers; 2) small farm size and scale and organic or holistic farming methods...; 3) the existence of food purchasing venues such as food cooperatives, farmers’ markets, CSAs, and local food-to-school linkages; and 4) a commitment to the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainable food production, distribution, and consumption (p. 231). Not all agree that the fourth characteristic is pronounced or enacted in meaningful ways. Harsh critiques revolve around the lack of food justice, the “whiteness” of AFNs, inattention to gender and farmworker rights, etc. (Allen, 2008; Allen et al., 2003; DeLind, 1999; Slocum, 2007).

Another way to characterize AFNs seeks to bypass the dualism of “conventional” or “alternative” and instead applied a dichotomy of “weak versus strong alternative food networks” (Follett, 2009, p. 40). Whereas the weak AFNs replicated many aspects of the globalized food system, the strong AFNs were creating a new value system. Follett claimed that strong AFNs have these qualities: pastoral, polyculture, local market, specialized and dedicated products, quality first, higher farm gate prices, knowledge of place, transparent, face-to-face or proximate relationships, and knowledge and trust based. Follett (2009) concluded that “future success of these networks and their ability to change society is dependent on our commitment to provide the space for them to succeed” (p. 49).

Lastly, I turn to the emerging application of a political lens to foster conversations about the potential political progress of AFNs. Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) dissected resistant efforts against the global agro-industrial system and categorized them as either neoliberal, progressive, radical, or reformist. Although AFNs “challenge the legitimacy and hegemony of the corporate food regime” (abstract) in some fashion, Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011)

contended that an alliance between the progressive and radical initiatives would have the best chance of making sustained changes. It is an interesting side note to see this resonate with the dissection of new social movements as either alternative, redemptive, reformatory, or revolutionary (Aberle, 1966). In that vein, Aberle asked who is being changed and how much change is possible. These are questions that current AFNs researchers and activists must struggle to attain.

In this project, I operationalized AFNs using Jarosz's (2008) definition, but I also sought to expand our conceptualizations. Jarosz's four characteristics point out that AFNs are relocalizing food systems and adding value statements. Through this study, I add to the characterization of AFNs in two distinct ways. First, I speak of human actors and non-human actants, and how they negotiate at the interfaces. Second, I analyze how AFNs seek to enact resistance strategies through a socio-cultural lens. Although these concepts have not permeated the agri-food studies literature, threads of this discourse are found in social movements literature (Brechin, et al., 2003; Ernstson, Sörlin, & Elmqvist, 2008; Escobar, 1998; Escobar, 2001).

Alternative Food Networks as Resistance Strategies; Politics of Possibility

It is important to pause and consider briefly how I applied the concept of "resistance" in this study. A recent meta-analysis of the usage of the term resistance in scholarly works showed that "although there is virtual consensus that resistance involves oppositional action of some kind, there is considerable disagreement about whether resistance must be intended by actors and whether it must be recognized by targets and/or observers" (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004, p. 544). The authors proposed a typology of resistance with seven categories defined from the perspective of the agent inacting the resistance (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004, p. 544). Their typology places intent and recognition as defining characteristics. This means that even when the agent *intends* that an action be seen as resistance, it may not be *recognized* as such by outsiders. Further, outsiders may define some action as resistance although the agent did not propose the label. For purposes of this research, I specifically define resistance as instances of action that are intended by the actors to be actions of challenge. These include overt, covert, and planned for, but missed, opportunities.

Evidence shows that repertoire of resistances occur across a broad spectrum. On one end is violent activism. On the opposite end, are the barely traceable signs of resistance in daily life that cumulatively aggregate. Previously, I argued that resistance strategies enacted in the spaces between diffuse resistance and revolutionary resistance are where the bulwark of action takes place (Kennedy, 2015a). From an analysis of 13 nations, I concluded, “they enact strategies that promote cohesion and mobilization via distinction mannerisms unique to their culture and resources available, while remaining bound by the repressive context in which they live. These middle-of-the-spectrum actions are generative spaces” (Kennedy, 2015b). In this study, I acknowledged those generative actions located in the middle of the spectrum.

To understand how AFNs are enacting resistance strategies, I turn to scholars such as Norman Long who for over 30 years analyzed networks through rural development sociology. His work showed the occurrence of “variegated pattern of responses” (2001, p. 225) and he stated “some actors ‘vernacularise’ dominant discourse in order to legitimate their claims upon the state and other authoritative bodies...” (p. 71). For example, he (Long, 2001) documented British dairy farmers who embraced the efficiency canon held by neo-liberals, deciding to receive training recommended by agribusiness on new embryo transplant technology, while simultaneously refuting the commercialization canon, preferring to continue with their older marketing strategies as a sign of resistance.

Other long-term food systems scholars argue for a growing recognition of attempts at “replacing neoliberalism” (Marsden & Franklin, 2013.) *The neoliberal regime in the agri-food sector: Crisis, resilience, and restructuring* (2013) augments that argument. The authors’ state that “a critical evaluation of the evidence supporting claims of rupture of, or incursions into, the neoliberal model” (Wolf & Bonanno, 2013, p. 5) concludes that neoliberalism is exhausted.

In the new found “politics of the possible”, reproduction of overly cynical, Westernized views enacted by AFNs members (Harris, 2009, p. 14) are minimized as scholars perceive that food activism is not just empowering reactions to, and contestations against, the current system but also are much more (Freedman & Bess, 2011; Holt-Giménez, E., 2011b). For instance, scholars document cultural politics as strategies that assist with retaining and growing agency and power (Counihan & Siniscalchi, 2014; Grey & Patel, 2015; Minkoff-Zern, 2014).

Accounts include expressions of identity and cultural heritage, shifts toward cooperative and ecological living, and ethically engaged citizenry. Moreover, Goodman, DuPuis, and Goodman (2012) claim that a promise of AFNs maybe found in the “pre-figurative politics” enacted by activist.

Developing an Interdisciplinary Frame for Alternative Food Networks Research

I now turn to an exploration of supportive research that aided development of the study’s analytical frame. I expose pertinent aspects of actor-network theory, new social movements theory, and nourishing networks framework. Most importantly, in this section I discuss how other researchers utilized those theories to illuminate aspects of AFNs, thus, leading me to develop the research objectives. More explicit statements about the study’s applied methods are found in the methodology and methods chapter.

Actor-network Theory and AFNs: Actants, Actors, and Characteristics

In this study, I deploy two aspects of the actor-network theory (ANT) to resolve the first objective: to uncover existing actants and actors that influence development of AFNs in the Çanakkale Province and to explore their functional characteristics. ANT presents a complex container for research thanks to the philosophical propositions of Michel Callon (1986), Bruno Latour (2005), John Law (2009), and Norman Long (2001). To be clear, I only operationalized two components of the enormous complexity of the totality of the theory. First, that AFNs were emerging as multifaceted, relational networks and therefore were the unit of observation and analysis. Second, that these networks (often submerged and/or poorly defined) were complex assemblages of actants and actors, both human and non-human. In the case of AFNs, component parts might include farmers, soil, rainfall, technological apparatus (e.g. drones to monitor fields, inventory software), national politics, etc. I clarify specific applications of ANT in the methodology chapter. What follows here is a warranted discussion about the capacity for ANT to inform this study.

Actor-networks can be seen as scaled-down versions of Foucault’s discourses on episteme (Law, 2009). In *The Order of Things*, Foucault (2002/1966) ruminated on the strategic and relational character of epochal epistemes. Law (2009) stated that, similarly, the ANT approach explores the strategic and relational character of particular, smaller-scale, polychromatic actor-networks (p. 145). An actor-network “accords central importance to

material objects, technological artefacts, texts and discourses in the making of ‘the social’...in favour of an undifferentiated, hybrid socio-technical, cultural-cum-natural mode of understanding” (Long, 2015, p. 35). The key is that an ANT study is grounded in a dialectic, context specific investigation of heterogeneous networks of human actors and non-human actants.

Due to ANTs’ ontological grounding being radically different from other social theories, it has been used in research to stretch the boundaries of “non-human.” Scholars have researched economic actions (Callon, 1998), city planning processes, urban culture, and city infrastructure (Fariás & Bender, 2012), computer-mediated communication patterns (Walsham, 1997) and more. Latour, in his iconoclastic way, studied the constructs of space, time, and invisibility of society in Paris using ANT (Little, 2012).

Long (2001) explicitly placed ANT alongside agri-food studies and developed an analytical strategy that I employ. His work in rural development across many nations in the Global South allowed him unprecedented opportunities to fully develop, enact, and report on his “interface analysis” concept. He stated that to understand how actor-networks affect change, there is value in seeking:

Critical junctures or arenas involving differences of normative value and social interest...not only understanding the struggles and power differentials taking place between the parties involved, but also an attempt to reveal the dynamics of cultural accommodation that make it possible for the various worldviews to interact. (Long, 2001, p. 72)

For example, Long and Jinlong (2009) researched a period of agrarian transition in China by “highlight[ing] the ongoing everyday struggles over livelihoods and resources and focuses on the negotiations that take place between the various social actors involved” (p. 63). They found that despite purported benefits to be received by villagers in exchange for more collective agrarian activities, the villagers shunned the development projects. Long and Jinlong declared that this refusal to participate, the conflict at the interface, was due to cultural and methodological disconnects.

By utilizing ANT, Wilkinson (2010), who analyzed Brazil’s small-scale farm networks, was also able to identify various values that were reproduced, including the values of creativity, craft traditions, reputation, civic accountability, technical efficiency and scale economies, and

market sensitivity. This is notable for my research in that it reinforces the potential to learn from the interfaces within networks. Wilkinson's analysis used ANT to highlight the dynamics of the family farm sector, "the importance of the position different actors occupy within social networks" (p. 5), and the markets within which they participated. Wilkinson found that family and neighborhood social relations buttressed the local artisan food networks.

Wilkinson (2010) was able to further confirm that "artisan food production systems, as we have seen, have persisted through the resilience of social networks which have simultaneously guaranteed markets and been the basis of their expansion as urbanisation and globalisation accelerate migratory flows" (p. 7). He concluded that, "actor-network and convention theories, in their turn, have allowed for an understanding of the conditions for extending these markets beyond social networks..." (p. 8).

Another way to benefit from ANT is to emphasize its revolutionary concept of nature-culture. Keith Douglass Warner wrote *Agroecology in Action* (2007), in which he examined the organic AFNs that arose after concerns of pesticide toxicity in California. Using ANT, he described agroecological initiatives in California, Iowa, Washington, and Wisconsin. Warner premised that agroecology, the explicit joining of the concern for nature with the concern for farming sustainability, could only be effectively activated socially by collaborative networks of farmers, scientists, and other stakeholders learning together and in conjunction with ways that were harmonious with nature's limits.

Another key benefit from ANT is "new ways of thinking about social organizations that transcend the 'tyranny of distance' and create novel opportunities for social agency to emerge from collectives and cooperatives" (Trauger, 2009, p. 117). By using ANT to scrutinize three AFNs within Pennsylvania, Trauger (2009) showed the contextualized nature of agency, despite the fact that the AFNs were geographically close and all worked on social change topics. She found that "agency is emergent from the network but is partial and contingent upon the leaders who shape the direction of the network" (p. 126). She also concluded that nature, as an agent, related to the material realities of farming and "was a force they had no choice but to work with" (p. 126). In the end, she could not offer a definitive conclusion on how humans considered the agency of non-humans and proposed further research.

I turn my attention to agri-food scholars who study AFNs but who do not explicitly name their alignment to ANT. I include them because it appears that actor-network orientation provided underlying guidance and that the researcher looked at the “interfaces” (the critical junctures or arenas involving differences of normative value and social interests). The outcomes from their work compliment my interest in a geographically dispersed, food-oriented social movement. In the U.K., Kirwan and Maye (2013) asked how the development of AFNs maintained or contested food security organizations’ master frames about food security. They found that interpretations differed geographically. Further, they stated that when food security was framed by neoliberal ideologies (food security resolved via agriculture intensification, trade liberalization, and risk management) the potentials offered by the local food system were sidelined. In conclusion, Kirwan and Maye advocated for social movements “working with and forming alliances with social networks beyond their normal ambit thereby demonstrating permeability between ‘sharp’ collective action frames” (p. 25).

This review of literature shows the robust nature of ANT. It can assist with investigating sectors and geographically dispersed networks; speak to the importance of position and agency within networks; illuminate the activation, value deployment, and conflicts within networks; and it is the premiere theory for embracing a nature-culture/human-nonhuman relationship. This theory serves my research well, though I realize it has been criticized as being too nebulous. Marsden (2001) cautioned that to apply ANT to agri-food studies, it needed to be linked to “empirically grounded and substantive theoretical dimensions” (p. 21). He also argued for mixing it with paradigms that discerned power relations. Therefore, I extend the potentialities of ANT by integrating aspects of NSMs and NNF.

New Social Movements Theory and AFNs: Contestations and Cultural Politics

I deployed NSMs to satisfy my second research objective: to investigate the socio-cultural interfaces of actors working toward developing AFNs in the Çanakkale Province and their possible influences on the global food system. In this study, I applied the NSMs components that relate to cultural politics, although the theory has the capacity to engage a more expansive analysis. In the following segments I illuminate how scholars of new social movements discuss culture and disclose how other scholars have used NSMs to investigate AFNs.

NSMs is complimentary to my research in that it looks at “movement networks” (Melucci, 1985). Additionally, implicit in NSMs is that “social movements are not just shaped by culture; they also shape and reshape it” (Johnston & Klandermas, 1995, p. 9). To that end, scholars ask about cultural processing of values, identity, ideas, repertoire of actions, and organizational forms. The research focus, and unit of analysis, can be a formal group, non-formal assortment of actors, or even global movements (Melucci, 1985).

With the “turn to culture” in social movement studies, scholars expanded the usage of NSMs (Caniglia & Carmin, 2005; Johnson & Klandermas, 2013; Macionis, 2013; Wieviorka, 2005). No doubt part of the reason was due to the recognition that cultural resonance directly promotes mobilization and cohesion (Castells, 1983; Cnann, 2007; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). I adopt the explanation offered by Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar (1998) that cultural politics are “the discursive processes enacted when sets of social actors shaped by, and embodying, different cultural meanings and practices come into conflict with each other as they negotiate the meaning of social practices, identity, power, and subjectivity statements” (p. 5-8). Zhao’s (2010) theorization of the role of culture supplements this. He stated that culture shaped collective action through mechanisms that vary with the structural conditions of the environment. Zhao contended that, in unsettled situations, activists appropriated cultural discourses creatively (he invoked a toolbox visual); whereas in settled situations, actors followed familiar scripts and assumptions (he called this an instinctual urge).

Reticulating culture and identity, Fominaya (2010) suggested that one look for “cognitive definitions about ends, means, and the field of action; this process is given voice through a common language, and enacted through a set of rituals, practices, and cultural artifacts” (p. 395). She cautioned that collective identity emerged by various mechanisms and did not require a unified or coherent strategy. In the early days of NSMs, Habermas (1981b) advised to look for polemical identities that “arise in areas of cultural reproduction...[where] the question is how to defend or reinstate endangered life styles and how to put reformed lifestyles into practice” (p. 33).

Linking scholarship in AFNs and social movement theories seems like a logical research pursuit; however, the literature has mainly been saturated with only vague references to AFNs

as a 'movement' or 'food activism' (Dupuis & Goodman, 2005; Guthman, 2008; Goodman et al., 2011). In fact, some scholars refuted AFNs were social movements, instead discussing them as simple groupings that had a "gradation effect" (Cox et al., 2008). In that vein, scholars said AFNs merely provide spaces for alternative views and negotiations (Smithers et al, 2008), and allow for "important discourses surrounding being different and doing things different" (Holloway et al., 2007, p. 90).

On the other hand, other scholars say the emergence of cultural conflict similarly seen in other social movements, meaning the "dynamic process[es] through which actors negotiate, understand, and construct their action through shared repeated interaction" (Fominaya, 2010, p. 394), created an appeal that this line of sociological questioning must be interrogated (Follett, 2009; Tovey, 2006). Patricia Allen (2008), an early critic of alternative food initiatives, noted a change in goals of the "alternative agri-food movement," saying that in the early growth phases social justice was not a concern but more recently a larger proportion engaged in work to improve social justice within the food system. Moreover, scholars also argued that a "care ethic" is a central motivating frame that gave identity to AFNs participants (Kneafsey et al., 2008). Perhaps the clearest voice for applying social movement theory to AFNs was Charles Levkoe (2014a; 2014b) who productively probed Canada's immense networks (Levkoe & Wakefield, 2013).

To date, few scholars have definitively applied NSMs to AFNs. Two empirical studies focused on the persona and identity within local foods movements as the primary construct for analysis. Amory Starr (2010) synthesized 17 years of ethnographic research in Massachusetts where he lived, taught, and shopped as a member of cooperatively-owned grocery stores and community-supported agriculture ventures. He chose NSMs, stating that it is the only theory that made food choices political. He looked keenly at the building of the "we," at the "cosmology" of the food community, and at knowledge distribution. Starr focused on his findings, one of the first, that people within submerged networks used pleasure to push politics, saying that "not only do most participants willingly inconvenience themselves, but they do so with deepening joy and increasingly significant effects" (p. 490). He linked to Pfohl's (1992) work on the "embodiment" of participation (touching the vegetables, smiling at the

farmer, cooking the food) as an overlooked dimension of liberatory practices. Starr concluded that as a social movement, AFNs' "more important effect is hegemonizing a new cosmology (or paradigm) of food production, distribution, and consumption" (p. 490).

Another researcher's analysis caught my attention due to his focus on the interstices between identity and negotiation. Through utilization of ethnographic methods in Irish farmers' markets, Moore (2006) saw patterns that lead to his conclusion that an "empathetic lifestyle" permeated the AFNs, allowing trust to develop and extend into long-term relationships (p. 423). He also documented how stories told and language use extended the group identity and smoothed interactions. "There is also a symbolic dimension to the objects (e.g. slugs in cabbage, clay on carrots), a ritualistic dimension to repeated attendance (which some producers have mentioned explicitly), and a functioning network of people who operate particular socioenvironmental values" (p. 424).

A theoretical article used NSMs to analyze the capacity of the "food democracy" frame to incite collective action. Hassanein (2003) stated that the embracing of food democracy animated a struggle to create new social identities, to create democratic spaces for civil society, and to reinterpret norms and develop new institutions, all of which are hallmarks of NSMs. Her work provided a good grounding for scholars moving toward empirical studies on the topics of food democracy/justice/sovereignty. In fact, Sbicca (2012) asked similar questions in an empirical study on food justice in California; although he did not use NSMs and therefore I did not dissect his research for this document. Hassanein, offered two concluding points about the transformative potential of food democracy. First, it should be able to catalyze power to motivate passive consumers into democracy seeking citizens. Second, it should be able to present a significant challenge to the structures of capitalism via contesting the commodification of food.

Lastly, two dissertations using NSMs give additional insight into how cultural politics are transactions of power. Murray (2013) concentrated on direct agriculture marketing through an ethnographic study of AFNs in Florida. She found that political action affected the AFNs culture on both individual and collective stratifications. She concluded that the resultant high locus of control, individual sense of responsibility, and clear sense of normative behaviors within the

AFNs was further associated with adopting pro-environmental behaviors. Conversely, in another study, Mabry (2011), questioned tensions between two AFNs social movements, sustainable agriculture and food security, in California by asking if issues of race played a role. Gleaning data from interviews, Mabry found grievances that stymied the movements and “conclude[d] by stressing the importance of approaching food issues from a human rights framework while highlighting the role of race and whiteness throughout alternative agri-food efforts” (p. iii).

This review of literature shows the myriad ways NSMs can explore cultural politics and identity with AFNs. As I illuminated, the theory influences how we see the cultural processes of social movements. These articles showed the myriad ways people developed alternative messages and value frames. The role of negotiation and transactions sometimes led to power development and other times led to impasses. By using NSMs, the authors also gave insights into the potentials for AFNs’ disruption of the hegemonic global, agro-industrial system.

I also realize that NSMs has been criticized for not acknowledge that social class shapes both consciousness and interpretations and thus producing distinct forms of behaviors (Barker & Dale, 1998; Calhoun, 1993; Rose, 1997). Keeping these criticisms in mind was paramount during my field research. Further, NSMs has been critiqued for not allowing space for analysis of political opportunities (long a mainstay of social movement rhetoric). To ameliorate these deficiencies, I extended the scope of my research by combining the NNF to the aspects of ANT and NSMs.

Nourishing Networks Framework and AFNS: Strategies and Community Resiliency

I utilized the NNF from the field of value supply chain and rural development to help resolve the third objective: to consider how strategies employed by the actors working toward developing AFNs in the Çanakkale Province might increase their potential for community resiliency. The NNF was meant to “serve as an analytical as well as a reflexive tool...for practitioners as it can help them to position themselves, evaluate their past decisions and current abilities, and create an adequate and coherent strategy” (Wiskerke, 2006, p. 79). In this study, I utilize the framework’s *a priori* diagnostic trajectories (embedding, governance, marketing, and resources).

In 2002, the European Commission funded an ambitious seven-nation project to research “patterns underlying trends and trajectories concerning the socio-economic structure and dynamics of sustainable food supply chains” (Jahn, Peter, & Knickel, 2006, p. 1). Merging value supply chain discourse and sustainable rural development discourse with ANT resulted in 21 case studies (14 published in a book) that were analyzed via a comparative, transversal analysis. Resulting from those data, the NNF (called the GEM framework in the final report) evolved with hopes that it would help stakeholders see how construction and sustainability performance of initiatives could be enhanced (Wiskerke, 2006, p. 78). It also resulted in policy recommendations to overcome the bottlenecks in the food system.

The NNF framework articulated three constituting processes in the evolution and maintenance of AFNs (governance, embedding, and marketing; GEM) and how they cohered. Governance focuses on “chain innovation” and the key objective was to strengthen the power and position of farmers in the food supply chain. Most often this was seen as new forms of chain governance (new rules, new division of roles, new arrangements), which mobilized strategic alliances and built a strong support network to create protected space or niches for experimenting and learning. Embedding relates to “territorial embedding” and was often initiated to address public and societal concerns regarding sustainable regional development. The focus was on strengthening interlinkages and creating coherence and synergies between food supply chains and other economic activities in the region. Lastly, marketing aligns to “chain differentiation.” The key objective was improving the commercial performance of an existing food supply chain or of distinctive products (Wiskerke, 2006).

According to the NNF, AFNs have different trajectories based on how they articulate the three constructs and how much and what kind of support is available. Therefore, there is a need to assess public and private support, which may include political opportunities or hurdles. From an assessment of the trajectories, a “sustainability” profile can be developed that can help AFNs know if they may be able to impact community resiliency. Figure 2.1 shows the framework.

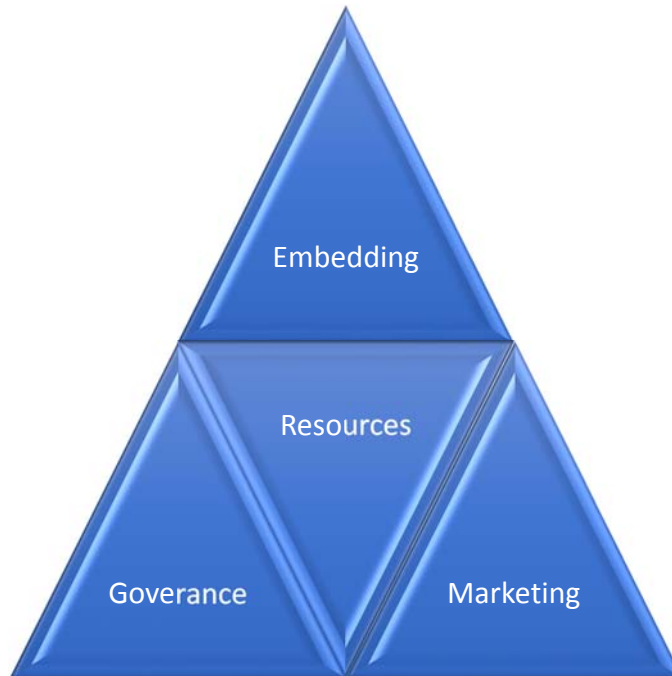


Figure 2.1. Resources support the three potential trajectories which together create the nourishing networks framework; adapted from SUS-CHAIN Project (Wiskerke, 2006, p. 80).

The NNF is a valuable analytic tool for assessment of complex assemblages. Previously, I mentioned that 14 case studies came out of the initial SUS-CHAIN project. Examples of farmer's empowerment, regional food system development, and niche market identification, assessment, and expansion were evident (Wiskerke, 2006). In the following paragraphs, I review cases that exemplify each trajectory and which are meaningful to this study's design.

A case in Switzerland detailed an embedding strategy. Combating market assimilation, and moving toward niche market development, farmers in Switzerland led the charge in the revival of "rye bread of Valais" by portraying the fears of regional institutions that the traditional rye of the area was "at high risk of decline and disappear[ance] of the traditional product" (Jahn et al., 2006, p. 14). Starting in 2001, an association of farmers, millers, and bakers coalesced, lobbied for PDO registration (Products of Distinct Origin, an EU certification for heritage products), and shortly thereafter scaled up their operation. In 2006, consumers were paying 45% more for the "rye bread of Valais" than for basic wheat bread; "they are disposed to pay the premium because of fashion for whole flour breads...a local food product

with a strong identity, they also back up the local industry (two mills and more than 30 bakers)” (Jahn et al., p.18).

In Belgium, two cases highlighted governance strategies. The case studies illustrated the story of farmers taking control of their collective bargaining capacity, and showing their sense of empowerment, in response to market-induced crises (Jahn et al., 2006). In one case, organic dairy farmers saw their contracts eliminated; thereafter, they formed a farmer owned cooperative that set its own prices and collection regimes. In the other case, farmers created an NGO with an aim of “improving farmer’s livelihood, open or enlarge new markets for sustainable products, improve farmer’s power in the chain, rebuild rural resources, and build and improve local capital” (Jahn et al., p. 6). *Vis-à-vis* the NNF, both cases display high levels of chain innovation. Their key objective was to strengthen the bargaining power and commercial position of farmers in the food supply chain.

A prime example of marketing strategies was the example of The Cooperative Supermarket chain. Managers learned, from customer surveys, that disconnects between product desire and product availability diminished their competitiveness. The managers responded by creating an alliance “to overcome problems such as logistics, packaging, pricing and quality assurance” (Roep & Wiskerke, 2006 p. 170). They further developed a flexible procurement system that gave managers “more room for manoeuvre and the freedom to decide for themselves which products are right for their store and for their customers” (Roep & Wiskerke, 2006, p. 170).

The cases in Belgium and Switzerland are exemplars of farmer empowerment and niche market development, respectively. The NNF elucidated that they were also examples of collaborative governance. Researchers found that “the interest of the government in supporting the national and local agriculture and rural development can be observed in Switzerland, Belgium, and the UK” (Jahn et al., p.46). Specifically, the “rye bread of Valais” was supported by industry, farmers, and NGOs that applied pressure to, and became involved in, local politics. The result was substantial public funding toward creation of the niche market and the local Chamber of Agriculture advocating passage of the PDO registration.

Related to the Belgium case, civil society leveraged significant power and attained funding; “it may be that the NGO would not exist without the rural development funding and the activities set up [by the rural development office]” (Jahn et al., 2006, p. 46). Collaborative governance also occurred in the U.K.’s Cornwall Food Programme. “The initiators [including an NGO] were able to positively illustrate the initiative’s potential for adding value to a certain region. As this aim actually is highly valued from part of the government, the initiative was able to attract funding” (Jahn et al., p. 46).

Illustrated in all cases was the impact of resources on the three facets of the framework. SUS-CHAIN researchers scrutinized: “How have public policies affected strategic decisions? What kind of support has been efficient? and Are there common patterns?” (Jahn et al., 2006, p. 40) A key determination was that public-sector support, especially financial and technical, was most important during the initiation phase. However, assistance with overcoming administrative issues and allowances for flexibility in official regulations as well as pressure to concatenate political interests were decisive factors to success throughout the processes. Support from NGOs, and other social actors, in gaining and sustaining political interest was vital.

By way of this literature review, I show that the strength of the NNF is being able to analyze AFNs and report findings to citizens in a meaningful way. This framework compliments the knowledge attained by the ANT and NSM and thus extends scholarly knowledge. However, NNF could be criticized for not making explicit the tactical aspects of the sustainability profile. It has been argued that assessing impact is a multi-mode task; the analysis can be conducted on a particular partner within AFNs, on an aspect of sustainability, or perhaps some aspects which are not included need to be assessed for sustainability, such as farmworker rights, meat consumption and water levels, etc. (Forssell & Lankoski, 2015). Therefore, we must acknowledge that judging the promise of AFNs is not a simplistic pursuit.

Expanding the Alternative Food Networks Discourse to Turkey

The foci of the vast majority of AFNs research are US and European populations. Yet, as food trade continues to globalize, we must realize that other nations’ inner workings shape and shift the global face of agriculture and food. It is prime time to learn how AFNs, as creations of the US and EU, are subsequently embedded into other locales. Turkey is an ideal site for such a

study. It is a modernizing nation that enjoys a heritage agriculture base, boasting the Mesopotamia history, and fertile soils leading to high yields. Yet, with each year, it becomes more deeply entrenched in the globalized agro-food system.

The “modernization” of Turkey’s agriculture system, meaning entry into the global economy, started with Turkey’s Prime Minister Özal. In the late 1980s, he embraced neoliberal politics by withdrawing subsidies and contractual agreements from farmers and coupling this with an onslaught of privatization strategies (Pope & Pope, 1997). He expressed his feeling about needed change, “We tried to make people realize that the State was not an employer or father; that people had to rely on themselves. But it is not easy, a stick-in-the-mud attitude prevails” (Pope & Pope, 1997, p. 173). With the signing of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1994, Turkey became enmeshed in the global industrial food regime. The deregulation resulting from the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) further disempowered small and mid-sized farmers (Öztürk, 2012). A report for the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations showed that the AoA resulted in a 13 - 20% reduction in domestic financial support to agricultural producers at the same time that real prices of agricultural products declined (Healy, Pearce, & Stockbridge, 1998).

Yet the years between 2000 and 2009 created the shattering blow. Another round of Structural Adjustment Programs, under the International Monetary Fund and World Bank’s guidance, targeted the “financial burden” of the agricultural sector (Akder, 2007; Köse, 2012). In brief, the letters of agreement “focused on lowering the inflation rate, restoring macroeconomic balances, accelerating privatization, and introducing radical structural reforms in the economy” which resulted in “tight fiscal and monetary policies” (Nas, 2008, p. 88 - 89). In 2009, the reforms were declared failures and “backpedaling by the policy makers who admitted that poverty, migration, and unemployment exacerbated after the reforms” was commonplace (Hiç, 2013, para. 1).

In 2010, it appeared the tide was beginning to turn back towards reinstatement of government assistance for food producers. The EU called for a new understanding of small farms as the providers of public goods (such as food security and diversity, environmental protection, and cultural assets) and thereby appealed for public policy to support them

(European Commission, 2010). Under their guidance, Turkey reinstated provisory financial support. However, as stated to me during fieldwork in 2014, the reimbursement scheme still left many small farmers unable to gain an advantage, since they lacked the funds to purchase the necessary items. One farmer reported having filed almost one year of receipts, yet no reimbursement had been received (personal communications, June 2014).

According to the US Department of Agriculture (2014), Turkey's agricultural exports more than tripled in the past decade. It is the leading global exporter of wheat, sunflower oil, hazelnuts, and raisins with export levels of wheat products, poultry, and other dried fruits and nuts being close to the top producing nations' levels (USDA, 2014). "With growing exports, Turkish industry has around \$5 billion in trade surplus" and "as part of its targets set for [the] agriculture sector, by 2023 Turkey aims to be among [the] top 5 producers globally" (ISPAT, 2014, p.2). In 2014, Turkey's overall exports accounted for 27.7% of the gross domestic product, a total of \$168.9 billion (OECD, 2016b).

At the same time that Turkey's export of food commodities increased, direct poverty hovered around 20%. In 2014, they attained the highest gross domestic product (\$18,599); however, the GINI index was around 40, indicating substantial income inequalities (OECD, 2016a). Reports such as "*When Economics Matters in Meeting Food Security Challenge*" (Capone, Bilali, Debs, & Cardone, 2013) stated that Turkey's food prices continued to escalate, causing hardship for residents. Between 2005 and 2011 only Egypt had a higher increase in the food consumer price index. This was significant in that Egypt and others on the list suffered from food riots as a result of their increased food consumer prices (Ahmed, 2013). In 2013, Turkey ranked 36th among 105 countries in the Global Food Security Index (Ministry of Development, 2013, p. 98). Chronically high interest rate and unemployment rates further compounded food prices. For example, on January 25, 2017, the interest was 8% (Turkey Interest Rate, 2017) and unemployment was 10.2% (OECD, 2017).

The government continued with policies that negatively impacted small farmers. One scheme aimed to increase efficiency and export potential. As part of the "*10 Year Development Plan*," one strategy the government proposed was to address "problem areas" by consolidation of farmer and producer organizations, stating that "problems of producer organizations in

accessing markets give rise to continuous expectations for state intervention in the product markets” (Ministry of Development, 2013, p. 98-99).

Another strategy was to increase the consolidation of land. This policy started in 2006 with .6 million hectares and had grown to 4.2 million hectares in 2013. The projected consolidation for 2018 was eight million hectares (one million acres, 10 million acres, and 19 million acres respectively) (Ministry of Development, 2013, p. 100). Nominally, the government said this would improve water access distribution while simultaneously improving monitoring of water pollution from agricultural run-off.

As a corollary, it is interesting to note that the national government planned to reduce village municipalities from a total of 1977 down to 395 by 2014. This was based on the merger of village governance in villages less than 2000 residents (Ministry of Development, 2013, p. 132). The consolidation of land and village governance indicated a further deepening of the demise of villages, the traditional place of small farms and communal land holdings. Akili and Akili (2014) explained, “the local government system is becoming recentralized around metropolitan cities for the sake of benefiting ‘scale economies’, and that this centralization conflicts with democratic principles on which the local governments are build [sic] upon.”

For over 10 years, Turkey enjoyed increased gross domestic production. Yet, a 2015 report cautioned that, “looking ahead, it seems that Turkey must settle for a period of modest growth as higher global interest rates constrict external financing and lower economic momentum in Europe. This, combined with growing geopolitical tensions, will cause a fall in demand for Turkey’s exports” (Genckaya, Togan, Schulz, & Karadag, 2015, p. 3). It appears that the future will bring big changes for this nation of 80 million.

Recent Responses may Indicate Budding AFNs

Encroachment of the global, agro-industrial system across Turkey’s traditionally village-based agriculture system is an on-going process. However, the sociological aspects of the agri-food system are not studied in Turkey. To date I have found only two scholarly, English language publications, related to some aspects Turkish AFNs, neither of which explicitly name the research as being about AFNs.

Based in an agrarian political economy frame, researchers showed farmer collectives employing reactive strategies. In the Provinces of Antalya and Izmir, farmer strategies included

production diversification, contract farming, and niche market certifications (Keyder & Yenil, 2011). The article did nothing to infer either positive or negative consequences of these actions.

Researchers at Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University’s Tourism Department published the first scholarly work linking organic agriculture with citizen participation: “*The Role of Organic Agriculture Potential in the Rural Development of Turkey: The Case of Gökçeada*” (Atak, Tan, & Şengül, 2014). Gökçeada was touted as a 100% organic island community with substantial citizen participation. Political opportunities (public administration support, flexible regulations, etc.) stimulated and reinforced efforts. Atak et al. inferred that partnering an ecological frame with the preexisting culture, history, geographic typography, and natural beauty would bring manifold benefits to the community. This perspective begins to point the way toward understanding the conjunctural conditions AFNs in Turkey face.

It is disconcerting that food movements are not researched in Turkey. Certainly, other social movements are reported (Table 2.3), which is evidence that collective action takes place.

Table 2.3
Scholarly exposés on social movements in Turkey

Focus of paper	Author(s)	Year
Meta-analysis of 1980s SMs: Ethnic rights of Alevis and Kurds, environmentalism, feminism, human rights, and Islamism	Şimşek	2004
Bergama, a nation-wide environmental movement	Özen	2009
Religious Muslim Women’s Movement	Ozcetin	2009
Anti-globalization movements emergent since around 1993	Gümrükçü	2010
Protests after the 2001 economic crisis	Gemici	2013
Human rights movements	Negrón-Gonzales; Pierini	2012; 2013
Gezi Park protests	Göle; Gül, Dee, & Nur Cünük	2013; 2014
Identities within the Kurdish Workers Party	Schoon	2015
Restrictions on academic freedom	Jolley, 2015; Laber & Henkin, 1986	

To augment knowledge gained from the articles by Atak et al. (2014), and Keyder and Yenil (2011), I turned to the media and social media. I found a nascent dialogue occurring on a few websites, in non-profit publications, and occasionally in the media. Indications of anti-hegemonic discussions were hinted at on activist-oriented websites. Internet searches evinced a lively presence of Slow Food Turkey, with 23 convivia, local chapters; it is an offshoot of the international Slow Food movement. Slow Fish and the Turkish Youth Food Movement were interrelated activities in Turkey. Further, La Via Campesina supported one affiliate and the Savory Institute had a training center in Turkey. Looking at Turkish based NGO websites gave an indication that localized anti-hegemonic discussions were occurring. I learned that the premiere NGO for sustainable agriculture is considered to be Buğday Ekolojik Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (Buğday Ecological Living Support NGO). Their mission includes:

- Support for the expansion of organic agriculture, especially the development of a healthy domestic market;
 - Maintenance of traditional farming methods supporting nature;
 - Conservation of local seed varieties;
 - Encouraging sustainable communities that live in harmony with nature;
 - Developing eco-agro tourism in Turkey;
 - Monitoring and contributing to the development of national policies with regards organic agriculture, rural development and nature conservation;
 - Raising awareness at urban level in a wide range of different sectors
- (<http://bugdayglobal.org/>)

In addition to these actors, Turkey passed the “Biosafety Law #5977” in 2010, which mitigated the threat of genetically-modified organics (GMOs) by regulation on imports. This law made it compulsory to obtain a permit from the Ministry of Agriculture for each transit passage of GMOs and products thereof. The law further read:

Application for the approval of GMO and products thereof will be rejected under the following conditions: a) it threatens human, animal and plant health, the environment and biological diversity; b) it undermines the freedom of choice of the producers and consumers; c) it disrupts the ecological equilibrium of the environment and of the ecosystem; d) if there is a risk of GMO propagating itself or its characteristics in the environment; e) it endangers the sustainability of biological diversity; and f) if applicant does not have sufficient technical capacity to implement the measures to ensure biosafety. (Erkut, 2010, p. 5)

The passage of this law, which is a strong statement in the face of agribusiness pressures, led me to consider the potential that citizens with anti-hegemonic proclivities mobilized toward their lawmakers with enough force to sway political opinion.



Figure 2.1 Map of Turkey (2007). Open source art retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Turkey.gif

Insights From Preliminary Field Work in Turkey

During the summer of 2014 I spent six weeks traveling around Turkey, meeting potential partners, and gaining insights into how a study might work. I formally and informally interviewed a wide range of social actors: farmers and farm managers, housewives, business professionals, the Diyarbakir mayor, journalists and social media activists, village leaders, ecological activists, Slow Food organizers, professors, and more (Kennedy, 2014b). In some regions of the nation, for example the extreme Southeast, it appeared that collective action was underground and there was great fear of the government. In the urban centers (specifically Ankara, Çanakkale, Istanbul, and Konya), people knew of existing social movements, mostly citing environmental and political mobilization. Very few spoke of food movements. However, an underlying theme that came across was that people were cognizant of their right to collectively mobilize and that agriculture and food was becoming more and more an issue. For

example, food prices, fear of genetically modified foods (GMOs) , loss of heritage foods, and concerns with water resources were issues that came up often.

An interview with a leader of a Slow Food Turkey convivium - local chapter - in Istanbul resulted in indispensable information. I was shown a thick scrapbook full of newspaper articles detailing their role in the fight to “Save the Blue Fish,” a fish that lives in the Marmara Sea and is tied to the Turkish identity. This discourse was reminiscent of the fight to save the Chesapeake Crabs among Maryland and Virginia activists. These artifacts showing a presence in social and traditional media substantiated that mobilization and strategizing, at least in urban settings, was occurring. I believed this pointed toward a food movement.

Relevant, Acute Social Factors

A depiction of Turkey would not be complete without bringing to light social factors that weigh heavily on the general population. However, a detailed rendering of this complicated nation far exceeds the scope of this document. Here, I focus on four acute social issues that greatly impacted the study site: repression of the civil society, dismantling of the free media, enormity of the refugee and undocumented migrant crisis, and youth unemployment. These conditions stanchied progressive ideologies (such as the momentum to call for government reform toward European Union (EU) values and protocols) and closed political opportunities for AFNs.

Civil society is vulnerable to political incursion (Ketola, 2013). Despite funding and advice from the EU -Turkey Civil Society Dialogue Programs, and new “freedom of association” laws, civil society organizations reported that “concepts such as ‘general morality’, ‘Turkish family structure’, ‘national security’, and ‘public order’ were widely used to restrict them. This quashed their ability to assemble, raise funds, and apply for public benefits (Genckaya et al., 2015, p. 35).

The media suffered under increasing corporate and government consolidation in the past five years. This consolidation, along with the government’s clear-cut differentiation between pro- and anti-government media, led to superficial reporting; self-censorship was widespread (Genckaya et al., 2015, p. 63). The week of October 12th, 2015 saw the headquarters of *Today’s Zaman*, their largest English language newspaper, ransacked by the government. Computers and files were confiscated and 59 journalist placed in jail (reported on

TV and newspapers in Turkey). The editor is now in exile in the US. Chronically, social media was heavily restricted with periods of black outs (personal experiences, 2014-2016).

Turkish diplomacy and security policies were under stress from the Syrian war and tidal wave of refugees. By November 2014, Turkey had assisted more than 1.7 million documented Syrian refugees (Genckaya et al., 2015); this number increased to over 3.2 million at the end of 2016 (European Commission, 2017). However, the unofficial number of asylum seekers (also Afghani and Iraqi) ranged as high as five million. This was compounded by Roma migrants who historically traversed Turkey but who were seeking work in the informal sector (Genckaya et al., 2015). Further, the Islamic State terrorist group (ISIL/ISIS), which claims a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam, instigated over 10 bombings between 2015 and 2016 and stimulated Kurdish rebellions.

Youth unemployment was high; in 2016, 33.2% of 20 - 24 year olds were not in school or employed (OECD, 2016b). This resulted in idle youth that sought any form of informal job offer in order to generate family income, an inability to save for the future, and parents using their funds rather than saving for retirement age (personal communications, 2015-2016). In 2016, the household financial wealth (assets minus liabilities) was only \$3886; ranking Turkey 37 out of 38 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development nations (OECD, 2016a). Further indicating the fragility of personal economic status. To address this problem, the government's ten-year plan included two targeted programs: Program for Improving Labor Market Effectiveness and Program for Reducing the Informal Economy (Ministry of Development, 2013, p. 164-167).

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I reviewed the relevant literature related to my study's purpose. I began with conceptualizations of AFNs and resistance. Major bodies of literature related to the analytical framework (composed of actor-network theory, new social movements theory, and the nourishing networks framework) were reviewed as they related to AFNs. I illuminated Turkey's role in the global agro-food system and what we know about AFNs. Due to not having adequate information from peer-reviewed sources, I summarized what I learned from internet searches and during my preliminary field trip (in 2014). I concluded with relevant, current social

factors that must be understood in order to begin to grasp the complexity of the Turkish culture.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Her yigitin bir yogurt yeyisi vardir.

(Every person has their own style of eating yogurt.)

Turkish saying

This chapter elucidates the methodology and methods relevant to this research project. Methodology encompasses the philosophical principles underling the study. Methods are the specific procedures involved in satisfying the research questions. The chapter includes how credibility and validity were attained, statements about researcher positionality, and *a priori* propositions. The research plan is laid out and an introduction to the study site is given.

Methodological Framework Overview

Three complementary methodological perspectives grounded the research presented in this study. First, I embraced an overarching conceptualization of AFNs as assemblages of actants and actors; thus actor-network approaches were employed. Second, I pursued a deep understanding of the socio-cultural life-worlds of participants who shared a common experience of working toward alternative food networks (AFNs); thus, ethnographic methodology was the most appropriate avenue. Third, I advocate scholar-activist research and sought to engage participants in ways that destabilized the power dynamic between researcher and participants with an overarching goal that the process and products would be useful to their ongoing pursuits; thus, incorporation of participatory methodologies was vital. In the following paragraphs I further elucidate how these orientations combined to create a robust and justifiable framework

Ontological Perspective: Actor-networks

My research is heavily influenced by numerous social scientists and Indigenous knowledge systems that speak from a network orientation. In this study, I specifically gravitate to a perspective exemplified by the term “actor-network.” Springing from the early theories of Latour (1991) the term, “actor-network” in its most essential characterization, is used to speak of complex assemblages that include human and non-human actors in networks of relationships. “The actor-network approach asks us to explore the strategic, relational, and

productive character of particular, smaller-scale, heterogeneous actor-networks” (Law, 2009, p. 145). This study’s focus on AFNs required an actor-network orientation. Agriculture is inherently a nexus where human and non-human actors and actants converge. The AFNs are actor-networks that include many relational aspects such as culture, food, humans, nature, politics, etc.

Latour’s early theorizing was considered iconoclastic and hard to grasp. He rebuked a priori propositions and encouraged researchers to “follow the actor” (Latour, 2005). Scholars in similar revolutionary modes, such as Michel Callon (1986), John Law (2009), Norman Long (2001), and Alberto Melucci (1985), conferred revelations on how to locate and research networks. Melucci (1989) stated that networks were “the underlying structure of action” and as such investigations needed to seek subaltern voices (p. 338). Long (2001) encouraged researchers to report on the first hand experiences from observing “critical junctures or arenas involving differences of normative value and social interest” that often resulted in power differentials; he called these interfaces (p. 72). He later said an actor-network approach “accords central importance to material objects, technological artefacts, texts and discourses in the making of ‘the social’ ...in favour of an undifferentiated, hybrid socio-technical, cultural-cum-natural mode of understanding” (Long, 2015, p. 35). Scholars across the disciplines examined how actor-networks, as complex assemblages of knowledge, practice, and technologies, come into being, to constitute specific social, political, and scientific realities and influence processes of social change.

I posit that actor-network concepts have progenitors in the many Indigenous knowledge systems that connect their ancient cosmovisions about webs of relationships to modern concepts of society. I became cognizant of this by participating in ceremonies and storytelling when I lived with the Blackfeet, Eastern Band Cherokee, Hopi, and Navajo. These Indigenous knowledge systems are a foundation of my ontology (Kennedy, 2015c). An iconoclastic example of these beliefs occurred in 2006 when the Traditional Native American Farmers’ Association and New Mexico Acequia Association presented *A Declaration of Seed Sovereignty* to the US Congress, thus asserting their spiritual and cultural connection to their heritage “landraces” (term for seeds used in Native circles). Part of the Declaration read: “corporate

ownership claims of landrace crop genomes and patent law represent a legal framework for the justification of the possession and destruction of stolen cultural property” (A Declaration, 2006, para. 24). These ways of thinking about the web of relationships are culturally bound, and should not be essentialized into a monolithic culture; yet, curiously they are not too different from supposedly cutting edge approaches to social theory.

Gregory Cajete, in *Native Science: Natural Laws of Interdependence* (2000) elucidated premises of Indigenous philosophy including an inter-subjectivity that avers a network affinity; “all things are related and interconnected, everywhere, and at all times...” (p. 36). Principles of human-nature reciprocity and a “community-of-beings” worldview augment the nature-culture concept embedded in the actor-network discourse (Berkes, 2012). For example, in *Wisdom Sits in Places*, we find that “inhabitants of their landscape, the Western Apache are thus inhabited by it as well, and in the timeless depth of that abiding reciprocity, the people and the landscape are virtually as one” (Basso, 1996, p. 102, emphasis in original). Clayton Brascoupe (1999), an Indigenous farmer, further reflected that “a relationship with the land, plants, animals, rain, thunder, and lightening” permeated his tribe’s worldview (p. 160).

Epistemological Perspectives: Ethnography and Participatory Engagement

Ethnography. Conducting research in a country not of my own, and seeking to understand actors’ negotiations and cultural politics, required a methodology focused on the ongoing, everyday production of culture. Ethnography is an orientation for studying socio-cultural contexts, processes, and meanings within cultural systems. The methodology is “grounded in a commitment to the first-hand experience and exploration of a particular social or cultural setting on the basis of participant observation” (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, & Lofland, 2001, p. 4). Therefore, it was the ideal qualitative research orientation for my study.

Ethnography involves a process of discovery and continuing inquiries in an attempt to achieve emic validity, an insider’s perspective; it is dependent on immersive fieldwork (Whitehead, 2004). This methodology requires that the researcher look for patterns and endeavors to describe relationships, understandings, and meanings (tacit and explicit) in an effort to make sense of the setting. The strength of ethnography is the bond of trust and sharing that develops due to the intensity of participation in the lives of participants over an extended period of time (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The ability to engage in repeated

interactions is also linked with opportunities to explore “invisible” or subaltern voices in diverse settings and to show connections between their lives and a wider context (economy, politics, social, etc.) (Whitehead, 2004).

The growing number of scholars who merge ethnography with social justice influence my perspective on ethnography. Pelto (2013) insists that “traditional” forms of disconnected and non-engaged ethnography should give way to “applied ethnography.” This shift in power dynamics acknowledges the “local knowledge and practices” of target communities and embraces collaborative approaches to research (Pelto, 2013, p. 323). Additionally, critical theorists working in the paradigm of ethnographic action research work in unconventional fashion to bring about improvements to social and systematic challenges (Hartmann, Fischer, & Haymaker, 2009; Tacchi, Slater, & Heart, 2003).

This study is not applied or action ethnography. At the onset, I realized these were not possible designs for this study. This was partially due to the prevailing academic requirement that the student control the development and implementation of their dissertation project. Further, due to my outsider status, I was unsure in the beginning if partners were willing to engage in rigorous research, a requirement for a dissertation. However, those influences, the new voices in ethnography, spurred me to explicitly insert participatory elements into the project. Those elements are discussed in the research design section.

Participatory Engagement. This research project inherently interfaced with politics of knowledge production by seeking to study the embedded knowledge that was produced in interactions between multiple actors and actants, including myself as a participant observer. Thus, an alignment to values-driven research was paramount. Ideally, participatory research lends such a perspective; the researcher and the researched are interdependent and co-create knowledge that is beneficial to the parties involved. I draw upon the wisdom of action researchers Heron and Reason’s (1997) contemplation that:

A participatory worldview places human persons and communities as part of their world—both human and more-than-human—embodied in their world, co-creating their world. A participatory perspective asks us to be both situated and reflexive, to be explicit about the perspective from which knowledge is created, to see inquiry as a process of coming to know, serving the democratic, practical ethos. (p.9)

I am influenced by researchers such as Lather who, in 1991, observed that research was undergoing a shift away from a view of disinterested knowledge and toward a conceptualization of knowledge as constructed, contested, incessantly perspectival, relational and polyphonic. Therefore, I engaged an unambiguous desire to add participatory elements into this project.

Other researchers have shown that ethnographic methods can conjoin with a participatory orientation through collaborations in which the power dynamics can be addressed and steps taken to minimize them (McQuiston, Parrado, Olmos-Muñiz, & Martinez, 2005; Tacchi, Slater, & Hearn, 2003). A participatory orientation seeks to bind observation and action with pragmatic hopes that this engaged position would open up immense possibilities for understanding (Small, 2011). As affirmed by critical ethnographers, Gulati, Paterson, Medves, and Luce-Kapler (2011), participatory strategies also strengthen the credibility of the project and product for wider audiences.

This also fortifies the potential that the research products will be meaningful to participants as they continue working on their community-identified issues (Long, 2001). Most importantly, a participatory ontology explicitly and implicitly adopts a social justice stance. Opening spaces for participation “asserts the importance of listening to the muted voices of those held down by class structures and neo-colonialism, by poverty, sexism, racism, and homophobia” (Reason and Bradbury, 2001, p.12).

Analytical Perspectives: Interdisciplinarity

In regards to the analytical components of this study, data collection and analysis was guided by an interdisciplinary scaffolded approach using actor-network theory (ANT), new social movements theory (NSMs), and the nourishing networks framework (NNF). This interdisciplinary approach allowed for development of a layered understanding, applying insight from critical studies of networks, social movement dynamics, and the study of sustainable agricultural development. Research objective one aligned with ANT; research objective two aligned to NSMs; and research objective three aligned with NNF. A goal of triangulating these theories/frameworks from different scholarly perspectives was to overcome biases that might arise if data were generated from a singular perspective. Triangulation of methods and data sources provided express ways to corroborate participants’ perspectives

(Greene, 2007). Another goal of triangulation was the theoretical richness that allows for more interpretive power and social relevance (Escobar, 2008). By triangulating the submerged and visible, statements about the AFNs were more robust and credible.

Actor-network Theory. Although the polysemous nature of ANT often leads to confusion, some aspects align perfectly with my actor-network ontology. As such, it is a logical analytical tool to apply in this study. To be clear, in this study, I only operationalized two components of the enormous complexity of the totality of the theory. First, that AFNs were emerging as multifaceted, relational networks. Second, that these networks were complex assemblages of actants and actors, both human and non-human. In the case of agricultural networks, component parts might include farmers, soil, rainfall, technological apparatus (e.g. drones to monitor fields, inventory software), national politics, etc.

When Latour (1991) deployed the actor-network theory (ANT) he created a paradigm shift in “modes of existence” and thus in modes of observational research. In essence, he spurred a revolutionary stance that removed the focus from individuals and instead called for focusing on the “assemblages” made of numerous actors and actants, human and non-human, which cohere to create social change. In alignment with ANT, I rejected *a priori* propositions about important actors and actants. Approaches undertaken to find the networks of actors and actants, and to understand them came primarily from Long’s (2001) advice:

- take into account issues of social heterogeneity with a view to understanding the differential interpretations and responses to circumstances;
- identify the actors [and actants] relevant to the specific arenas of action and contestation, bearing in mind that neither actor categories nor relevance are uniformly defined;
- document ethnographically the situated social practices of actors, and the ways in which social relationships, technologies, material and other resources, discourses, and texts were deployed;
- focus on the organizing and ordering processes that were relevant to the different arenas and institutional domains;
- trace the critical sets of social relationships and networks, as well as the meaning and values, generated and negotiated within the different arenas and scenarios;
- explore the critical interfaces that depict the points of contradiction or discontinuity between the different actors’ life-worlds, include not only ‘local’ actors but also ‘intervening’ institutional actors or other stakeholders;

- elucidate the process of knowledge/power construction entailed in the arena and interfaces of contestation and negotiation, give special attention to the reconfiguration of patterns of authority and control;
- identify analytically the discursive and practical underpinnings of newly emergent social forms and connectivities (p. 240).

Long's advice, stemming from years of community research, points to the need for clarity of perception and focus. He asks that the researcher attend to deployments within situated social practices, noting the social heterogeneity that produces knowledge, and be aware of discontinuities within critical sets of relationships. I endeavored to enact this advice in interviews, field work, member check meetings, and during social mapping exercises.

New Social Movements Theory. This is the only social movement theory that speaks to how cultural politics arise from and continually affect shared meanings, frames of reference, and submerged motivations (Laraña, Johnston, & Gusfield, 1994; Melucci, 1980). Cultural politics is "the discursive process enacted when sets of social actors shaped by, and embodying, different cultural meanings and practices come into conflict with each other as they negotiate the meaning of social practices, identity, power, and subjectivity statements" (Alvarez, Dagnino, & Escobar, 1998, pp. 5-8). In this study, I employed the concept of cultural politics to assess negotiations and repertoire of actions.

Arising from the field of sociology, new social movements theory's name is a misnomer in that "new" social movements that were first noticed in the 1960s are no longer "new." Scholars gravitate to this theory when they seek to understand lifeworld issues focused on values, identity, ideas, repertoire of actions, and organizational forms. The focus can be on formal groups, non-formal assortment of actors, or even global movements. I deemed this theory as especially cogent for variations of the anti-globalization movement and cultural politics, both of which connect with the AFNs' discourse (Melucci, 1995).

Melucci (1996), the scholar who coined the term, related his theorization to Foucault's work on epochal epistemes. In what Melucci and others call the third wave of social movements, collective action took on the challenge of destabilizing power systems in manners that were decentralized. He argued that they operated in networks of relations that were differentiated and relatively autonomous. In these new spaces, attention to culture, identity,

and meaning became the fulcrum that shifted public discourse toward new social realities. He further stated that by looking anew at patterns of power and domination's composition, production, and replication, social movement networks challenged societal codes.

In deploying this theory, I kept in mind Lofland's (1995) six social "locations" for sensing and analyzing culture: values, material objects and associated iconic personages, stories told and retold with strong positive or negative emotional expression, characteristics of the movement's gatherings, social roles that specialize in the creation and dissemination of ideas, artifacts, and performances endowed with positive value, ways in which these specialized and other roles are expressed in the persona exhibited by participants. These "locations" acted as boundary markers during fieldwork, keeping me focused on important markers in the midst of cultural melee.

Nourishing Networks Framework. Emerging from value supply chain scholarship within sustainable rural development, the nourishing networks framework (NNF) was the result of a multi-year, multi-nation EU SUS-CHAIN funded study (Roep & Wiskerke, 2012). The final report created "sustainability profiles" for the 14 cases involved stating that the NNF evolved to help stakeholders determine how construction and sustainability performance of initiatives could be enhanced (Wiskerke, 2006, p.78). Further, NNF has the capacity to stimulate policy recommendations. I was drawn to this framework because the researchers showed, through rigorous qualitative research, that an actor-network approach could create a valuable analytic tool for assessment of AFNs and could achieve real world implications for the participating entities. In this research, I utilized their *a priori* categories.

The framework articulates three main constituting processes in the evolution and maintenance of AFNs: governance, embedding, and marketing. It also seeks to understand the effects of public and private support on trajectories of action. Each construct is composed of constituent elements. Governance is related to "chain innovation." The key objective is to strengthen the power of farmers. Questions are asked about new rules, roles, and arrangements. Embedding is related to "territorial embedding." This concerns the social and cultural issues with sustainable regional development. Questions about coherence with and strategies to support the social economy are asked. Lastly, marketing aligns to "chain

differentiation” with a focus on improving marketing of a supply chain (Roep, Oostindie, Brandsma, & Wiskerke, 2006). Questions place attention on increased commercial performance and distinct products.

The NNF is meant to “serve as an analytical as well as a reflexive tool...for practitioners as it can help them to position themselves, evaluate their past decisions and current abilities and create an adequate and coherent strategy” (Wiskerke, 2006, p. 79). I relate this to the community resiliency discourse. For this research project, I garnered information from participants in order to develop a profile pointing to the AFNs’ ability to support community resiliency.

Researcher Positionality

Islam and My Approach in This Study

I want to be transparent that I have cautiously navigated discussions on the most obvious cultural underlay in Turkey, that of Islam. Currently, severe tensions between fundamental Islamists, political Islamists, Kemalists, and tribal groups that practice neither Islam nor secularism have risen to contentious levels. While I acknowledge the cultural implications that come from a nation at crossroads with its spiritual identity, the intricacies of that topic are not only too extensive to complete in my dissertation, but also, I assert that a commentary on Islam is not the foundational reason for this study. Others are better qualified to provide extensive political or religious analyses of the situation. I remain firm that the purpose of my scholarship is an examination of community efforts toward AFNs. At times participants reflected on their religion and their words are included as is appropriate in telling their story.

My Stance on Research

“Locating one’s self in one’s work” (Greene, 2007, p. 27) is an ascendant expression of scholarly research. As such, I constantly consider my personal background and observe how I intertwine my axiologic, ontologic, and epistemologic beliefs. When I entered this doctoral program I did not know about the comprehension grip that neoliberalism has on our modern existence. Nor had I heard of Alberto Escobar, Alberto Melucci, Norman Long, or the other provocative thinkers I quote in this document.

What I knew was the sting of coming from conditions of multi-generational poverty and ostracization for our backwards Appalachian ways and our Native, mixed with other, blood. I remember distinctly the KKK burning their crosses near my grandpa's home. I remember my family's pride that I was the first in my family to go to college.

What I also knew was the deprivation of the people I had met in Uzbekistan when I served as a Peace Corps Volunteer. I will never forget that their harsh lives meant they died younger than they should and often in conditions that could have been prevented. And, I knew the anguish disadvantaged urban African-American and immigrant children felt from being disregarded, from the 10 years I spent living and working with them in the metro Washington DC. I often think of the youth whose homes had no food in the cupboards and who prostituted themselves with penitency.

I'm not sure if my passion for social justice, and my righteous anger at the systems of oppression, first rose from my blood line or if my sensitive heart integrated the pains of the people I worked beside. None the less, as a middle-aged, passing for White, educated American woman, I remind myself daily that my role is to use the privileges I have to address social needs and stimulate progression toward a more inclusive, socially just, and healthy world for both human and non-human beings. I orient as a scholar-activist and fashioned this study so that my work would place me in direct contact with Turkish social activists. By doing so, I hoped to extend the AFNs' discourse to include their insights. I believe that by valuing their manifestations, there is much potential for all of us (scholars and activists, farmers and consumers, Americans and the world population) to excel.

Ontologically speaking, my worldview is shaped by the belief that reality is co-created by humans and through our collective entanglements with the material, phenomenal world. In that vein, I find comfort in the interobjectivist-oriented view that "is concerned with the fundamental intertwining of all things" (Davis, 2004, p. 103). As a researcher, I uphold a belief that there is not one reality. Therefore, pursuing an ethnographically based study that incorporated actor-networks was important to me on a deep level.

Epistemologically, I aver the presence of multiple forms of knowledge and various routes by which to witness them. Again, I align to interobjectivist leanings that "what we know

is acted out in what we do, and what we do contributes to the unfolding of the cosmos” (Davis, 2004, p. 101). I approached this study not only in the role of researcher, but also as a hopeful member of the communities with which I lived. Due to my scholar-activist stance, I shared openly with participants my desire to be of service to their work while I was present in their nation, and to continue this relationship after I left.

Notwithstanding my disclosures above, my academically trained mind had created assumptions about what I might find in Turkey. I had the privilege of the insights of a Turkish colleague and a fellowship that allowed me to travel for six weeks in 2014. These advantages burnished my assumptions, which I disclose in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3

A Priori Propositions Regarding Actions and Conditions Influencing Development of Alternative Food Networks in Çanakkale, Turkey

Proposition	Supporting Literature	Data Collection Methods
Both actors and actants play pivotal roles in prompting emergence of AFNs; relational networks are emerging.	Initial fieldwork in 2014 uncovered a nature-culture connection. Worldwide, AFNs were catalyzed by human-nonhuman relations (Shiva, 2012; Warner, 2007).	Research Objective 1: Interviews, Participant observation, Informal discussions, Social Mapping, Member checking
Actors within AFNs focus on culture and identity; conceive of AFNs as a type of “new social movement”.	AFNs were the embedding of agriculture/food into the discourse of identity of people and place (Cobb, 2011; Holt-Giménez, 2011b; Lyson, 2004; Rabkin, Reti, & Farmer, 2012).	Research Objective 2: Interviews, Participant observation, Informal discussions, Member checking
Emergent AFNs are in flux but use a mix of embedding, governance and marketing strategies.	Initial fieldwork in 2014 hinted at emergent AFNs. A study of 7 European nations confirmed a mix of embedding, governance and marketing strategies (Wiskerke, 2006). Worldwide phenomena showed mixture of strategies (Goodman, Dupuis, & Goodman, 2014).	Research Objective 3: Interviews, Participant observation, Social Mapping, Informal discussions, Member checking
AFNs follow a similar development pattern to those previously found: 1) shorter distances between producers and consumers; 2) small farm size and scale and organic/holistic farming methods; 3) existence of new food purchasing venues; and 4) commitment to social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainable food production, distribution and consumption.	The classic definition of AFNs is an integrative view of movement from the globalized food system and toward a localized food system; it has enjoyed widespread appeal (Jarosz, 2008). A Turkish example documented these qualities (Atak, Tan, & Şengül, 2014).	Overarching concept of AFNs: Interviews, Participant observation, Social Mapping, Informal discussions, Member checking

Research Design

Rigor, Validity and Credibility

Rigor is the essence of scholarly pursuits. Thus, it is imperative that research rigor is planned for and maintained (Guba, 1981). Over time, scholars operationalized specific strategies to ensure rigor that will enhance the quality of qualitative research projects. (Creswell, 2012; Krefting, 1991). Two specific concerns come to mind, that of validity and credibility.

The concept of validity historically aligned with quantitative research. However, foundational researchers in action research reclaimed the term, albeit with different connotations. Despite my research project not being an action research, *per say*, I kept the guidance of John Heron, theorist of cooperative inquiry, close when I developed and facilitated this research. Heron (1996) aligned validity to the research's purpose and creation of workable solutions for the population with whom the study was conducted. In essence, he proposed that the outcomes' potentiality lends validity to the research. Furthering his pronouncement, others linked validity with quality. In this context validity/quality relies on the following assertions that research is: 1) explicit in developing a praxis of relational-participation, 2) guided by reflexive concern for practical outcomes, 3) inclusive of a plurality of knowing, 4) ensuring conceptual-theoretical integrity, 5) embracing ways of knowing beyond the intellect, 6) intentionally choosing appropriate research methods, 7) worthy of the term significant, and 8) emerging toward a new and enduring infrastructure (Bradbury & Reason, 2001, p. 454). In modest ways, I integrated these concepts of validity when I developed the methodological and analytical framework, conducted data collection, processed through data analysis iterations, and finally in the writing of this final report.

Credibility, which I argue encompasses trustworthiness, is discussed as both internal and external (Greenwood & Levin, 2007). Internal credibility seeks to ensure the knowledge gained is acceptable to the people with whom the knowledge was developed. External credibility orients to the believability of the findings by person's exterior to the research. I paid attention to both of these aspects and present the specific strategies used in this research in Figure 3.2.

Strategies	Application in This Study
Audit Trail Ensure that all research decisions are transparent for others to follow the process.	Retained all raw data, schedule of activities, and data coding strategies.
Reflexivity Reflect on how the researcher's background, views, and interests influence the research.	Developed a subjectivity statement. Kept a field journal to record personal thoughts, feelings, and biases.
Prolonged Field Experience Spend increased amount of time in the field and learning to rely on rich, long-term knowledge.	Spent 10 months in field to ensure data, analysis, and interpretations were based on more than initial hunches.
Rich, Thick Description Provide detailed information about the setting, participants and accounts that allows others to determine credibility and the transferability of findings to alternative settings.	Provided significant methodological, contextual, and demographic details. Results supported by multiple quotes and activities from participants.
Triangulation Use multiple and different data collection methods, sources, and theories to offer corroborating evidence.	Used theories, multiple methods, and analysis strategies.
Negative or Exceptional Case Contribution Look for aspects of data that do not support emerging patterns may improve credibility of the analysis.	Searched for and analyzed negatives/exceptional cases to help refine the analysis and pattern emergence.
Member Checking Review accuracy of emerging results and interpretations with participants.	Member checked data with participants during data collection to ensure information was being understood correctly; ongoing informal checking with participants
Review of Translation and Transcription	Checked data transcribed by others with a secondary reliable source.
Re-visiting Data Re-visit data and engage in a code-recode procedure on the data especially during the analysis phase.	Became increasingly familiar with data through transcribing data/checking transcripts. Re-visited data and integrated different types of data (e.g., coding/re-coding segments of transcripts).
Peer Debriefing Provide an external check of the data through sharing ongoing research decisions and emerging findings with peers.	Discussed research decisions and findings with advisory committees, graduate students, and the organization in Turkey.

Figure 3.2. Strategies for credibility of qualitative research with applications specific to this research.

Research Partners

The ground-laying for this research began with preliminary field work in 2014. I immediately became partners with Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, considered a premiere institution for agricultural studies. My first mentor affirmed that no one was doing this type of research, sociology of agriculture, in Turkey but that “problems” were making farmers and activists collectivize. She led me to a professor of agricultural economics. He became not only a dynamic partner in all aspects of this endeavor, but also a steady mentor to help with cultural adaptations. Initially, I hoped to also partner with a village-based NGO. We developed a key informants list and decided on basic mapping strategies; however, the NGO collaboration dissolved.

The Çanakkale *Tarım Müdürlüğü* (Department of Agriculture) became a strong partner. The staff were instrumental in co-creation of a key informant list, reviewed interview questions, opened doors to gatekeepers, advised on how to work within the culture, and reviewed the data along the way. They asked to be part of the social mapping process so they could learn from the experience; they also collected information during that process to help their own planning endeavors.

With each stage of the project, new partners joined. In Çanakkale city, while collaborating with leaders from Çayek and the Organic Producers NGO, they told me what assistance they needed from me. The results were creation of two research briefs. One became a professional conference presentation. They advised on how to proceed, opened doors to gatekeepers, and reviewed data throughout. In Küçükuyu, an assemblage of activists were my planning companions as I struggled with learning their diffuse network. By listening to my initial thoughts on emergent findings and by being willing to process with me, they became my steadfast “member checkers.” As I learned about the culture, they also advised on how to navigate situations and opened doors. I collated research on two topics of importance to them. On Gökçeada the immensely collaborative *belediye* (municipal government office) helped me plan a process that would work on their island and reviewed my data throughout. I shared the products developed for the other partners and also assisted with their marketing of Earth Market. On the island, I also developed a close collaboration with a farmer, business owner, and activist with whom I conversed and brainstormed with on an almost daily basis. His

partnership was pivotal to doors being opened, and he confided that our discussions gave him a depth of knowledge about the global food system that he had not previously imagined.

Research Phases

I lived in and researched the province for a period of 10 months. The project occurred in three nested phases, in an effort to develop ethnographic data that were credible and valid. Nesting is a recommended strategy that enhances the capacity to understand deeply the community involved (Small, 2011). Table 3.1 provides details on the locations, time periods, and an overview of activities that occurred during those time periods. First, key informants from across the province were interviewed. Locations identified as hot beds of activity became the focus of the next phase. Second, I embedded into three regions for six to seven weeks each for an intense period of participant observation, informal discussions, and social mapping. Lastly, I revisited each of the three regions for a two-week period with the intention to conduct member checks on the initial analysis of my data and to ask them to help determine the picture of their province that they wanted illuminated in my dissertation.

Table 3.1

Overview of the 10-month Field Period

Locations	Time Period	Activities
Phase One		
Çanakkale Province	September 16 - 30, 2016	Met with research partners to confirm plan details and created sampling lists.
Çanakkale Province	October 1 - November 30	Gained VT Committee and VT IRB approval. Key informants interviewed; transcribed. Field notes written. Analyzed interviews and field notes.
Çanakkale Province	December 1 - April 10	Confirmed phase two plans with partners. On-going recruitment of partners at proposed sites.
Phase Two		
Çanakkale City	December 7, 2016 - January 22, 2017	Participant observations, social mapping, informal discussions, creation of two research briefs for partners
Küçükkuyu	February 6 - March 19	Participant observations, social mapping, informal discussions, collated research for partners
Gökçeada	March 20 - April 24	Participant observations, social mapping, informal discussions, assist with marketing Earth Market
Phase Three		
Çanakkale City, Gökçeada, & Küçükkuyu	April 25 - June 12	Conducted member checking and peer debriefing with preliminary analysis. Present at national conference in May
Turkey	July 1 - August	Data cleaned, coded

Population, Sample, and Participants

The population for this study were individuals who lived within the Çanakkale province. Through iterative conversations, my initial partners and I codified a sampling frame based on participant criteria. Based on these criterion, we developed a key informants list for interviews:

- Participants were 18 years or older.
- Participants were part of a group (formal or informal) working on, or toward, some aspect of AFNs development or maintenance.

- Participants represented a wide range of voices; with an express desire to gain the insights of both females and males from various socio-economic statuses, ethnicities, backgrounds, and political orientations. Participants from all regions within the province were sought.
- Participants felt inclined toward working with an American researcher with developing Turkish speaking ability; usage of a translator was required.

Sample. Common thought is that the sample “must be large enough to assure that most or all of the perceptions that might be important are uncovered, but at the same time if the sample is too large data becomes repetitive and, eventually, superfluous” (Mason, 2010, para 2). For interviews, I sought persons from each of the regions in addition to key leaders located in the provincial capital. I stopped when saturation occurred and no new perceptions were forthcoming. The criteria for the focus areas, where the participant observation period took place, was that the region had to have an identifiable group, organization, collective, etc. that was working toward possible successful AFNs. As a strategy to integrate and achieve an emic, or insider’s, perspective, I did not restrict my daily activities based on a codified sampling frame. Instead, I followed the cogent advice of Latour, Long, and Melucci to follow the actor and allow the networks to emerge before me.

Participants. Participants came from across the province and included a range of ages and socioeconomic backgrounds. I explicitly sought the thoughts of both urban and village residents. I unequivocally worked to ensure participation from women. Table 3.2 provides details for those that participated in interviews, member checking events, peer debriefing, and social mapping. I did not quantify participants with whom I interacted during the participant observation periods.

Table 3.2

Descriptive Data on Participants

Method	Description of Participants
Interviews	21 total (14 men, 7 women). Represented associations, agricultural consultants, agricultural professors, cooperatives, farmers, local government (belediye), NGOs, hotel/restaurant/store owners, and social activists.
Member Checking	35 total (18 men, 17 women). Represented associations, agricultural consultants, business owners, chamber of agricultural commerce (Zirrat Odesi), consultants, consumers, cooperatives, farmers, food producers, Department of Agriculture, hotel/restaurant/store owners, local government, NGOs, social activists, and village leaders (muhtars).
Peer Debriefing	4 total (3 women, 1 man). Represented college professors and research associates.
Social Mapping	22 total (15 men, 7 women). Represented associations, agricultural consultants, cooperatives, farmers, Department of Agriculture, NGOs, restaurant owners, social activists, and village leaders.

Data Collection

This ethnographic study was designed to collect and analyze qualitative data. The three phases allowed for an iterative compilation of data, which drilled down in order to develop data that were credible and valid. Additional data were gleaned during peer debriefings. The strength of using these dialectic methods was that “the fieldworker achieves a type of objectivity through intersubjectivity, the method of connecting as many different perspectives on the same data as possible. These multiple sources encourage the fieldworker to interpret patterns and interrelationships” (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012, p. 111).

Phase One: Semi-structured Interviews. Interviews are one of the most widely used qualitative data methods (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and are used “to help understand the experiences people have and the meaning they make of them” (Ary, Jacobs, & Sorensen, 2010, p. 438). Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted with 21 participants. I initially created pre-formulated, open-ended questions from the analytical framework that guided this research; then, initial partners reviewed questions and made slight alterations. In the end, 17 questions

revolved around four themes: existing actant/actors; practices/promotions of these actors; socio-cultural interfaces of these actors; and challenges to or reinforcements of the global food system. One additional question asked, “What other groups or organizations (etc.) do you know that I should talk to?” (Appendix B Interview Questions) The Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved all of these questions.

A bilingual translator was present for most of the interviews. A few participants were fluent English speakers and consented to conducting the interviews in English. Interviews were conducted in locations and at times convenient to the participants. Written consent forms, in Turkish, were reviewed by participants at the beginning of each session and verbal consent was obtained (See Appendix C Interview Consent). Due to concerns with confidentiality and safety, IRB did not require a signed form. Prior to the interview beginning, a handout about the research purpose and objectives, along with a definition of AFNs was provided to participants (see Appendix D AFNs Handout). I also asked if they would continue the relationship by participating in member checks. I welcomed them to continue connecting with me regarding the research process. All interviews, except one, were audio-taped. The average length was 50 minutes. Interviews were transcribed first based on the interpreter’s statements. A second bilingual translator reviewed and edited these for authenticity, ensuring the transcripts were verbatim, based on the participant’s voice. The edited versions were used in data analysis.

Phase Two: Participant Observation and Social Mapping. During the participant observation period, I documented 625 direct contact hours with participants (Çanakkale city, 171 hours; Gökçeada, 200; Küçükuyu, 254). Participant observation is the premiere ethnographic method that allows the researcher to understand and interpret the behavior of a culture-sharing group (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Repeated interactions over a period of time were crucial to building trust with participants. This allowed me to develop data that accurately record observations, feelings, and perceptions (Dowler, 2001). In each of the locales where I stayed, I integrated into the daily life of participants by going along with them on their activities including farming, harvesting, processing foods in their homes and centers, attending community meetings, shopping in markets and grocery stores, joining social gatherings, etc. Gatekeepers were aware of my dual role of participant and observer. They communicated this

information to community members who were told the principles of consent and that they could refuse interaction with me. While in the field, I jotted notes when the occasion allowed. I took photographs and collected brochures, handouts, or business cards as artifacts that I later used to jog my memory and to develop more complete field note narratives. I typed daily field notes and developed weekly “summary commentaries.” Along the way, I wrote, “in-process” memos based on advice that “careful thought and preliminary, tentative analyses can suggest finer-grained aspects of interactions to focus on, new scenes and topics to be investigated, additional questions to be asked and follow up, and interesting comparisons to notice” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 123). I also kept track of Turkish pop culture articles, TV shows, and YouTube clips that related to my research topic. In its entirety, the field notes generated almost 200 pages of text.

Social mapping is a participatory approach that arose from anthropology traditions. Participants work together to create a map showing features of their community, including geographic and social elements. In reality, only the participants’ imagination of what they can represent limits the process. It is “recognized as the best way to get acquainted with many features of the local community” (Pelto, 2013, p. 45). Generally, social mapping is recommended at the beginning of a study period. However, due to complex issues of mistrust in the Turkish culture, I was unsuccessful in gaining approval from partners to conduct these at the beginning of the intense regional participant observation periods. This is not uncommon, and has been documented in other cultures with suspicious overlays (Pelton, 2013, p.82). Near the end of each period, after the six to seven weeks at the site, I had gained enough trust and leaders saw that social mapping might benefit their communities. They asked community members to attend. And people trusted me enough to participate.

Three social mapping sessions, approved by IRB, were conducted based on Pelto’s (2013) outline (Appendix E Social Mapping Protocol). A key aspect was that only general, open-ended questions were prepared ahead of time and the process proceeded fluidly based on the reflexive nature of the participants. At the end, we collectively interviewed the map to learn what it told about the community. Each social mapping exercise lasted approximately 90

minutes. Written consent forms, in Turkish, were reviewed at the beginning of each session (Appendix F Social Mapping Consent). IRB did not require a signed consent form.

Prior to beginning the social mapping, I provided a handout about the research purpose and objectives, along with a definition of AFNs to participants (Appendix D AFNs Handout). I asked if they would continue working with me, specifically for the member checks, but I also welcomed them to continue connecting with me regarding the research process. All social mapping exercise were audio-taped. Bilingual translators were available at all three of the sessions. Photos of the finished map and legend were taken. In keeping with my desire that the participants benefit from the research, they retained the original maps. After the session finished, I immediately sat with the translator to debrief and review the tape. Notes were typed but only exceptional quotes were typed verbatim due to the over-talking and complex nature of the group sessions. I typed a summary commentary of each session and used these in data analysis.

Phase Three: Member Checks and Peer Debriefings. Often regarded as a way to ensure rigor in qualitative research, in the most simplistic format, member checks are opportunities for reviewing accuracy of emerging results and interpretations with participants (Gulati, Paterson, Medves, & Luce-Kapler, 2011, p. 550). They can also assist with development of internal credibility, producing knowledge that is accepted by the group generating it (Greenwood & Levin, 2007, p. 67). I chose to incorporate a participatory paradigm as a way to continue developing partnership, delegating power, and moving toward more citizen control (Arnstein, 1969). Initially, I developed handouts that showed concepts I believed were emerging from the interview and social mapping data. During sessions, I expressed that their review of these nascent concepts was vital and that I wanted the end product to be useful to them. As we reviewed these handouts, participants' comments altered my preliminary analysis and provided a deeper understanding of the cultural nuances. I asked explicitly for participants to tell me what story they thought was emerging from the data. On a few occasions, participants refuted previous data. When this occurred, I entered their comments into the member checking dataset. I also expressly asked what story they thought would best represent their community. The result of these meetings was a greater amplification of my initial thoughts. With each

iteration, I gained the sense that we were developing a sense of community pride. I felt that this led to an accumulation of participant agency as well as external credibility, “knowledge capable of convincing someone who did not participate in the inquiry that the results are believable” (Greenwood & Levin, 2007, p. 67).

I conducted 12 public member checking meetings with groups and 12 private meeting, for key informants who did not want to participate with the public, member checking sessions in the three focus regions of the province. Sessions lasted on the average 60 minutes. Written consent forms, in Turkish, were reviewed at the beginning of each session (See Appendix G Member Check Consent). IRB did not require a signed consent. Prior to beginning the member checking, a handout about the research purpose and objectives, along with a definition of AFNs was provided to participants. I also welcomed them to continue connecting with me regarding the research process. All sessions were audio-taped. Bilingual translators were available at most of the sessions. However, some participants were bilingual and consented to meeting with only me. I typed these notes but only exceptional quotes were typed verbatim. These member checking notes were used in data analysis.

I also sought the insights of peers at the university. I held four meetings after the member checks were completed. We reviewed the processes by which I collected data, an overview of participants, emergent concepts, and confounding issues that came up in the member checking sessions. Peer debriefings are another way to ensure rigor and trustworthiness of research (Gulati, Paterson, Medves, & Luce-Kapler, 2011, p. 550). In this context, peers gave further details regarding the confusing cultural aspects that still unsettled my analysis. I typed comments into my field notes and used these in data analysis.

Data Analysis

Ethnographic analysis is a discursive and iterative process. However, at the end of the field study period, writing key components of interest into memos must turn toward formalized methods that can “produce coherent, focused analysis of aspects of the social life that have been observed and recorded, analyses that are comprehensible to readers who are not directly acquainted with the social world at issue” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 171). In order to accomplish this, I started with the generic formula espoused by Corbin and Strauss (2008): 1)

explore the data by reading through data code sets and writing memos; 2) label segments of data and develop codes; 3) develop themes by aggregating similar codes; 4) connect and interrelate themes; and 5) create a narrative to articulate the research purpose. However, I believed these sweeping statements were missing some steps; thus I looked to ethnographic experts for deeper illustrations.

Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) clarified ways to enhance rigor and ensure credibility of analysis. After open coding, a researcher should create “code memos.” They stated, “ethnographers also write initial code memos to identify and explore a general pattern or theme that cuts across a number of disparate incidents or events” (p. 187). In these memos, a researcher should explicate when a particular pattern occurred and what it involved (p. 188). This step flowed into focused coding and engaging the variations to comprehend “the conditions under which these variations occur” (p. 192). Subsequent to focused coding, Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw recommended development of “integrative memos.” “The central task is to develop theoretical connections between the field note excerpts and the conceptual categories they imply. One major issue is deciding which theme to make the primary focus, which to include as subthemes, and which to exclude entirely” (p. 195-196). Figure 3.1 shows the steps taken in this study.

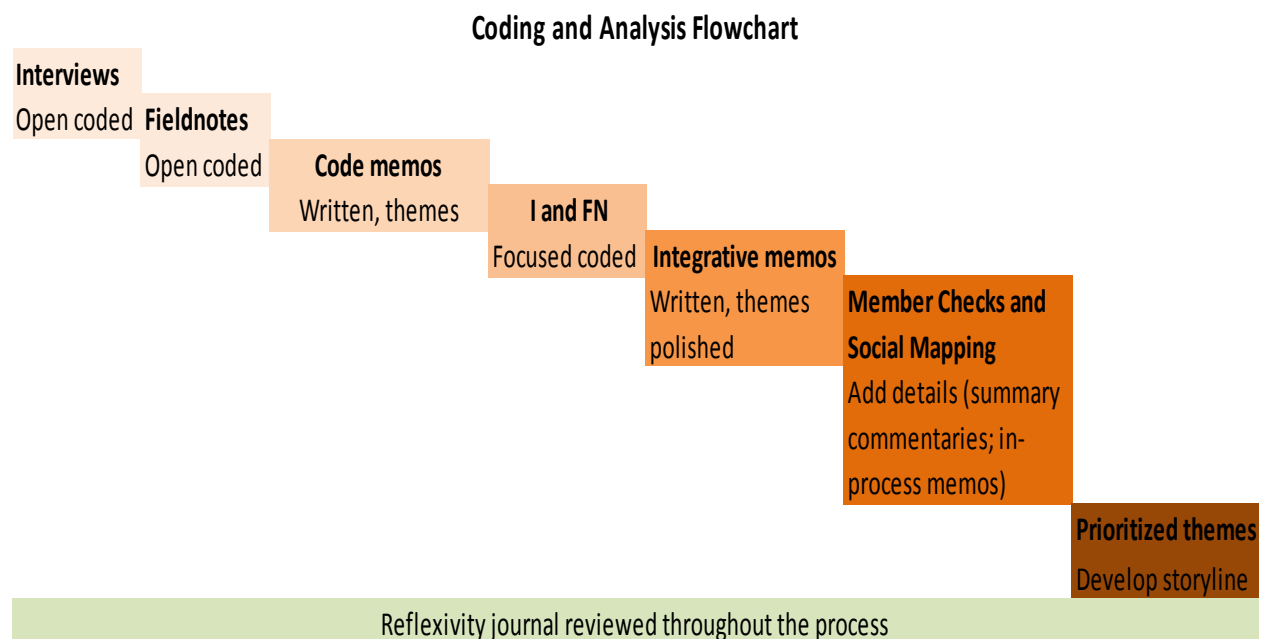


Figure 3.1. Flowchart showing the data analysis process followed in this research project.

Step-by-step Coding. My first step was to read all transcribed interviews as one complete data set; and to read all social mapping notes and view all maps as a complete data set. I wrote memos in the margins. Then, I inductively open coded the interviews. This was done by reading line-by-line and highlighting segments of text that revealed connections to the research purpose (Charmaz, 2006). I kept this analysis in an Excel spreadsheet. The reason for this was lack of consistent internet while traveling in Turkey and inability to use data management system software. The results from the open coding were a long series of segments of text, which I then tagged with shorter codes, thus creating a broad range of emergent concepts. These were reviewed during member checks. Following the member checks, with their comments in mind, I reread the transcripts and revised accordingly.

At the end of the study, I read the typed field notes and in-process memos as a complete corpus, with intense reflection; additional in-process memos were written. I then inductively open coded the field notes, writing notes in the margins. Next, I compared these to the interview data codes. The initial interview data analysis had sat untouched for months and the process of revisiting them after reading the entirety of the field notes and in-process memos caused me to again alter codes as necessary. Thereafter, by using constant comparative analysis of interview and field note data sets, I crafted a code memo document (Charmaz, 2006). This is considered a “retroductive” approach (Bulmer, 1979; Katz, 1988), having both elements of inductive and deductive analysis in that the development of themes that came from intimately open coding data are subsequently used to focus code the data (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 173). During this time, explicit and implicit meanings of each code were resolved.

The next step was placing datasets (fields notes by locality (n=4) and 20 interviews) into MaxQDA 12.2.1 (VERBI GmbH, 2016), a computer-aided, data management, coding, excerpting, and analysis software program. This software allowed for integration of artifacts (research papers, pop culture writings, YouTube clips, photographs, etc.) and had the capacity to create various reports and visuals.

Subsequently, I focus coded field notes and interviews. This led to emergent thematic narratives for each of the research questions. After that pivotal step, I constructed integrative

memos. These “provide the first occasion to begin to explicate contextual and background information that a reader who is unfamiliar with the setting would need to know in order to follow the key ideas and claims” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 193). Finally, I assimilated details from summary commentaries and in-process memos of member checks and social mapping exercises into the integrative memos. Throughout this entire analytical process, I was in constant consideration of my reflexivity journal, and the asides and commentaries that arose within my field notes but which I did not expressly code. Appendix H (Data Mapping) provides a schematic of the data analysis development from beginning to end.

Locating the Study

After traveling a significant portion of the country in 2014, it became apparent that the most appropriate placement for my research was the Çanakkale province. A key element in my decision was confirming that a village-based NGO and the provincial university both wanted to be partners in co-creating this study. Another key element was the robust agricultural base supported by the diverse geography. Çanakkale province is in the Western portion of Turkey. The Dardanelles Strait bisects the land mass so that part is European and part is Asian. The area enjoys a temperate Mediterranean climate; however, the Kaz Dağları (Goose Mountains) in the middle of the province rise to 1767 meters (5797 feet) and experience harsh winter conditions. Inland from the mountains are alluvial plains of rich soil and numerous waterways. The Marmara Sea borders Çanakkale on the north, the western portion borders the Aegean Sea, and the southern portion borders the Edremit Bay. The province boasts two islands, Bozcaada and Gökçeada. Çanakkale province is 362.09 square miles (by comparison that is 58 square miles more than New York City; roughly about 1/3 of the size of Rhode Island). It has 11 regional government bodies.

Similar to many areas of Turkey, in recent years, the population of Çanakkale increasingly urbanized while the village population dwindled. In 2016, of the approximately 511,790 residents in the province, 58% lived in cities (Regional Statistics Database, 2016). According to government reports, between the years of 2009 and 2014, the cities gained 42,000 residents, with a simultaneous reduction in *muhtarlıklar* (village-based governments) from 664 units to 650 units. The villages suffered greatly from greying populations and poverty. Table 3.1 highlights basic demographics of the province and the three site locations.

Table 3.1

Basic Demographics of Study Areas

Demographics	Locations			
	Çanakkale Province	Çanakkale City	Gökçeada	Ayvacık region (location of Küçükkuyu area)
Population (2014 estimate)	511,790	157, 657 - 186,116	8644	Population: 32,187 – 33,187; 9900 residents in Küçükkuyu area
Land mass	3759 sq. miles	362.1 sq. miles	107.7 sq. miles	345 sq. miles
Income	\$8954 (2011)	--	--	--
Percentage in cities	Approximately 58%	Approximately 64 - 75%	Approximately 72%	Approximately 26%
Percentage who conduct agriculture	Approximately 38%	Approximately 11%	Approximately 12%	Approximately 50%
Number of registered farmers	62,280 per Chamber of Commerce, 192,543 per Department of Agriculture	4200	3900 (includes Bozcaada, Eceabat Gelibolu, and Gökçeada)	6850
Number of active farmers	34,933	2500	3900	4500
Organic foods production area and registered producers	592 producers	11,22.28 decare (277.32 acres); 8 farmers	8029.32 decare (1984.09 acres); 64 beekeepers, 189 farmers, 34 ranchers	23,756.9 decare (5870.46 acres); 180 farmers, 39 ranchers
Registered female farmers	9381	--	--	--

Note. Sources: Turkish Statistics Institute. (n.d.; 2013; 2016; n.d.); Ministry of Agriculture (2014); T.C. Gıda Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanlığı. (2015).

Agriculture remains a major industry in the province. Overall, 38% of the province's population was registered as conducting some form of agriculture; down from 41% in 2009 (Ministry of Agriculture Annual Report, 2015). The majority of plant based agricultural products, 77.9%, came from land crops such as clover, fava beans, corn (both for grain and for silage), and rice. Olive production was 9.7% of agricultural products. Vegetable production accounted for 6.1%. Orchards and vineyards rounded out the production with 7.5%. Animal husbandry and beekeeping were major agricultural productions as well. Goats and sheep were the most common (over 661,000 animals). However, with rising urban incomes and export contracts, cows were increasingly more commonplace (over 212,000 animals) as were animals within the poultry family (over 30,000 animals). Beekeeping was popular, with over 62,000 hives registered (Annual Agricultural Report: Çanakkale, 2015).

Leaders of Çanakkale province's Department of Agriculture considered themselves leaders in organic agriculture. In 2014, there were 592 farmers registered as organic. Additionally, the governmental funding stream, Çatak, gave 644,231.55 TL (approximately \$214,743.85) in support between 2011 and 2014 (Annual Agricultural Report: Çanakkale, 2015).

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to detail the structural aspects of the study. Actor-network ontology grounded the methodology. That merged with my epistemic stance honoring knowledge rising from ethnography and participatory elements. The analytical, interdisciplinary framework, was composed of actor-network theory, new social movement theory, and nourishing networks framework. In the section on positionality I related my thoughts on analyzing the Islamic imprint on the study site and disclosed how my background influences my research. I outlined my assumptions. I reported on how I attained credibility and validity in this study. I dissected the methods in sections related to the research plan and ethnographic data analysis and concluded with remarks on the locations.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Elmek olmazsa sofrta bezenmez.
(Without bread, the dinner table is not complete.)
Mevlana Celaddiin-I Rumi

This chapter provides ethnographic findings of the locales and the alternative food networks (AFNs) where the study took place. I wrote these narratives in alignment with critical ethnographic reporting methods (Madison, 2012). This approach provides glimpses into the AFNs intensity as expressed by the participants', and my own, lived experiences within them. In this text, I am solidly placed as a participant observer, complete with reflexive questioning and emotions. The data reported were derived from interviews, member checks, participant observations written into field notes, and social mapping exercises.

The layout for this chapter is that first, I provide an overview of the Çanakkale province, and then delve into findings from each of the three regions/areas: Çanakkale City, Gökçeada, and Küçükkuuyu. This format orients the reader to the localities and emphasizes the diversity of actors and actants, socio-cultural interfaces, and strategies represented within the fieldsites. However, it must be registered that it is virtually impossible to deeply describe how each actant, actor, socio-cultural interface, and strategy circulated in the AFNs. In consideration of conciseness, I present only highlights of each region's conjunctural elements; the absence of a constituent in a narrative does not imply that it was not present in the regions. For a full accounting of these constituent elements, see Appendix I (Findings by Objectives).

In the discussion of the regional sections, I use the following organization: 1) provide ethnographically rich details about the region/area and the AFNs I researched; 2) underscore aspects of the AFNs using one of the analytical tools employed in this study, 3) summarize the constituent parts of each location's AFNs.

Çanakkale Province: Land of Heritage and Tourism

I had taken a local *dolmuş* (an inner-city transport minibus) to the city's *otogar* (bus station) and transferred to a regional bus that sat 20 or so passengers. We rose quickly from the city into the mountain range. Small villages gave way to vast valleys with small farms and in the

distance I saw the remains of an ancient fortress. We speed by, seeing no signs, and about 45 minutes later I got off the bus at an ancient *cesme* (water fountain) that marked the road that winds down to a series of isolated villages. After Burak picked me up we descended through pine tree forests, passed the small village which I was told were descendants of the darker skin colored Turks, and finally arrived at Armutçuk village and the headquarters of the eco-agriculture non-profit Agrida. After we packed snacks consisting of tomatoes, cucumbers, green peppers, olives, goat cheese, and almonds, we jumped into his late 1960s model jeep and wound our way out of Armutçuk.

As we bumped along the narrow, cobble stone road, I wondered about the organic nectarine farm we were going to visit. How did people decide to start a farm this far away from cities and how did they bring their produce to the markets? We had gone about 30 minutes when all of a sudden the jeep came to a screeching halt and Burak jumped out, motioning for me to come see two large lumps of stones that marked the entrance to a country road. Despite being deep in the hinterlands, these stones had no weeds around them. It appeared that people regularly removed any growth. "These, these babies, these are from the Byzantines. The people came here to crush their grapes. It would had been the center of a large complex," he explained, spreading his arms out toward the valley. "That's what we know. You can see where they put their insignia," he said as he pointed to a petroglyph. I realized in that moment the immensity of where I was standing. This land has always been agricultural. The towns and centers have moved over the ages, but the memories are held in this place.

On these lands mighty trees fell and became petrified. From these shores the Greek gods launched a war and Troy perished. On these lands Aristotle held sway over the philosophical elite of his day. From here the Ottoman Empire plotted to take the seas, even launching campaigns for modern day Malta. On these lands, Mustafa Kemal, Atatürk, rose among the ranks of the mightiest commanders in the long and fierce battles of WWI and claimed a new nation was birthed.

This is the Çanakkale Province, a coastal area of western Turkey located six hours from Istanbul. The Turks and Greeks living in this region will not allow their history to be lost. Nor will they allow a passerby to be on their lands without telling these stories of battles and successes.

And passersby come in droves. Turkey in general, and this province specifically, capitalize on their assets that drive tourism, both internal and external. The money comes, but so do many challenges to their heritage, environment, and lifestyles.

Alternative Food Networks Rise? Focusing on Three Potentials

I came to the Çanakkale province to investigate the potential that AFNs (Jarosz, 2008) were emerging as a form of resistance to the globalized agro-industrial system. Over three months I traveled the province and, through key informants, learned of three regions of the province where collective food-based actions were emerging. Interlocutors informed that in Çanakkale *merkezi* (city) a network hub surfaced and then splintered into many factions. People told me to pay attention to the area around Küçükkuyu, in the Ayvacık region, which was humming with social activists working on “food societies.” And, people proudly shared the story of Gökçeada’s thriving public-private network and ecovillage networks.

These were the only areas that promised an alignment with the comprehensive definition I used for AFNs: 1) shorter distances between producers and consumers; 2) small farm size and scale and organic or holistic farming methods...; 3) the existence of food purchasing venues such as food cooperatives, farmers’ markets, CSAs, and local food-to-school linkages; and 4) a commitment to the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainable food production, distribution, and consumption (Jarosz, 2008, p. 231). Based on those insights I decided to embed into these regions. What follows in this chapter are ethnographic narratives about the regions and the AFNs in those region. I share stories about the actors and actants, the socio-cultural interfaces that they negotiated, and transactions of cultural politics. I illuminate what I learned about their strategies. At the end of each section, I summarize how the AFNs relate to the study objectives.

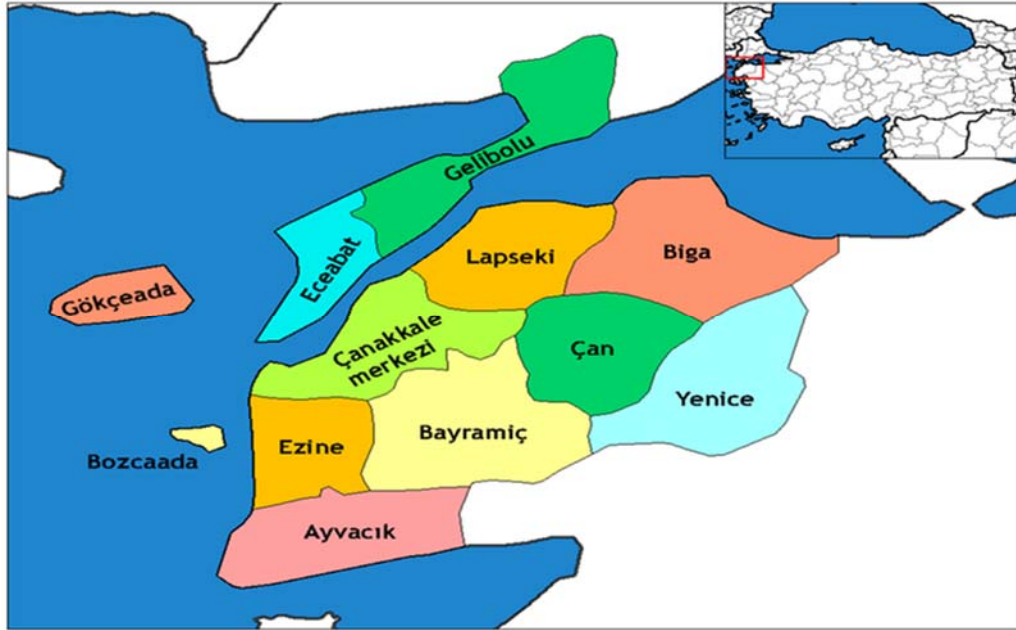


Figure 4.1. Map of Çanakkale province with regions highlighted. Open source image retrieved from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/22/%C3%87anakkale_districts.png

Çanakkale City: A Thriving University City

I texted my friend Merve, “Want to go out? Where? When?”

“Um, for food or drinks or dancing? What?” she texted.

“Let’s say music. Live music. I want live *halk müzik!*” I typed back.

“OK. 9 p.m. at Eylül Café”, “Or maybe Felikia bar”, “Or we can go see what is happening at the *liman*,” she suggested.

That’s how it went during my time in Çanakkale *merkezi* (city). There were cafes, dance clubs, museums, and all the fun things you expect in a city. I could find live music, especially the traditional *halk* (people) music nightly. It was my good fortune to have a slew of energetic, civically engaged friends with whom to socialize. Even though we had only recently met, they accepted me into their social activities.

The city’s driving forces were the large provincial university, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart (ÇOMÜ), and the continual flow of tourists from inside and outside of Turkey. Large ferry boats, sometimes with as many as 15 tourist buses and 20 or more cars, regularly traversed to and from *iskelle* (city pier) to the towns of Kilitbahar, Eceabat, and Lapseki. The city was thriving. The local government worked hard to bring in tourists and new residents. Everywhere there were new developments with “for sale” signs. City parks were well-maintained with boldly

colored children's playgrounds. A new community gardening area boasted a large wooden amphitheater. Public art and free concerts were common.

Yet amidst obvious signs of rapid development and cosmopolitan lifestyles, Turks still solidly held their traditions. During the Islamic celebration of Eid Kurban (Abraham's sacrifice) the city virtually shut down and residents flocked to mosques to participate in centuries old animal sacrifices and gifting the meats to the poor in the community. In 2015, the holy week was in mid-September and I was living inside a high-rise apartment complex. Frequent Arabic prayers echoed from the local mosques for days. One late afternoon, a knock on the door came, and a neighbor from another floor offered me the traditional porridge type food called *aşura*. Sadly, at that time, my Turkish was not good enough to understand what she said. When my housemate arrived home, she said that this food is a prayer that you never be hungry and is a tradition for this Eid.

Across from the city piers Gallipoli battlefields stared into the face of residents and tourists. This land was a place of torturous WWI battles a little over 100 years ago, where tens of thousands died and many were buried. The Dardanelles Strait, which bisected the land into European and Asian soil, suffered from hundreds of submarine fights, and to this day boat pieces, bullets, chains, and other remnants of war are still dredged. This history affected every aspect of the city, either visibly or in public memory. Annually, in April the city explodes with Australians. The Republic Square, resplendent with flags and wreathes, is the site of a series of events that spread over a week. The official memorial day, called Anzac Day, honors the Australian soldiers who aided the Ottoman Empire and who courageously died fighting against the Allied forces. The Turks often boasted that they have never been defeated, but it is the moving stories of the fight for Gallipoli that disclose how close they came to losing the Dardanelles, which are the gateway to Istanbul. For this reason, Turks in this area felt a close affinity to all things Australian.

On the outskirts of the city, just past the new developments, small villages were full of residents who bused into the city each day for work. In those spaces, people maintained home gardens and a handful of goats, sheep, or chickens. It was in those villages that I found social activists who spoke of their anger at the political situation and restrictions on civil liberties. One

couple characterized their social network: it “consists of other ecologically minded people, many artists, and people wanting to change society.” Another couple proudly showed me their books on neoliberalism and world-wide shifts in democracy. “I am aware of neoliberal policies which support big business. They diminish the government’s role in social welfare, and they place the burden on locals,” the husband told me over a late night plate of fruits.

A few miles beyond these small villages, animals still roamed freely into the hills surrounding the city. On numerous occasions, city-dwelling friends invited me to go with them to their family lands after work or on the weekends. Their urge to remove themselves from the confines of the city structures and breath in nature was palatable. One participant, Muhammed, was a multi-generational rancher who now lived four days a week in the city. He hired a small family to manage his animals so he and his wife could work better paying city jobs. But, each Thursday he looked forward to returning to his farm. He explained the undeviating belief in the need of animals, and humans, to roam freely, “In our opinion, and in Turkey, small ruminants have to go outside and stay in meadows, grasslands. It needs to go and come. You need the shepherd men to go. Maybe they go around for 30 kilometers a day.” He also explained that only in the last few years have investors begun to place animals into shelters. He said citizens looked upon this with disdain and apprehension.

AFNs Emerge; Too Many Viewpoints Splinter Them

Many people in the city knew the group called Çayek and many of those attributed its beginnings to one woman, a mother of twins, who frustrated with her search for wholesome food, gathered with others to create a hub for alternative food networks. But that’s only the veneer of the story, and Cayek was only one of the AFNs.

As Ebru and I sat in a coffee shop that was decorated with antique French styled furniture, listening to soft jazz, she explained how Çayek formed. She was mistrusting of local farmers, having heard rumors of them using harmful chemical pesticides. Her suspicions solidified when a vendor casually told her she could use DDT on vegetables without problems. Ebru was equally disappointed in the new grocery store, Kipa, which had no organic foods. Online she found the Çanakkale Permaculture Group and met the leader, Kerem. He led her to people who grew their own organic foods. The group had activities for children and they discussed “ecological fit.” To her, that meant living right on the earth and with others.

She met members of Buğday Ekolojik Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (Buğday Ecological Living Support NGO aka Buğday NGO) and they gave funding “to look at the legal solutions to problems that farmers face, to look at models and solutions, and to do outreach by sharing this information,” she explained. In March 2013, she began meeting ecological farmers and catalogued products they could sell. But, there was internal conflict in Buğday and she quit the project. Later the list was completed and the farmers’ contact information and product lists were placed on the Çayek website. A glance at the professionally designed website showed their mission and value statements, their non-hierarchical leadership structure, and a list of 15 farmers. It also linked me to their facebook page, which had over 1500 members.

Ebru, Kerem, and about 20 people from the permaculture group were interested in creating a “food group” that would buy directly from the farmers Ebru had found. She met others who were working on collecting heritage food recipes. This newly forming group met every two weeks, first learning about an existing food network in Ankara, the DBBB (Doğal Besin, Bılıça Beslenme, Natural Food Consciousness and Nutrition). As the group became more cohesive they learned about participatory and consensus processes. “The outcome was Çayek, a small city network with three goals: 1) preserve the small farms, 2) keep the distance short, and 3) create a networked community,” Ebru chronicled. Other farmers, consumers, and community leaders started coming to the meetings from different localities.

In the beginning everyone was excited about the potentials for a AFNs hub that was region specific. Each month Çayek asked farmers to attend a meeting and tell the story of their farm and their products. “The number one reason was to raise consciousness of people in this city and then to see this spread,” Ebru conveyed.

Early faultlines appeared around the enacting the process of nonhierarchical group decision making, which was unfamiliar to most. Ebru felt that in the beginning most people kept looking to her to decide or fix things. She was the *de facto* leader, even though she resisted. Over time this caused tensions.

In 2014, a group of members sought sponsorship, and the local government offered Çayek a building at no charge. People came together in small groups to decorate it and “make it our own.” On certain days farmers brought food items and members came to purchase or

barter goods. At other times, members picked items up from farmers and transported these to the headquarters. Büpra, a twenty-ish year old member, reminisced about the social aspects of Çayek's headquarters. It was there that she first learned about factory farming, the dangers of agricultural chemicals, the benefits of organic production, and similar themes. She made many like-minded friends over the course of two years.

"We could had gone on longer but..." Ebru shared, paused with obvious sadness, and then continued "from every head another voice was coming." She said the ecological group TEMA (Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele Ağaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma Vakfı, The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats) was one of the worst nay-sayers. This shocked her so deeply that she lost friends over the topic. "Çayek reached out to them because they are a very active group but they said they couldn't add food as a focus because there was so much negative happening to the environment and this was their first responsibility. And they claimed that Çayek was only for the rich people and didn't care about peasants or the actual environment," she expounded. She felt defeated and pondered, "Why must it be one group or the other group, why can the groups not help each other?"

On several occasions, I met with Kerem. His perspectives brought a different dimension to the conundrum. He believed there was an issue with age and status divisions. "Some members were older and had money. Others were younger with no money. So from the beginning there was a disconnect about how to get food to people," he clarified. The younger members of the permaculture group were pressuring him to do community activities, so they started holding swaps to trade food and all kinds of things. He started conversations with the local department of parks about developing community gardens. He was met with enthusiasm and was given the go ahead, dependent on the next round of elections. Ultimately, the politician lost the election and the garden idea faltered. He said, Ebru and others accused him of "going off on his own" and it really hurt his desire to do anything else. With a sense of grief in his voice, he said, "in the beginning Çayek gave me a sense of community. But then it became about money and power over people. Some people wanted to socialize with like minds and some wanted to sell and build a business."

Beyza, one of the initial organizers with an interest in preserving heritage foods, brought up another serious topic. Whereas many of the producers were cottage industries, producing out of their homes with the hope to supplement their incomes, some produced on a larger scale and held organic certificates. After a period of time, the organic producers complained that they didn't make enough money and that no one was marketing on their behalf. Then one day, "the Ministry of Finance come there and said that it's not legal what you are doing because there is no registration," Beyza said in almost a whisper. Then, stronger voiced she said that many people felt it was the organic producers' complaining to the government that caused this to happen. At that juncture, the government took away Çayek's storefront.

Kerem further described that time-period. The organic producers were getting more bellicose with each meeting. He said, "The mission cracked during a meeting. It didn't end at the meeting, but it went downhill fast. Nobody talked about it though." At this juncture, Ebru said, "Some complained that they didn't know where the group was going. Would they become an NGO, a corporation, or stay loose groups of friends?" Ebru contemplated the day she realized that she and Beyza were the main people picking up goods and making deliveries, "This is crazy. I'm helping these people make money but they are just attacking me all the time." She felt she was combatting so many topics at once; too many social roadblocks and constant criticism. Her energy toward collaboration waned.

Close to 20 of the organic producers asked the local agricultural consultant to help them create a legal entity: Organikçiler Dernick (Organic Producers NGO). The local government gave them a storefront, without charge, in an upscale part of town near many tourist establishments. Through informal agreements, producers placed their products in the store. They hired a university student to open the shop a few hours a day. The agricultural consultant stated that after about one year, "They come to me complaining that they have no customer. They are not being paid and they don't trust the woman and man who stepped up, as volunteers, to run the shop."

Some members of Çayek continued to host small activities, such as picnics or bringing the small home producers together for swaps, but it was undeniable that the energy had disintegrated. A group of members left, going on to establish Slow Food İda and promote

events focused on creating heritage foods and linkages to small, heritage producers. Emre, a socialpreneur who had refurbished a collapsed village, created a network only with Bayramiç farmers that he knew; most of whom wanted their names to be kept private out of fear of taxes. An online purchasing platform, Toprak Ana (Mother Soil), sent notices to members and some of the producers chose that as a new format for their production. However, members such as Sibel refused, stating, “I don’t want to buy from the computer and then wait for the food to arrive.”

In late 2015, the Organic Producers NGO elected Mert, an agricultural economics professor and producer, to be their president. He was astonished when he could not find documents about their business processes or procedures. The financial records were jumbled; the store was 6000TL (approximately \$2000) in debt; and products were spoiling on the shelf. Calling the members, in hopes of holding a strategic planning meeting, only furthered his unease. Most of them said they had no desire to work to improve the NGO. “They don’t want to do any work to sell their products but they don’t want to hire someone to do this work,” he explained. When I asked why he thought they held this mindset, he explained the long-term cultural thought that the government was to take care of farmers and how this had made farmers dependent on government assistance.

The more I followed these networks, the more obvious it became that people could not look past their differences enough to collaborate. Ebru said that to her Çayek was a “meeting point where you could look into the eyes and understand each other. Did people have the same ecological intentions? That was the key.” Yet, when I met with a group of the organic farmers, their message was vastly different. “Çayek’s biggest failure was in not requiring all producers to have the organic certification,” one man said. Another elaborated, “Simply saying you are ecological or permaculture and expecting people to trust you is not adequate and not a way to do modern business.” “Serious farmers and sellers need to have certifications. How do we get the consumer to respect and trust the organic certification? That is an important question that we must learn,” advocated a medium-sized organic producer member. Mert surmised that the problem was much more complex, “Turks have a strong individualistic streak, and they don’t

trust, and they don't cooperate well. This is why cooperatives don't succeed. This is why networks will fail. It's a cultural problem we have."

Perhaps the conflict centered on value differences; Ebru meditated, "the primary reason for the collapse was due to conflict in monetary values versus community values." This was repeated to me by an organic producer who said with a laugh, "if there are no sales, there's no reason to pretend you have a business." Perhaps the collapse was exacerbated by class divisions and finger pointing, as Kerem feared. That certainly follows the pattern of Mert's caution that Turks cannot get along. Or perhaps as Beyza suggested, the core issue was that no one would volunteer to do the work that was needed to keep an organization with no staff afloat.

Some of the previous members continued within small AFNs. I met several people who left the taint of the "Çayek Fight" and were quietly doing their own community-centric work. For example, several previous members started informal milk cooperatives. Others were gardening together. Kerem and the permaculture club amped up their gardening activities, which had slowed down when Çayek was in full swing. In the Spring of 2016, the city's official community garden and public orchard opened due to Kerem's labors. Beyza kept with a close circle of retired women who committed to cooking and bartering heritage foods. People were continuing to network and learn about common values, cooperation, and commitment to volunteering, just not as a hub or as functional, multi-layered AFNs. Yet, many stated to me that they remained hopeful. I am reminded of Beyza's constant sense of hope that things would turn around:

B: They are really interested in this kind of organization, from Istanbul, from Çanakkale, because everyone is afraid of these types of [large corporations]. They call it food terrorism.

Me: Who are 'they'? The people who are afraid?

B: The consumers. We had a shop and there was much demand to this shop and people were really looking forward to buying this type of local products.

"From Every Head Another Voice Was Coming"; Examine Interactions with Actor-network Theory

To understand how Çanakkale city's AFNs' social conditions affected their actions, I turn to dialectic thinking about the processes and relations. An actor-network orientation considers

that the “performative character of relationships” between the nodes is what constitutes the network and that the network is ever evolving and reaffirming its position in the larger scheme of the society (Law, 2005, p. 7). In Çanakkale city, Çayek’s development into a sustainable hub for local AFNs was not realized despite the presence of a large permaculture group and various loose groups, support of Buğday NGO, the local government, and an agricultural consultant. The splintering of actors, and creation of the Organic Producers NGO and other nodes of affinity groups, ended forward momentum toward cohesion of AFNs in the region.

In questioning how relationships were performed, I took ANT’s suggestion to ask “what is circulating” (Law, 2005). For example, were there variations in culture, knowledge, ideas, values, etc. that affected the relationships? The relationships of the actants and actors, one to the other, were described to me by a range of actors who considered themselves to be, to *perform*, as activists, agricultural consultants, agricultural professors, alternative lifestyle enthusiasts, anti-capitalists, conscious consumers, cottage producers, government employees, leaders of businesses and NGOs, organic producers, parents, and permaculture trainers. They lived in the city, in nearby towns, and villages.

In Çanakkale city, applications of cultural perceptions, and desired outcomes from the groups, varied greatly. There was tension between the young permaculture activists, who embraced alternative lifestyles based on communal work, and mostly middle to late aged mid-sized producers, who embraced a “modern Turkey” based in a productionist business orientation. The heritage food enthusiasts desired a unified stand for heritage foods’ survival even as the government employees and business leaders pointed to food regulations and tax laws. The conscious consumers claimed that this was about protecting the environment at the same time the agricultural consultant staked claims to marketing for investor-farmers.

These cultural standpoints obstructed knowledge circulation within the group. Some members preferred that each meeting include face-to-face learning sessions about the farmers’ life and farm; others desired to learn about the evils of industrialized agriculture, specifically in the US. Part of the group wanted to learn how to produce heritage foods, which came into conflict with those who wanted time spent on business plan development. These epistemic

conflicts of culture and knowledge (what and how to embrace) were grounded in disparate imaginaries (Taylor, 2004; Warner, 2002).

ANT suggests a microanalysis of interactions in social spaces used by actors and actants (Latour, 2005). A look at the micromobilization of this group showed deep cleavages from the beginning. Painful stories related “struggles over representation” (Escobar, 2008). For example, those that spoke in ecological terminology were said by others to be unrealistic and to wax poetic. Some were accused of only caring for the rich. Others refused to participate in barter. Further, the staunchly anti-capitalists were rejected by those that saw value in the Westernization paradigm of modernization. These contentions resulted in actors organizing themselves into affinity groups based on those imaginaries. Eventually those groups spiraled out and formed new nodes.

As the quote used in the beginning of this section stated, “from every head another voice was coming.” Further, contestations around how to engage various actants, such as heritage, nature, Westernization, and neoliberalism, remained. At the time I left Turkey, the small networks had not rejoined into a larger network. The nodes of actors circulated as decentered subjects (Dugdale, 2005). The agency that had been developing seemed to have dissipated.

Summarizing Constituent Aspects of Çanakkale’s AFNs

Actants and Actors That Influenced. Through actors’ stories, this study uncovered that actants such as cultural shifts, heritage ideals, lack of an educated populous and leadership, national politics, nature, places of significance, and rigid mindsets (specifically around dependency) affected the processes of Çanakkale’s AFNs. Further, important actors came to light as influential sources. These included: an agricultural consultant, affinity groups, farmers, government entities (both helping with resources and hindering with laws), investors, NGOs (international, national, and local), places of significance, preexisting food networks, and socialpreneurs.

Negotiations and Transactions. The actors disclosed an almost incoherent jumble of contestations. They conceived of their purpose spreading across a wide-spectrum of possibilities but were not able to come to consensus on which direction was most vital. Thus, they were in constant negotiation of the groups’ energy and direction. Considerations included

potentials toward advocacy and education; marketing strategies; forming alternative collectives; disrupting social hierarchical structures with a “no one in charge” stance and permaculture conceptualizations on life; and strategizing for local trust between consumers and farmers. The “fragmented communities” from which Çayek arose, could not negotiate the preexisting fissures. The visions were disjointed, trust never fully developed, and risk was assumed unevenly. Some of the members leaned toward acceptance of a dependency status (to the government and to the neoliberal agenda) while others activated neoliberal resistance. Further, the gamut of resistance messaging included animal welfare, anti-capitalism, environmentalism, food security, heritage preservation, and social responsibility.

During the period when Çayek was at the height of connectivity, momentum toward shifting the local food system occurred. When I spoke with participants about that period, they voiced various political transactions. These mostly centered on infusing heritage-based values into the community. Specific endeavors were: spreading the “buy local, from small eco-farmers” mantra; strategizing for a type of community supported agriculture; enlivening their heritage and eco-heritage beliefs; and mobilizing wide-spread bartering of products. Other cultural politics arose with members who sought legitimization such as organic certifications, Çayek specific labels, government sponsorship, and some who legalized as an NGO. Çayek was a space where members could envision modernizing while simultaneously bringing in Turkish ideals. An attempt to have less hierarchical governance resulted in a well-thought out consensus decision-making, rotating leadership, committee structure. Members also assisted with development of the first ever local food cultures cookbook, *Çanakkale Yemeği* (Çanakkale Food) and workshops on modern, small-scale farming practices. They maintained a robust culture of grassroots education for youth. Lastly, out of the myriad resistance messages they were negotiating, the most significant ones became ideological discourses of anti-capitalism, anti-status quo (mostly due to the permaculture influence), “the personal is political”, and food security. They developed several large public events around those discourses.

Embedding, Governance, Marketing, and Resources. AFNs arising in Çanakkale city worked with all components of the NNF. However, instead of moving in harmony, they operated in opposition one to the other. Some aspects of the AFNs development, such as the coming

together of disparate affinity groups to create Çayek, show that experimentation with governance methods conjoined with embedding tactics could create mobilization. Ultimately, this was not sustainable due to incongruences as to which of the strategies (embedding, governance, marketing) should take precedence. For example, the Çanakkale Permakültür, with over 2000 members, was one of the first groups to join in the creation of Çayek and they proposed alternative economic systems as a form of resistance and as a way to address social concerns of the area. This did not compliment the Beekeepers' Association's strategies, which focused on marketing strategies. It also did not match the trajectory envisioned by those that eventually splintered to create the Organic Growers NGO.

In this region, mobilization of resources occurred relatively easily. The Buğday NGO funding stimulated development of Çayek. Local municipal government support provided a tangible space for both Çayek and the Organic Growers NGO. It also backed the development of community gardens with funds and political will. The presence of socialpreneurs and restaurant/hotel owners sustained the AFNs visions via infusions of finances and in-kind contributions.

Gökçeada: A Famous, but Notorious, Island

Turkey's largest island rises from the Aegean Sea and boasts stunning volcanic mountain tops and craters. It is hard to be on Gökçeada without thinking about the original people who settled small villages high on the sides of these mountains. Clinging precariously to a desire to hide from invaders, they also claimed their stake on these rich soils, sun-kissed coves, and abundant sea. Then the Greeks came, and many years later the Turks came. During the 1940s-1960s, the troubling period of forced Greco-Turk relocations resulted in most Greeks leaving the island. In the 1980s the Laz people from the Black Sea Region were brought to "resettle" and in the early 2000s, Bulgarian Turks, people from the Southeast Turkish borderlands, and people from the Biga region were relocated to the island. With each new arrival, the island's cultural overlay shifted and adapted. The one thing they held in common was agriculture as a livelihood.

I was very interested in one of the highest elevation villages, Balıklı, having been told that the Greek architecture was well preserved and there were some ancient *cesmeler* (water fountains). On a sunny April day, I drove up the precarious mountain road, dodging the wild

Imbros sheep along the way, and found a place to park near a large, renovated church. As I meandered the narrow cobblestone streets heading toward the village center I passed the gate to Barbo Yargo Taverna, a third-generation vineyard and tavern, with a larger than life sized statue of a naked Dionysus (Greek god of grapes, wine, ritual madness, religious ecstasy, and theatre).

In the village center, a café with Greek decorations was full of Greek tourists. Inside I met Adonai, a forty-ish year old Greek man who spoke perfect English. He had been a member of the Greek Association for years and heard that Balıklı village, which had dwindled in population, was in trouble due to the aging population. Once he heard the *Rom* (Greek) schools reopened on the island and that they were supported by the national government he thought this was a good time to come. In the 2016 Spring, he, his wife, and three kids moved to Balıklı village. His eldest child was a senior in high school. The village allowed him to manage the café and he anticipated his wife would help once the tourist season started.

I asked why they decided on this village, instead of the other two Greek villages on the island. He said “The beauty of being so high. And, I want to help this village have a thriving agricultural base again. Right now they rely too much on the tourist dollars and have to go to the markets for food.” He wanted to bring in younger volunteers to work the soils. In the café, he planned to offer a dinner menu with foods prepared by local people, thus marketing the traditional Greek food to tourists. As we talked, I picked up the newspapers on the table and noticed they were Greek and Turkish language papers. I asked if he was practicing Turkish, to which he replied “I don’t speak Turkish, but I’m not worried. I speak English. That’s good enough.”

Attitudes of tribalism were an important part of the island’s history and modern interpretations. Greeks tend to live in Greek villages; Turks in Turkish villages. But, the influx of persons being relocated from other areas, and the creation of new villages, meant that various world views were coexisting on an island you can drive across in one-and-a-half hours. When I arrived to Gökçeada, the department of agriculture manager, Hasan, shared his thoughts on how the tribal mindset in Turkey was compounded by emotional problems he associated with the forced migrations and people coming from areas of constant turmoil. He summed his thesis

by staying, “There are security problems deep inside the psyche of the people.” He inferred that this is what kept people from interacting easily.

During my interactions with Hasan, I learned that he felt confined by the rigid nature of social hierarchy. I gathered that people’s understanding of their power and control was dependent on an inflexible understanding of their social position. For example, in one meeting, I asked if he would call local agricultural leaders to gauge their interest in social mapping. I was shocked when he expressed, “There are political concerns, and I don’t have the authority to call people to meetings.” Further declaring in a high-pitched tone, “In the future there might be problems for me if I ask people to come to your meeting.” As a finale, he waved his hand toward me as he ended our conversation by saying, “I need an official document from supervisors saying I should help.” This interaction established, to me, his belief about his position in the hierarchy as well as his ability to designate my role as less powerful than his.

In 2011, Gökçeada’s local government applied to become the first Cittaslow Island in the world. A series of meetings with residents encouraged the process. Once they were accepted, the local, provincial, and national governments started promoting the island. They are very proud of their successes. The first time I arrived, I was amused as I left the ferry boat by a large metal sign that said “Welcome to Slow Island Gökçeada. We live slow.”

During the seven weeks I lived on the island they were engaged in a major Cittaslow project. The local government secured money to place fire hydrants in the *merkez* (town center) and in the Elmalı village, which required ripping up the old pavers. Instead of replacing with pavers or asphaltting the roads, they decided to bring in island quarry stones and hand-cut those to create new roads that appeared like the ones in the older villages. As beautiful as the vision was, the implementation was more laborious than anyone anticipated. After many weeks of torn up roads and dusty buildings no one was amused. In fact, it became a sardonic joke that they were so happy being a Slow Island that they were starting to do everything very slowly.

The town’s main street was lined with food shops both for residents and tourists. The only butchery and local produce markets were there as well as popular cafes, including the famous Efi Badem shop. On numerous occasions, I found myself sitting with many frustrated shop owners, with no traffic coming to them, as we watched young and old men break apart

hefty sized stones, with only muscle force, interspersed with long bouts of tea drinking. In my April 3rd field notes, I recorded an episode where my frustration reached its peak:

No cars can get by. So, now the rocks have to be hand broken. Literally with sledgehammers and muscle. They are then being loaded onto a flatbed trailer using an old and small tractor with a scooper attached. The operator looks like a very young teen. He put the tractor on top of the pile of rocks, which caused it to almost topple over. It's perched precariously as he works. Other men and boys stand around staring because no one can get near it. Where are the planners, the leaders, the people with common sense?

Luckily, when frustrations arose, I could escape the *merkez* and drive into the mostly pristine natural surroundings, and hike among the free-range animals. The island dwellers held a few common beliefs and perhaps the most pertinent one was the resounding affinity for nature. One person invited me to sit with his bees, stating, "We have the most important type of bees in Turkey," prior to sharing his belief that they are the oldest strain in the world and to be respected. On another day, a participant offered a perceptive thought for reflection, "The geography creates an opportunity for the cultures to evolve."

AFNs Grow From Public-Private Discussions on Agri-tourism

After weeks of trying to gain an appointment, during my last week on the island I met Furkan, the island *kaymakam* (politically appointed administrator) in his stately office with its large dark wood desk and leather stuffed chairs. I wanted to learn how money flowed into Gökçeada. I had heard that 13 years ago, he started processes to bring specific parcels of money to the island. Due to his efforts, organic agriculture, agri-tourism, and necessary development started. As an appointee of the provincial governor, he no doubt wielded great power.

"In 1992 there were basically no jobs and everyone was leaving the island. Projects were started in order to make life on the islands more hospitable," he began. While tapping his pen on his notepad, he continued, "Resettlement has been key to the island's success. We created three villages: Çamlı, Dağevi, and Elmalı. The goal was not just to improve agriculture, but also it was also to resettle the island. To have more people here is important for there to be more job opportunities." The government wanted to develop agri-tourism but they labored over many meetings with the soon-to-be residents in order to gain their support.

Yasin, the Çamlı village leader, told me their story. The government wanted to move them from the city of Biga due to a large-scale dam project, and gave them four years to prepare. Several villagers came to Gökçeada to learn about the area and help design the new village. They agreed to agri-tourism. The plan was for clustered, two-storied houses, with the top floor built for a pension. The government gave them land, animals, manure, bee houses, and hoop houses. A reservoir was built. Their organic certifications were paid. Of the 55 houses built, 35 to 40 eventually opened pensions. Yasin boasted, “Most of the products used in the pensions come from the village. We like to use our own products. We cannot let our agriculture slip!” As we walked the village, he considered, “I’d like to see a 30 - 40% increase [in tourism], but not too much. We don’t want to break the environment.” Other farmers I talked to had similar contemplations. They were sensitive to the tipping point between tourism demands and agricultural capacity. They were also sensitive to their quality of life, “We don’t agree with making kids stay inside a house all day. They need to know the soil that is theirs and how to produce from it. They need to run wild in the trees and learn to climb them,” one stated.

A major benefit for the island was a special fund created by the Luanne (Lausanne) Treaty. Also, a national rural development fund, TKDK, provided funds for between 50% and 70% of a project. Furkan shared that when a family from the Southeast part of Turkey won the bid to run the defunct 3000 dunam (741.32 acre) state farm, they needed assistance for infrastructure and start-up of their business, Elta. “They received TKDK funds. They wrote it themselves. Now they can hire about 50 local people. Hopefully this will expand,” he shared. As a small, family agri-business Elta was often referred to as a forerunner. Over 12 years, they had steadily increased in size and profits. They ran a successful store and kiosk-shop on the island and another store in the city of Biga. The father and son owners said they felt successful when they started sending one or two large trucks daily to Istanbul. Contracts with two grocery store chains, Carrefour and Migros, solidified their feat. One of the managers was proud of their community involvement stating that “Elta teaches techniques to small farmers and also loans equipment.”

Despite the success of Elta, or maybe due to it, it was a controversial actor. Some of the poorest on the island felt angered that the family, now seemingly rich, did not help the

islanders enough. Others confided that they thought the funding was given unfairly; stating that they would have preferred a local family, whom they felt needed the money more, win the bid. “We feel we will never make money. How did Elta do it?” one farmer stated while pondering how they too could access financial support or trucks that would transport products to Istanbul.

This conflict between newcomers, what I termed “transplants,” and persons with heritage ties to the island showed in a variety of ways. In addition to forced relocations, the migration of those escaping Istanbul meant that new ideas were entering the conversations. I found a small group of permaculture activists who were developing small farms and networking with government officials to promote permaculture. Betül, who had a professional background in public relations, left her job to achieve permaculture certification. In the short time she had been on the island, she was bringing up questions of government employee trustworthiness and transparency. She heard that Baryp, the President of the Beekeeper Cooperative, asked the department of agriculture for help improving his apiary business. He later received 1000 lavender plants. “He is bragging about how easy it is. Is it this easy for everyone? Why him? Is it as simple as asking? Surely there is paperwork involved?” she deliberated.

Gökçeada’s status as the first Cittaslow Island and Slow Food Island, was a boon to farmers, who supplied food to the islands’ businesses. “This development helps our bids for tourists. As more tourists come, people start to see how their boutique [small sized] hotel can add to their income. Most tourists, 60%, stay in these boutique hotels and pensions,” Furkan claimed. During the first five weeks I lived there, I rented an apartment from Hilal and her extended family who collectively owned two rental apartments, a hardware store, a hotel, a pension, and a farm. They were long-term residents and through them I met many with similar lifestyles. These families felt successful, bragging that they had everything they needed. Their close-knit community sold foods to each other, with a goal to stay away from the grocery stores.

To preserve the island’s food heritage a Slow Food convivium developed initially with sponsorship from a ÇOMÜ professor. In 2015, they hosted the “International Congress of Gastronomy.” From that sprang the idea for an “Earth Market.” Using Slow Food International’s template, the local government, ÇOMÜ, sustainably producing farmers, and organic agri-

businesses, developed a grant for development of an aesthetically designed, permanent structure of 12 individual kiosk-shops in a U-shape surrounding a stone patio with trees and plants. The anchor of the market was a central restaurant, run by a husband and wife who daily served foods they made from scratch. The project cost 123,850 TL (approximately \$41,283). South Marmara Development Fund gave 92,887.50 TL (approximately \$30,962) and the municipality paid the remainder. One of the organizers proudly asserted, “Earth Market is the best example we can offer to Turkey. It should be a shining light.” Another advisor hypothesized, “When we look at people who get benefits from Earth Market, maybe there are 100 persons.”

In the first year, each village was given a kiosk-shop and had liberty to develop their own business plan. Elta, the Gökçeada Beekeeper’s Association which was 100% organically certified, the fisherman’s cooperative, and an organic wine maker occupied the remaining kiosk-shops. It was not as successful in terms of income generation as was hoped. Most sales came from tourists. “But really, I think that the local people need to buy from Earth Market to make it more viable,” Fatih, the local government lead, said, then continued, “it’s too early to see profits or advantages. This takes a long time to see. But this is an important small step for the farmers.” I concur after observing two positive consequences other than economics. A rippled effect was that those governing together found ways to diminish the naturally competitive nature of retail. Further, Earth Market was one of few, large gathering space for locals and was utilized by many ages, by all genders, and by groups for parties.

Gizem introduced me to her handmade *gelencek suyu* (poppy juice) and *cevizli börek* (a flaky pastry with walnuts) and I became a regular customer to her kiosk-shop. She was a senior-aged housewife without income and was motivated to make earnings by selling value-added products. In 2015, she went to the mayor and specifically advocated for women with no jobs. “We need help to sell our products,” she argued. He agreed and gave her a kiosk-shop. In return, he charged her with starting a women’s cooperative. In 2016, the goal was to include a formalized women’s cooperative, a new focus of the island, into Earth Market and the island’s weekly farmers’ market.

In addition to the Beekeeper's Association, another prominent actor was the Merkez İlçe Kooperatif (Town Cooperative). A peer leader stated with pride, "It is the most important coop on the island and the president has been working hard to get people to coordinate and cooperate. He has big plans for helping to sell the products." Kemal, the president, was hopeful for the future of cooperatives saying, "There is more support now for the small farmer. There are better subsidies than in the past."

Overwhelmingly, farmers on Gökçeada told me they felt connected and supported. They realized the value of working together. They loved their lands; they enjoyed the tourist season; and they enjoyed the benefits from organic production. "People, citizens, should absorb this lifestyle. They want to save their culture. That's why we can all eat easily. We are all connected together," Fatih, a local government employee, asserted.

"They Tend to Stay Together for Fidelity, Strength in Number"; Assess Strategies With Nourishing Networks Framework

According to the NNF, AFNs have different trajectories based on how they articulate the framework's constructs (embedding, governance, marketing, and resources). In an ideal scenario, AFNs would attend to all of these constructs; however, in practice AFNs arise from one of these based on their capacities (Roep et al., 2006). To understand how AFNs are developing on Gökçeada, one cannot only look at assets. I learned that I must wrestle with the deficiencies left from the anguished history that includes battles of World War I, the Greco-Turk exchange period, demise of the island's population, and resultant forced relocation programs. The casualty of this history was the current residents and the island itself. However, since 2003, sustained efforts by the local, provincial, and national governments to enhance capacities came by way of funding streams. These stimulated rural sustainable development programs and a renewal of hope.

The island's AFNs originated from a need to refurbish the island in a way that would persuade residents to remain and attract new residents. The work exemplifies the concept of "embedding"; the genesis stemmed from a desire to address societal concerns related to sustainable regional development. Residents were encouraged to attend government meetings and to assist with designing some aspects of the island's re-development. Overall, the focus was on strengthening interlinkages and creating soundness and synergies between food supply

chains and other economic activities in the region. Ambitiously, they foresaw increased linkages with the entire province.

Seeking to understand how embedding manifested, I spent considerable time in the agri-tourism/eco-villages. One of the island's model programs was designation of "ecological" areas. Initially promoted by the national government in coordination with forced relocation programs, the projects came with sustainable agriculture grant funds for infrastructure development, husbandry provisions, additional subsidies, and commitment to pay each farmer's yearly organic certification fee. Families slated for relocation were involved in planning the villages and village-level projects. After moving, they retained their authority to determine their level of involvement with the concepts of agri/eco-tourism. In one village, residents not only opened bed and breakfasts, but also, developed restaurants, cafes, and agriculture kiosks. In that particular village, creative residents created wildly popular recreation and camp centers, where tourists could enjoy the sun, sea, and wind for which the island was famous. The result was a network of thriving household economies with happy residents who stayed and found multiple benefits in their 100% organic certified village. This success induced other villages to adopt similar approaches.

As dedicated as the region was to concepts of embeddedness, the NNF cautions that other parameters must also be strengthened (Roep & Wiskerke, 2012). Therefore, I considered how governance, in the form of new rules, new division of roles, and new arrangements seeking to mobilize strategic alliances for farmers, was promoted on the island. Not only did the island capitalize on being the first Cittaslow Island, they utilized their claim as a Slow Food site to build a support network that created a protected space for experimenting and learning. A collaborative governance approach resulted in development of Gökçeada Earth Market. Initially promoted as a place for summer tourists to buy local, village created, 100% organic products, the facility was also a community meeting space for residents. Thus, this new arrangement created alliances that will ultimately benefit the farmers and producers, and the citizens. However, a critical mistake in the endeavor was lack of appropriate marketing. In the first year, the farmers/producers did not make the income they desired and skepticism developed. They

accused the government of not promoting them, which caused some deterioration in the partnership.

Success in other AFNs analyzed by the NNF often rested on the capacity to market itself. Wiskerke (2006) said the objective should be to improve the commercial performance of an existing food supply chain or to market distinctive products. Gökçeada boasts an impressive array of distinct products, yet evidence of marketing these on or off the island was limited. During fieldwork, many of the village leaders turned to me with questions of how to market their village products to Istanbul. They heard the organic markets were high volume sales and they dreamed of accessing them. The local agricultural consultant, during 2015, visited Istanbul's organic markets but confided that he could not obtain sustained contracts for himself or the island villages. I shared with them that consumers in the nearby regions were crying for ecological and organic foods, but these farmers had no knowledge of this and seemed disinclined to find out how to start a relationship. They preferred to wait for contracts with Istanbul.

In the parlance of the NNF, the AFNs addressed three of the major concerns of the framework and had the strongest verifiable trajectory of any that I saw during my study. However, their marketing efforts almost entirely oriented to tourism. As more tourists came, farmers expanded their production. Investors arrived to develop more venues. Ultimately, this created a dependency. Residents noticed this in 2008 when tourism dollars shrunk with the economic downturn. As the economy continues to spiral downward due to the continued political and security conundrums Turkey faces, farmer and investor anxieties increase. During the months I stayed on the island, the decreased tourism was noticeable and appraised by all the residents.

In closing, an important consideration of the NNF is application of resources (as funds and services). These were not uniformly distributed amongst the island residents. In fact, residents in the three Greek villages gave voice to concerns of their subaltern status and their perception of hegemonic (re)development plans. Further, as more people escaped from Istanbul and onto the island, the percentage of persons living outside traditional village boundaries increased. These "transplants" grumbled that they lacked representation to

advocate for their needs. The island has an estimated 8,644 residents; and although one participant claimed, “they tend to stay together for fidelity, strength in number,” it appears that the beneficence of fidelity does not extend to all.

Summarizing Constituent Aspects of Gökçeada’s AFNs

Actants and Actors That Influenced. Major actants noted were cultural shifts, heritage, lack of resources, nature, places of significance, and rigid mindset (especially around gender roles and tribalism). These all effected potentialities for AFNs to emerge and grown. Further, actors on the island included: An agricultural consultant, association/cooperatives, affinity groups, gender activists, government (local, national, and university support), international NGOs, investors, social movement activists, transplants, and village leaders.

Negotiations and Transactions. Gökçeada’s history created a sense of dependency that farmers must negotiate. They were aware of their reliance on national funds; similarly they embraced, but had anxiety around, their reliance on tourism. They struggled with fragmented communities based on ethnic identity, and farmers mostly circulated within their ethnic-oriented nodes. Although much has healed, there was constant discussion on improving relationships between Bulgarians, Greeks, Hittite, Laz, and Turks residents. The influx of “transplants”, mostly from Istanbul, added another layer to the issue. In addition to these negotiations, participants disclosed a range of resistance messaging bantered on the island. On the forefront was resistance to environmental degradation and need to secure social responsibility. Intertwined were negotiations around resisting what they perceived to be a hegemonic government, lack of villager rights, and neoliberalism destroying their heritage. Participants also stated that many ideas flowed between groups, such as developing their agri-tourism sites for educational endeavors, marketing the island as a whole unit, establishing alternative collectives (e.g. the Greek villages were trying to create a tri-village association), and developing local trust. The government was active in negotiating gender roles in leadership, island advocacy, and expansion of services.

Cultural Politics Were Important to Gökçeada’s Success. Most profound was that they explored ways to modernize based in Turkish ideals. This is the only place where several transactions manifested: collaborative governance projects; grassroots educational projects

between village farmers and college students; local foods moving into institutions; exceeded organic farming practices taught and supported by the local agricultural consultant. They also engaged their agency to mobilize and benefit from national information networks. Additionally, island residents worked to infuse heritage-based values into programs such as their “buy local” campaigns; using their eco-heritage and heritage seeds as advocacy tools; promoting the value of heritage villages and their unique identities; and harkening to the power of *imece* (collective work/give-and-take).

In many ways, participants also knew that they were constricted by a system that required them to seek legitimacy. Evidence was their transactions related to seeking international membership (in Cittaslow and Slow Food); legal status for village associations; organic certification; and government sponsorship. Additionally, the pressures of neoliberal efficiency caused a desire for “legitimate” equipment and transportation. At the same time, two strong ideological-based discourses were evident: localized island power/control and food sovereignty.

Embedding, Governance, Marketing and Resources. The development of AFNs on Gökçeada resembled the embedding trajectory suggested by the NNF. Government plans merged agriculture with other economic development in order to support sustainable development and quality of life. Recently actors had started experimenting with governance strategies. The development of Earth Market was truly a shining star in the province. Additionally, villages were developing associations in order to gain collective power. The islanders were utilizing cultural and natural capital in marketing strategies; specifically promotion of the heritage villages and sun-kissed beaches. In relationship to food, connections to Slow Food and Cittaslow as well as the PDO for their heritage *Ladolia* olive and designation of their honey as “gourmet” buoyed marketing for the entire island’s food production.

TKDK funds (the national rural development funding stream) benefitted Gökçeada farmers and overall development of the island’s AFNs in ways that have not been applied to other regions of Çanakkale. Positive consequences of that support resulted in enhanced respect for the island and purported attainment of 100% organic status. This reverberated outward with the products sold, most notably toward Istanbul and Biga, and increased real wealth for

island farmers. However, the local department of agriculture had a reputation of being unengaged and technical support was lacking due to inadequately trained employees. Slow Food and Cittaslow disposed their resources toward promotion of the island to Slow Food networks; some knowledge circulation took place. It is also important to note that Greek villagers disclosed that Greek Associations in Greece provided remittances, and that this was important to the village's ongoing administration.

Küçükkuyu Area: Land of Sultan's Olives and Healing Waters

The main road between Istanbul to Izmir runs through Çanakkale Province, entering Çanakkale city via the port, then up and over the Kaz Dağları (Goose Mountains), coming down to the Edremit Bay before entering the next province. Coming down the mountains, you are greeted by impressive views of the bay at every turn of the road. Looming in the not so far distance you see the famed Lesbos Island of Greece. However, upon closer inspection you notice the sprawling development along the coastline and its encroachment into the heritage olive groves. The development seems haphazard and not particular to aesthetics. Drab concrete development sites mingle with larger hotel complexes. Clumps of construction debris left behind, now used as household dumping grounds, stand out as signs of rushed work and lack of government oversight. Welcome to the Küçükkuyu area.

This "crown of the Ottoman Empire," renowned for its exquisite olive groves that Sultans contracted, boasted 300-year old olive trees. The small town had always been a summer resort. However, with the increased traffic from Istanbul, both by roadway and by the airport in Edremit, the entire coastline became a site of unmitigated sprawl. The previously renowned summer camps, where people situated tents along the coast, were replaced by two story, block concrete summer homes and hotel chains. "We didn't stop development in time," bemoaned Enes, a local government planner.

Esra invited me to breakfast one early March day. She and her husband lived in one of the many *sitesi*. Typically, that term implies that a developer bought an old olive grove but knocked it down and built a residential area, with clustered apartment-homes that all looked the same, then surrounded it by an exterior wall. This house was Esra's husband's family summer home and allowed them to live there without rent. Esra said it was good for them to

save their income; however, the stress of living in confined areas with nowhere to grow food was something she did not expect.

While eating a traditional Turkish breakfast on the communal lawn, she disclosed her food security troubles. In the summer of 2015, she and her husband took a small piece of land outside their *sitesi* and created a small, rectangle garden and four-chicken enclosure. "No one was using the land. It is far from any houses. Nonetheless, people who come to live here only in the summer complained about hearing the chickens and that the garden did not look nice. They said it was also illegal and should be destroyed," she explained with obvious irritation. She fought the management saying it was their right to grow food. Since the vast majority of residents only resided there during the three-month tourist season, she kept everything the same. She expressed concerned about this coming summer.

They are starting beekeeping this year. "We want to do this to help with the bee population. We have seen movies and data on the decline of the bees. It's a much larger issue than to extract honey," she defended. But where will they put the bees without getting in trouble, she wondered.

Later in the afternoon, as we walked around she showed me a few olive groves slated to be destroyed for more *sitesi*. I climbed on the massive, old ones and we laughed at how small I was compared to them. A new law protects some very old trees, but she sadly expounded, "I have seen that these *sitesi* builders are crooks and bribers." She felt that her job in the government planning division was upsetting due to a lack of foresight and appropriate policies.

Not all is lost in this rapidly urbanizing area. The mountain villages, many settled by tribal people, maintain their traditional festivals and identity. Early February of each year the Zeytin Kurtulus Senlikleri (Olive Liberation Festivals) celebrated the life-giving sustenance the olive trees give to people. The specifics of this festival were rich and complex, pointing to a belief that olive trees are spirit beings and the people bind them in an agreement but must repay them with votives. On February 9th, I traveled with several others to Fındıklı village, a Türkmen village, which was a 30-minute drive into the mountains. The festivities started at noon with a series of children's folk dances. After a communal lunch, the adults danced. First the women, then the men, then together. I noticed the type of music was distinctly different

than the folk music I'd heard in Çanakkale city; and I took several short video clips so I would not forget the vibrancy. The dance ended with one man and one woman unfurling a flag of Atatürk and presenting it to the tree in the village center. Under the tree was a plate of food. Everyone was offered a prepackaged *halva* (sesame seed dessert). We were then invited into the café for an educational session.

Brightly colored strings of fabric ribbons decorated the cafe. Tea was served in abundance from young village men. Mostly older, white haired, people, who were sitting in wooden and plastic chairs, packed the cafe. An olive oil production scientist presented a PowerPoint on the topic of olive oil production and storage. There were several disruptions to her presentation by angry men yelling loudly that she did not know what she was saying. When she said not to store olive oil in plastic containers, one man stood, gesticulating as he yelled that they all do it and it never affects the oil. Mumbles spread across the café. Outside, several older men sitting on a bench were yelling too; saying that she was a ploy from the government who thought they were only stupid villagers. I was surprised by their venom but later learned that government agencies, seeking to “modernize” them, regularly visited the village, resulting in agitated relations.

As we were leaving, around 3 p.m., I walked toward the village store to hug one of the older women I had previously met. With a huge smile, she said she looks forward to village festival days and loves when the children come. This made me reflect on how quiet it always was when I visited. I had never seen children. The men were always of advanced years and wobbly legged. With the exception of one woman, everyone I had met in the store was an elderly woman. I had a profound moment of sinking into their reality of a greying population.

At the same time that old age settled into most villages, the onslaught of tourism and retirees to the region produced tangible positive outcomes for the region's historic villages. I visited nine and saw that many dilapidated homes were renovated with tourism dollars and that locals often created bed and breakfasts or added a boutique (small) hotel onto their home. Village roads were dug up, leveled out, and expertly reconstructed with the same durable, heritage materials. Everywhere cafés and locally produced food shops appeared. I often heard

people say that villagers were now experiencing a consistent flow of income beyond their dreams.

Gultepe village, which once was nearly vacant, had regenerated to a thriving population of 400. They were one of the first to develop a village association. Emre, a respected senior in the village, also facilitated the Taş Mektap Derneği (Stone School NGO). The village received a grant to restore the old stone school building, which had long been vacant. He disclosed:

When it's rented out we receive some funds, but the main thing is to have a common place for social events. Many years ago, people were leaving because there were no social places. It's important that we have our own places so we don't feel like we are being run over by tourists. Although the tourists are important for income, they ruin a lot of the social life for us.

Emre felt that Gultepe residents became more stressed each year due to the volume of tourists walking in their village. At the same time, he reflected, everyone liked the money so they adapted. During the six weeks I lived in Küçükkuyu, I was invited to attend their Turkish Movie Festival and women's yoga classes. This gave me a feeling of being accepted into their community.

The Küçükkuyu area is the only place I studied that explored an explicit disruption to the traditional gendered roles. This may be in large part to a local NGO, the Kaz Dağı Doğal ve Kültürel Varklıkları Koruma Derneği (Goose Mountain Nature and Culture Assets Protection NGO aka Kaz Dağ NGO). In 2016, the Kaz Dağ NGO organized a series of events to celebrate International Women's Day and call attention to the role of women in society. On the 6th of March, I and a 20-year-old French farm volunteer arrived at the NGO's community center around 7 p.m. after a laborious day at Dedetepe Ecovillage's farm. The building was decorated inside and outside. Larger than life, handmade paper flowers hung cheerfully around the building. Rows of real flowers in pots situated on the ground created a makeshift stage area. Hand drawn posters and signage on the walls proclaimed, "Women are Special," "We Have Power," and other feminist statements. Tables were laden with home-cooked foods. When we arrived, about 30 women of various ages and attire were sitting listening to a speaker. There were no men and I learned later that men were not allowed. The organizer explained, "This has to be a safe space for women to process issues in their society."

At one point, young girls handed out slips of 4 X 4 colored paper and pens. We were encouraged to write our own empowering statements and hang these on the walls. Interspersed with discussions were video clips and music about women's issues. A music video by Sertap Erener, called *Kiz Leda* (Girl Leda), portrayed the life of a child bride who did not want to marry. The stunning visuals and evocative song moved my emotions. Likewise, many women used handkerchiefs to remove their tears. The discussion turned to the national laws that kept girls and women in inferior positions. I am sure that cultural nuances were lost on me that night, due to the language barrier, but there was no denying that these women were vexed about women's rights. Around 10 p.m. we started dancing. Everyone, young and old, swayed to the music, giggled, and acted free. My French friend and I made it back to Dedetepe Ecovillage around midnight, full of good memories.

There is a discordant aspect that must be discussed when speaking of the Küçükuyu area. The ongoing plight of Syrians as they flee the slaughter in their homeland had profound impacts on this area, and all of Turkey. The tragedy of this situation was deeply wounding to all that evidenced it. As millions continued to traverse Turkey, a large percentage came to Küçükuyu via the mountains; hoping with all their breath to make it across the waters and to the perceived safety of Lesbos, Greece. In reality, locals saw the emergence of human trafficking, which they called *mafia*. There were dead bodies in the mountains and the beaches. There were Syrians who had no recourse except to beg on the street until the police picked them up and transported them to confined spaces. My field notes and reflexivity journal are full of ruminations. My fear is that this calamity, which seems to be manifesting as a community depression, will reshape this region for years to come.

AFNs Originate From Social Activists with Expansive Views

A research partner clued me into Küçükuyu stating that there were several collective food and ecological projects. Burak told me to visit his ex-wife and an old friend in Hamurlu village. He advised that I visit centers called Çamtepe Ecological Life Center and Dedetepe Ecovillage, saying, "Intellectual people are wanting community and ecology, not one without the other." Other informants also championed this area. Those leads became invaluable and over months I followed those actors from peer to peer to peer until a sense of their networks emerged. I found a loose assemblage of activists rejecting the corporatization of their food

choices and instead focusing on the ecological and sociological aspects of the food regime imposing itself on Turkey. During the social mapping exercise, one participant said the area had “mostly individuals doing their work; there are some loose groups but they refuse to formalize.” Another participant, Osman, described his circle of friends as “warriors of seed protection,” further stating, “they will fight to keep real seeds if it takes that.”

Many of these activists said they “escaped” from Istanbul. Many were college-degree educated and had professional careers prior to leaving the city for a more “ecological way of life.” They often said they were striving for balance. Although their philosophical slants ranged considerably, Eda shared that many of the activist were “full of visions about a non-capitalist living.” Some focused on the fears they had that mainstream food products were contaminated and it was up to local groups to safeguard natural foods. Some gravitated to the plight of village farmers and sought to connect farmers and consumers in a way that secured the farmer’s rights to stay in their villages. Most often this was connected to their fear of the mining industry and the fight for rights to their way of life. Many engaged in activism that related heritage identities with their food relationships. Dedetepe Ecovillage, with its revolving group of volunteers, hosted over 1000 families each year who came to learn about alternative living and permaculture farming.

To say that the actors who moved to the Küçükkuyu area came purely for the environment and geography is too parochial; however, in every conversation this desire was voiced. Irem, a journalist who wrote two weekly columns, illuminated why she chose this region out of all of Turkey, “There’s a special thing that happens when the Kaz Dağ air meets the sea. I literally feel it. I feel healthier.” A major catalytic figure in the area, Alper, was looking for a summer home in 1989 and “accidentally found Hamurlu village,” which was near healing springs. As he and I sat on the large stone patio of what was once his summer home, and is now an exceptionally popular upscale, local foods boutique [small sized] hotel, he waved his hands in panorama saying he “literally fell in love here, with the vista.” He further divulged that after years, he fell in love with the beauty of the whole region.

It is vital to unpack the connection between an extremely catalytic person and the majority of activists who moved to this region. Viktor Ananias was one of the founders of

Buğday NGO. As one of the first ecological non-governmental organizations in the nation, Buğday NGO led the charge in charting a discourse about harmful agricultural practices and bringing this to the nation's consciousness. Their role in altering the course of Turkey's agricultural system cannot be denied. Among their many successes were the opening of the first organic farmers' markets in Istanbul in 2006, starting TaTuTa Ekolojik Çiftlik Ziyaretleri, (TaTuTa Ecological Farmer Network, the Turkish version of World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms (WWOOF)), securing funds to bring Turkey into IFOAM (International Federation of Organic Agricultural Movements), and partnering with government agencies related to organic and sustainable farming practices. A participant explained, "In Turkey, when you are talking about the ecological movement, every association, every group touches the Buğday." Their reports show that they have a large budget with many staff and continually add on new projects. Buğday NGO leaders are considered thought generators.

The deeper my understanding of Küçükkuyu's AFNs became, the more I considered that the genesis was spurred by the decision of Victor and Ceren, two Buğday NGO leaders, to move to the area in late 2004. Of course, at that time Alper was already in Hamurlu village developing his local foods hotel. Ezgi, another catalytic actor, had been living in Fındıklı village two years, and she and village women were developing their Village Development Association focused on food production and sales. Emre was rapidly organizing Gultepe village and learning how to market their local food products.

Yet, what was pivotal to this region was that like a cascade effect, activists connected to Buğday NGO began moving into the area. It was also at this same time that Onur, a friend of Victor's, bought land and developed the Dedetepe Ecovillage; exposing the area to permaculture teachers and volunteers. It appears undeniable that a turning point in this community's ability to conceptualize a food network came in 2004. Sadly, shortly after setting the wheels into motion, Victor died an untimely death; I am told from eating poisonous mushrooms.

Ceren stayed in the area, and her leadership as the CEO, along with Buğday NGO funds, contributed to the development of many projects. Activists went on to start a seed library, a few community-supported agriculture endeavors, a local foods store, and a "food society"

where consumers promise to buy a certain amount of food each week and then pick the food up at a drop off location. The headquarters of TaTuTa, Bostani Bahçeler Projesidir (Campus Garden Projects), and Türkiye Kompost (Turkey Compost), all organized by Buğday NGO, moved to Küçükuyu along with workers. Ceren also encouraged her family to place themselves in the area. Ece, her sister, came and began creating linkages between Küçükuyu and other food production areas. In 2016, her nephew secured a beachfront parcel and developed a camp that sells local foods and hosts alternative lifestyle events. For example, in 2016, a three-day yoga retreat brought in people from various areas of Turkey.

The activist culture continued to compound. Other AFNs members spoke of permaculture experts who freely gave advice, an herbal medicine teacher, and people working on village women's marketing and health topics. A child psychologist and a private school teacher, both of whom moved here from Istanbul, volunteered their time to teach at alternative schools supported by their affinity group. Many talked of alternative economic and energy models.

Dedetepe Ecovillage and the heritage villages of Gultepe, Fındıklı, and Hamurlu continued to evolve leaders and projects. In several villages, socialpreneurs moved in to develop hotels/pensions and cafes that support local food production. Yet, the anti-capitalist culture promoted by most activists tempered the zeal of those with money. Alper, a socialpreneur shared:

To start to become the little capitalist of the village, then it's not the right thing to do. The size matters, you see, in this business. The more you have of the same thing, the more likely that you will end up in the things that you didn't like in the beginning. In the things you don't like; the corporations, big agriculture, etc. But you will be following their footsteps. So, the size matters. So, even if you tell me 'I have 20 - 30 cows', I say you are going in the right direction to become a capitalist, little captain.

Similarly, a couple who moved from Istanbul to pursue a simpler life reflected on being asked to join a growing food network. They were asked to attend, since they were known as AFNs enthusiasts. Selin was hesitant because they "don't want to get involved in a capitalistic scheme." She affirmed, "We don't want to be tied to farming and the process of selling." At a meeting with others interested in AFNs, Selin and Ege were surprised at the discussion that oriented to helping the villagers stay in the village by schemes to improve their income. This

resonated with them. Ege realized he could lend advice based on his permaculture gardening experiences. “There might be a way to exchange some of our food for other types of food,” Selin concluded.

Another NGO with ecological food interests, the Kaz Dağ NGO, boasted over 160 members. It quickly became a central actor in the AFNs. During 2015-2016, they hosted two inclusive meetings to discuss and then plan ways to assist villages impacted by gold mining investors. Semih, who represented a different NGO at these meeting said, “The goal is to help the villages being impacted by the gold mine proposal to sell their products and increase their income. It’s also to help local people in the city have a more sustainable food option.” A feature of the plan was for all Kaz Dağ NGO members to commit to buying food from villagers who committed to ecologically or organically production.

The local government was becoming a network building partner too. They helped sponsor a grant to open the Zeytin Kultur Merkezi (Olive Culture Center/Market) and wrote a preliminary proposal for Cittaslow. Space for community gardens, community composting, and a solar field were allocated in the proposal. “All families need to have a family garden. I want to have meetings with people about this,” Enes, the proposal’s author stated.

Over the mountains, in Ayvacık city, the local government collaborated with ranchers to develop and fund the region’s first public-private butchery. This catalyzed the nation’s first organic meat association. The Ayvacık Organic Meat Association was mentioned many times by a variety of actors as an example of success. Yavuz was exceptionally proud of their progress, even promoting their work at Slow Food International Congresses and at a Romanian University.

In 2007, he was working at the Ayvacık agriculture department and proposed to local ranchers that if they worked together to market their famous *Step Boz ırk* cattle they would make more money. Yavuz explained that “the meat of Ayvacık was known in Çanakkale as good quality. But it was not as valuable as it should be.” Partly, this was due to decreased meat quality resulting from not having a local butchery. The ranchers’ reported that their main problem was they had trouble making appointments with the closest butchery, which was 130 kilometers away.

In 2008, ranchers from eight villages formalized. Each attained organic certification. They were, and still are, the first organic meat association in the nation. The local government opened a state-owned butchery with services primarily allocated for association members.

Yavuz shared:

The individual selling was quite hard and most of the time it was impossible. When we started doing the project and gathering people, we had 60 [ranchers]. We told them that we now have 1400 animals instead of two animals. Then we went to the serious buyers, to ask them to buy the meat.

Due to them being heritage ranchers located in the historic place where the animals have always bred, people trusted them. He said with satisfaction, "They started selling this meat quite easily because of the organic trademark. They sold the meat to local people, to restaurants, and Migros."

He impressed on me that to him the most significant aspect was that this made a real impact on the lives of the farmers:

Farmers had very serious problems with marketing. Before they started to do this project, the farmers could get 10 TL for a kilogram of meat. But after a year, once they got the organic certificate, the farmers were hoping to earn 13 TL for a kilogram of meat. However, they got 24 TL for kilogram of meat. Like 140% improvement. This really paid off for the producers. Really big profit. So, the local producers had very few earnings but after that they started earning way better.²

Seemingly on the fringes of the food discussion, a national nonprofit placed a solar systems training school in one of the poorest villages in the region; the consequence was development of another village-actor. Although seemingly removed from the center discourse of AFNs, the more I learned, the more I saw that this addition to İliadağ village stimulated a sense of pride among the villagers and an opening of space for outsiders to learn about their Yörük heritage. As I was leaving the region, villagers were speaking with a permaculture teacher about improving their farming for themselves and for profit.

² TL = Turkish Lira, the monetary unit of Turkey. Money conversion in 2016: 3 TL = \$1. Meaning that, in one year, the farmers increased earnings from \$3.33/kg to \$8/kg.

“There is Traditional Knowledge That is Unwritten and This Needs to be Combined With the Contemporary Movement Toward Ecology”; Understand Self-Organizing Groups Using New Social Movements Theory

NSMs emerged with declarations that hegemonic experiences of the modernized world were creating a form of social movement based in identity and values, proclaiming the personal as political, particularly with respect to dysfunctional societal codes (Melucci, 1996). Since then, scholars cautioned that these “lifestyle” movements did not require collective identity, but more so operated as fragmented collectives. As I looked at the narratives coming from AFNs emergence in Küçükkuyu, I found congruence with these NSMs statements.

In this region, a loose assemblage of actors exhibited diverse goals, projects, and tactics. This was a diverse and nebulous network comprised of affinity groups exhibiting multiple, and somewhat conflictual, identities; however, they were collaborating and brainstorming. The most pronounced grouping was the staunch anti-capitalist activists with a preference for an “ecological way of life.” Yet, they managed to interact with an association of 60 ranchers who embraced capitalism and primarily shipped their products to Istanbul. Along with those actors, villagers traumatized by long-standing poverty and invasion of mining companies, coordinated with NGOs to connect urban and village residents in potential food hub and agri-tourism models. Sprinkled in the mix were socialpreneurs, retired professionals turned organic farmers, and one of the largest cooperatives in the nation. Figure 4.2 documents barter activities.

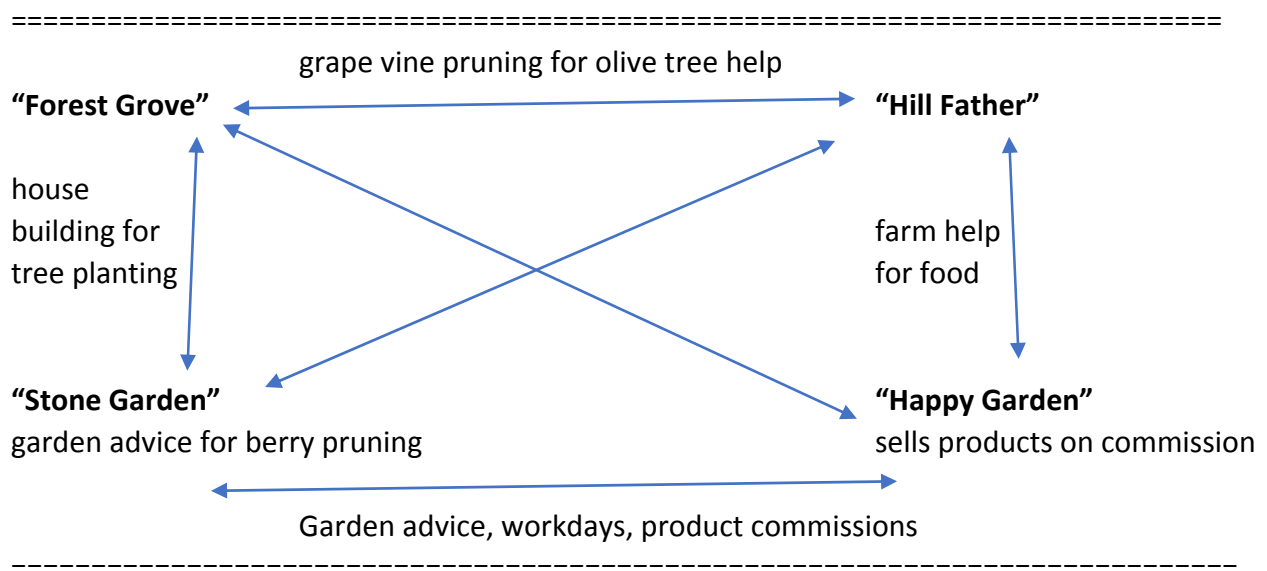


Figure 4.2. Four farmer-activists barter knowledge and labor in an open loop.

Arce and Long (2000) encouraged “focus on the ways in which the ideas and practices of modernity are appropriated and reembedded in local life-worlds” (p. 382). A common thread in the region was the rejection of the corporatization of their food choices and negotiations of this within the affinity groups. These enactments of contention were performed differently, but consistency was seen by people agreeing that they rebelled against the global, agro-industrial system. For example, lifestyle proclamations exhibited cultural capital. Some AFNs’ actors removed themselves from the food system by conducting sustenance farming and bartering. Others bought strictly from village producers they knew and trusted. Some became small scale, organic producers and enjoyed making an income by selling locally.

The “culture of resistance” (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 1991) often referred to in social movement contexts showed up in Küçükuyu in cultural ways that put people in direct and public opposition to political and social norms. Despite the government’s covert push of a highway expansion project, in the Spring of 2016, citizens quickly mobilized a street march over a weekend to contest killing of old olive groves. Several men labored to rescue old olive trees despite the fact that they were trespassing to do so. Further, displays of gender politics within this region were more equalized than in other regions where I lived. In fact, women leaders were vocal in their assumptions of power. It appears that, in this province, most leaders were female; this warrants further exploration. Further, the culture of resistance extended to the teaching of children that modern governance was failing to preserve Turkish culture and the environment.

NSMs also suggests an analysis of the groups’ organization. The theory proposes two aspects for consideration: 1) that with increasing cultural fragmentation a social movement’s organizational processes become similarly fragmented, and 2) that intensification of politics of globalization creates new reactions and skills in locating and challenging perpetrators. This was poignantly shown in Malseed’s (2008) documentation of transnational agrarian movements confronting globalization showed diffuse networks with no formal leadership; rather everyone asserted informal powers. In the Küçükuyu area, AFNs’ organizational forms were either purposefully unstructured or strove for egalitarian decision-making. The nonhierarchical

organization also buttressed an embryonic belief that every one could propose events, strategies, create knowledge, etc. This led to a wide range of resistance messaging.

A resistant frame consistent among all affinity groups, and which created some cohesion, was protection of the environment. For example, the mountain villages were isolated from the centers of activity (towns, NGO headquarters). However, similar to strategies noted in other research, an NGO (in this case the Kaz Dağ NGO) was instrumental in “opening up multiple new [types] of sites of debate and interaction” (Sherwood et al, 2013, p. 6). Several AFNs’ meetings and events were held in those isolated villages in order to reinforce inclusion and commitment to their communal environmental concerns.

In closing, the Küçükkuyu area was alive with the fervor of a beginning new social movement that centered on rejecting the food regime and embracing new lifestyle imaginaries. These AFNs were growing, seeking correspondence, and innovating new cultural life-worlds. Perhaps it was due to the presence of “weavers” (Levkoe, 2015, p. 176), those who sought to create bridges between social change efforts. It appears that what I witnessed was the budding of a systemic desire to “link” and “involve” across horizontal and vertical fields as strategies to develop integrated relationships (Stevenson et al., 2008, p. 47).

Summarizing Constituent Aspects of Küçükkuyu’s AFNs

Actants and Actors That Influenced. Actants exerting force on the developing AFNs included cultural shifts, heritage, national politics, nature, places of significance, and rigid mindsets (such as gender roles and tribalism). Further, actors who influenced the AFNs’ development included: affinity groups, catalytic persons, gender activists, government (resources), investors, national NGOs (resources), pre-existing networks, socialpreneurs, and social movement activists.

Negotiations and Transactions. The most notable negotiations in this area were around the vigorous annunciations of resistance messaging. Actors were concerned about many social ills including animal welfare, capitalism, environmental stewardship, food security, gender equality, government oppression, heritage loss, lack of villager rights, and neoliberalism. Discussions on these messages were energetic and long-winded. Other negotiations included consideration of the many possible actions, and how to best benefit the area. Some groups thought to focus energy on disruption of the social hierarchy (by buying less, organizing volunteer programs, etc.). Cutting across many groups was the resolution to disrupt traditional

gender roles and advocate for female leadership. Negotiations also centered on how to contest land sales and the fast paced rebuilding of villages.

The area was not immune to contestations of dependency. Village/association trademarks were negotiated, as well as the benefits of informal and formal farmer-to-consumer agreements, and the line between empowered agri-tourism and dependency. One of the largest cooperatives in the nation was located in the area and small olive producers found themselves dependent on contracts the cooperative secured. Further, the influx of socialpreneurs meant an influx of money, but often people felt there were strings attached. Although this area exhibited collaboration among the AFNs, there was still the need to negotiate between fragmented communities; especially around deployment of an eco-discourse, and assumptions of risks.

Transactions of cultural politics were plentiful in Küçükkuyu. The heritage practice of *imece* (collective work, give-and-take) was prominent in word and deed. This transformed into supporting villages impacted by bio-extraction corporations, seed swaps, development of community supported agriculture endeavors, and barter/share groups. The value of villages and village identity were animated for political power. Actors also conceived of modernization with Turkish ideals. Examples were enacting flattened hierarchical group governance, turning the desire for sustainability into “food culture” programs, developing food-to-institution supply chains, and engaging in grassroots education for youth and adults. Connections to national information networks were purposefully deployed. In regards to ideological-based discourses, area activists facilitated links between international concepts of social movement mobilization for food sovereignty, environmentalism, and gender equality. Participants engaged in anti-status quo and anti-capitalism discourse development. Specific efforts were made to teach people how to turn their personal concerns into political agendas. At the same time that activists were pushing boundaries, some actors acknowledged their need to seek legitimacy within the system. Most notably, the 60+ ranchers sought organic certification, government sponsorship of a butchery, legal entity status, and embraced neoliberal canons of efficiency.

Embedding, Governance, Marketing, and Resources. Küçükkuyu’s AFNs were primarily concerned with embedding concepts and ameliorating unstable social conditions. However, for

the most part, they were not working at the level of regional sustainable development. Two actors stand out, Buğday NGO and Kaz Dağ NGO worked at the provincial level and focused on embedding. From this example, I learn that the NNFs' embedding construct should be altered to include localized (not regional) and provincial actions. Similarly, although there were village associations embracing farmer-centric governance strategies, from what I learned, they focused on the local level, not the regional. Only the Bir Tohum Foundation sticks out for commentary. Workers and volunteers created formal agreements with 17 farmers who sold items, in a store and via cargo, on a commission basis.

Marketing of specialty products by several stores and the Ayvacik Organic Meat Association paved the way for promotion of this strategy as a way to integrate wholesome local foods with better farmer incomes. Tarviş Cooperative, one of the largest cooperatives in the nation, is an actor of promise and controversy. As a cooperative of olive growers, it provides a vital service and has a successful marketing campaign. However, I was told that 1/3 of its olive production was exported. Thus, its role in AFNs was contested and remains a source for future investigation.

Resources were available but not adequate. Küçükkuyu's municipality reported being debilitated by the national government due to political ideology variances. In conversations with staff, they disclosed that the magnitude of new tourist developments also hindered their ability or energy for other work. From the citizen perspective, they were not known for initiating projects and only minimally responded to interest from citizens and NGOs.

The closest department of agriculture was in the region's headquarters, in Ayvacık, a 40-minute drive over the mountains. The department secured funds for a butchery for the Organic Meat Association, and a highly motivated employee worked with 10 organic farmers in Ayvacık, but they did not seek connections with the Küçükkuyu area.

The area had the support of Buğday NGO and Kaz Dağ NGO, both of which stimulated the area by way of their staff/members and programs. However, this was not sufficient to stimulate multi-layered AFNs.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I exposed the province's budding AFNs by looking closing at the regions/area in which they were located, and circumstances surrounded their development.

The analysis included looking at narratives through the lens of the analytical frameworks in order to speak about actants and actors, socio-cultural interfaces, and presences of value supply chain strategies. Although distinct in their orientations and potentialities, momentum was occurring.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSIONS

Korkma...Sonmeden, yurdumu ustunde tuten en son ocak.

(Don't be afraid... The last hearth that draws over my country will not be extinguished.)

Turkish National Anthem, from first two lines

This chapter begins with a summary of the project and I then discuss the findings. To illuminate the findings, I return to the study's purpose: to uncover the social conditions and repertoire of actions that influence development of AFNs within Turkey's Çanakkale Province, while suggesting strategies that might increase their potential positive impacts. The sections of discussions bring final suppositions regarding the social conditions, repertoire of actions, and suggested strategies. I also return to my initial assumptions in order to disclose how those shifted based on this study's findings. Lastly, I conclude with broad statements about the state of alternative food networks (AFNS) in this province in Turkey at the time of this study and move toward recommendations for practice and research.

Project Summary

The globalized, agro-industrial complex provides ample grounds for grassroots mobilizations against its continued pervasiveness (Ackerman-Leist, 2013; Allen, 2014; Levkoe & Wakefield, 2010; Patel, 2012). As tensions between the transnational agro-food giants and localized initiatives aimed toward a broader engagement in food delineation continue to be negotiated, the multiplication of AFNs has spurred scholars to reconsider the lenses through which they are framed. I sought to expand the discourse by contextualizing this line of inquiry in the country of Turkey.

The study's purpose was to uncover the social conditions and repertoire of actions that encourage development of AFNs within a western province in Turkey, while suggesting strategies that might increase their potential positive impacts. By way of this research, I align my scholarship with others seeking to understand strategies for a more just and equitable world with localized capacity for resiliency (Hall et al., 2013; Mommaerts & White, 2014; Mayer, 2009; RAND, 2015; Somma, 2010). I also sought to expand the analytical capacity of four bodies of literature: agri-food systems, networks, rural development, and social movements. In

order to accomplish this, I merged three distinctly different analytical tools: actor-network theory (ANT), new social movements theory (NSMs), and nourishing networks framework (NNF).

This current project builds upon my preliminary field research conducted in 2014. Prior to this study, there was no baseline regarding materialization of AFNs in Turkey. Thus, it was vital to document the socio-cultural conditions influencing AFNs. I spent 10 months as an ethnographic researcher in the Çanakkale Province of Turkey. My main partner, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, opened doors to other partner organizations and activists, allowing for participatory elements to be embraced throughout the study design and implementation. The project occurred in three nested phases. First, key informants from across the province were interviewed. Second, I embedded into three regions for six to seven weeks each for an intense period of participant observation, informal discussions, and social mapping. Lastly, I revisited each of the three regions for a two-week period with the intention that participants guide the production of the storyline of the province's AFNs.

I analyzed data using the discursive and iterative process espoused by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011). This included continually writing, reading, and analyzing field notes, and comparing those to interview transcripts, social mapping notes, and artifacts while in the field. After fieldwork completion, my methods concentrated on open coding, creating code memos with emergent themes, focused coding, and development of integrative memos with finalized narrative themes. Throughout the entire process, the collation, reviewing, and comparing of my personal reflexivity journal was prerequisite.

Resolving the Study Purpose

In this section, I discuss the resolution of the study purpose by way of major findings related to social conditions and repertoire of actions that influence development of AFNs within Turkey's Çanakkale Province, and discussing trajectories they may be pursuing. Figure 5.1 visually illustrates those findings using a gardening concept. The socio-cultural interfaces, (depicted as soil) are social conditions that required negotiations and cultural accommodation on the part of actors and actants (portrayed as seeds in the soil) in order for various ideologies to come together (Long, 2001, p. 72). These social conditions were collated as: dependency, fragmented communities, "matrix of possibilities", and resistance messaging.

In the figure, upward pointing green plants represent the repertoire of actions described in this study, which have their genesis in the negotiations of actants and actors. They are cultural politics in that they function as “meta-commentaries for the participants” (Conquergood, 2013, p. 19). I collated and labeled these: seeking legitimization, infusing heritage-based values, agricultural modernization with Turkish ideals, and ideological-based discourses.

Lastly, in this graphic, a sun represents trajectories detailed in the NNF, toward which the plants/actions are rising. In this study, minimal evidence was seen related to all three trajectories. Thus, I show the sun as somewhat far away from the rising plants, indicating that much needs to be assessed before firm statements can be made about which trajectory will take precedence.

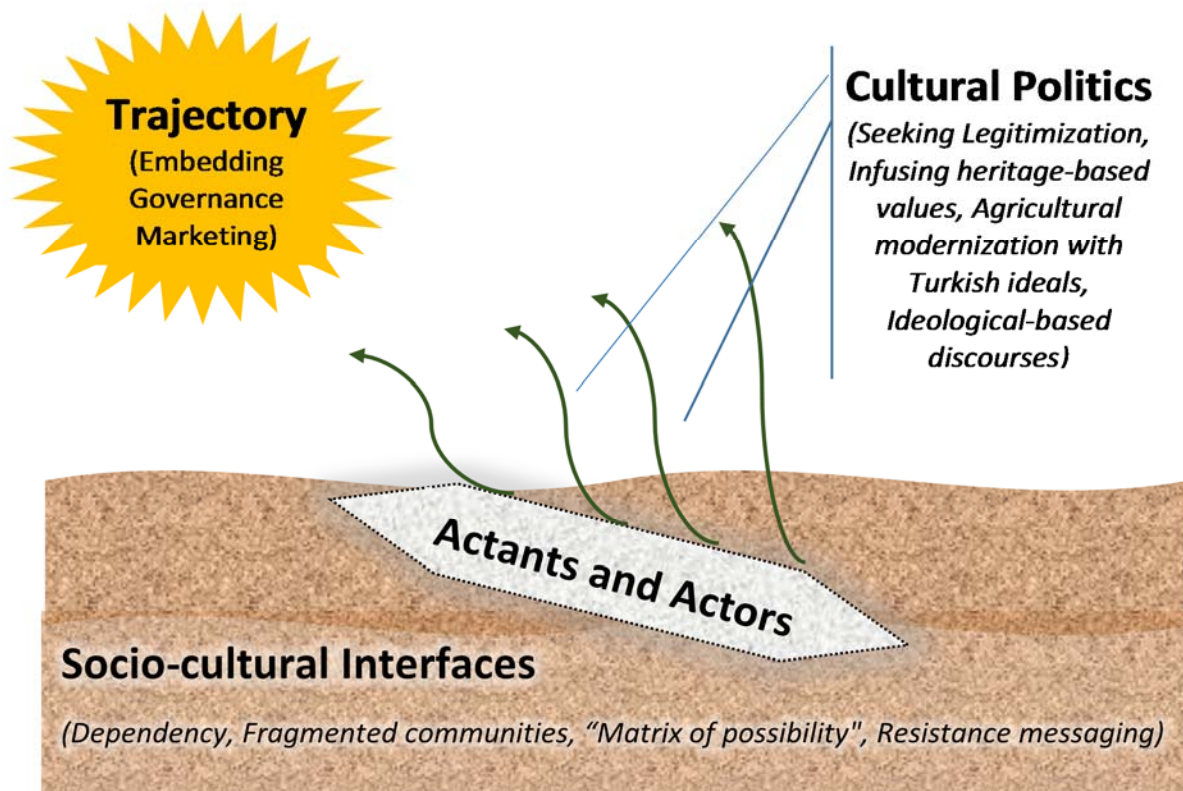


Figure 5.1 Graphic depiction of major findings from this study, conceptualized as a garden.

Social Conditions Create Diffuse and Contradictory Cultural Implications

Within the extant social conditions, relationships between the various actants and actors, and interfaces where their ideologies meet, created diffuse and contradictory messages and implications. In this section, I summarize pertinent aspects of actants, actors, and the four socio-cultural interfaces found. I also discuss two major cultural antecedents that function as underlying social conditions.

Non-human Actants Primarily Diminish Momentum; Some Support. Most of the actants were considered to have negative effects in that they created contested spaces. On the other hand, three actant groups advanced AFNs development. These were heritage, nature, and places of importance. I argue that these three are powerful; adding immensely to the thick fabric of Turkish cultural life, and positively impact AFNs. Almost daily, participants I told me of the import of heritage. Participants expounded their abiding connection to their family beliefs, heritage foods, the histories of the spaces they occupy as well as the history of their nation, and beliefs in a way of life that includes relational connections to the landscapes. Most often heritage and nature were described as stabilizing forces that powered the culture. However, a reciprocal relationship was noted: participants often expressed concern over the impacts of the modern human culture on the natural world. Table 5.1 exposes the various actants and their characteristics.

Table 5.1*Actants Influencing Alternative Food Networks and Their Main Characteristics*

Actants Grouping	Examples	Characteristics
Cultural shifts	“Good Agricultural Practices”, greying population, inner migration, land sales, modernization, tourism demands	Hopefulness, supplant old knowledge with new, Westernization (consumerism, economic status, standardization)
Heritage	Connection to land, family, farming/husbandry beliefs, food ways, national history, seeds, “way of life”	Alive, stabilizes and powers culture, worth fighting for
Narratives of lack	Farmers’ poverty; lack of: educated populous, infrastructure, leadership, partners	Dependency, resistant to change, unaware of globalization
National politics	Catalytic events, civil liberties suppressed, restrictive laws, farmer subsidy shifts, neoliberalism	Devalue small farmers, suspicion of civil society/“shadow government”, Turkish neoliberalism (investor mentality, patronage, quasi-privatization), uncertainty
Nature	Environment (animals, plants, soils, seeds, water, wind), geography (mountains, seas, weather patterns)	Cleaning, creative, protective, uncontrollable, either broken or pure
Places of importance	Istanbul, community-activated stores, community centers	Istanbul contracts equate success, community-activated locations nurture identity
Rigid mindsets	Dependency, gender roles, social hierarchy, tribalism	Disempowered, slow changing society, trust in “hand-to-hand”/informal agreements, unequal opportunities

The agency of nature signified environmental aspects and geography and was abundantly extolled. Contemplations included nature as cleaning, creative, protective, uncontrollable, and either broken or pure. Many times, participants stated that elements of nature were akin to elements of their culture. For, example, Anatolian seeds and the Kaz Dağları advanced into many conversations. Through this discernment, I conceive of this province of Turkey as retaining elements of a “nature-culture” society (Latour, 2005).

Places of significance cohere as material actants that also had stimulating effects on AFNs. Istanbul, despite its negative social characterization, held the power to extend a lifeline to small producers by way of lucrative agricultural contracts. Other places of significance were community-initiated stores and community-initiated social centers. These community-initiated spaces, which were often local food purchasing venues but also offered social and training events and comradery, extended pride into the communities.

Two cultural shifts were seen as positive. The spread of *iyi tarım* (Good Agricultural Practices) amongst ecologically concerned actors created a space for the AFNs message to spread. Eco-tourism, even with its limited scale, was considered beneficial in that it brought income and respect to rural areas.

Actors' Ideologies Hold Contradictory Messages. In turning the analysis to human change agents, demarcations along the lines of those visible to the public and those submerged became obvious (see Table 5.2). More actors fell into the nonvisible category. This may indicate issues of power differentials. Although visible actors such as government, quasi-government institutions, and national and international NGOs could be assumed to wield great power, they were not equally central to the development of the AFNs. Other researchers found similar situations (Si, Schumilas, & Scott, 2015; Trauger, 2009). This may be explained by a scalar concept, where the scale is a contingent and relational aspect, or it may relate to a lack of high network centrality (Levkoe & Wakefield, 2014). However, additional research is needed to comprehend the intersection of power, network scale, and centrality. The government and quasi-government actors were characterized as providing “thin” support and being controlling. Many participants voiced that they considered this an abdication of responsibility and abuse of power.

One group of visible actors, the producer/village cooperatives and associations, were said to hold promising energy. These were created by producers or villagers as a way to instigate more local power. Yet, at present they did not focus on collaborating with others or on maintaining regional AFNs. An assumption by some interlocutors was that cooperatives, which are village based, could collectivize as they mature. These actors warrant additional attention.

The submerged actors appeared to play a fervent role in counter-hegemonic agricultural and social actions. They rose from a wide range of interests, which resulted in enactments of variegated messages and strategies. There was a generalized awareness of the actors for each other; yet at the provincial level, convergence was absent.

One actor group among the submerged actors should be detangled and discussed independently. This grouping is new comers to the regions, which I labeled “transplants.” They were a multi-prismatic array of persons escaping city life in pursuit of an ecological life, but their involvement in their newly found communities was highly contested. “Transplants” were personified, by those that watched their arrivals into their communities, positively as people who were educated and creative, and also having money to invest. Simultaneously, they were personified as invaders who were encumbered by, and perhaps a burden due to, lack of farm experience.

Two groupings of submerged actors were characterized as having deleterious effects. These actors produced reoccurring narratives of anxiety and anger that permeated almost all discussions. Industrial-oriented investors (both nationals and foreigners), such as those that promoted a mechanized dairy industry and transnational bioextraction corporations, held considerable agency in their ability to mobilize government support. It was thought that they had detrimental impacts on the province. Manipulative leaders were the other grouping. They were said to control many of the cooperatives and associations and were characterized as taking advantage of people inexperienced in business, and of subaltern, ostracized, voices impacted by government suspicions.

Table 5.2

Visible and submerged actors influencing AFNs development

Visible actors; Easy for the average person to know or know how to find
Agricultural consultants; Chamber of Agricultural Commerce (Zirrat Odesi); Government (Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Tourism, local, provincial, university); NGOs (national and international); Producer/village cooperatives and associations
Submerged actors; Hard for the average person to know or know how to find
Catalytic people; Investors (nationals and foreigners); Loose affinity groups of social activists (anti-capitalist, environmentalist, gender equality, health, nostalgia for old ways, self-sufficiency); Manipulative leaders; NGOs (local); Preexisting food networks; Social movement

activists (anti-mining, olive tree protection, organic food, permaculture, seed sovereignty); Socialpreneurs and restaurant, hotel/pension owners; “Transplants”

Negotiations at Interfaces Show Discontinuity. Four themes emerged from patterns related to the negotiation and transaction of interfaces. They are dependency, fragmented communities, sensing a matrix of possibility, and resistance messaging. AFNs actors were constantly negotiating situations that caused dependency. The reality of living with globalization, the national political situation, and struggles of local social hierarchy made many feel they were against insurmountable odds. The weight of a heritage of conflict was compounded by the splitting of social ties, which came with the advent of neoliberalism and inner migration (Harvey, 2007). The result was actors working within the limitations of fragmented communities. This meant negotiating conflicts that arose from disjointed visions, lack of social capital, and deeply entrenched localized power structures.

However, many actors maintained a deep level of, and commitment to, hope and a belief in evolvment. This abiding consideration yielded what I termed “matrix of possibility,” a pattern that revolved around conversations detailing the multitude of potential projects they envisioned. Hope also manifested as activists contemplated the connection between Turkey’s food system and international AFNs’ framings; thereby they considered aligning with messages meant to break social codes they did not like. A profound consideration was the connection between the farmer, the field, and the environment.

Cultural Antecedents Function as Underlying Structures Affecting Interactions. During my deep exploration, I became acutely aware of two cultural permeations that trenchantly impact personal and professional dealings in a profoundly psychological manner. I label these the “culture of mistrust” and the “culture of possibilities” and conceptualize these with the Turkish words of *misafir merası* and *olabilir*. The quotidian interactions rising from these must be understood as confounding aspects that create underlying structures within Turkish society. Thus, they have great impact on development of AFNs.

Misafir merası means “guest space”; but ironically it is not about hospitality, rather it implies a situation where the guest is covertly given the worst of an option and the provider gets the last laugh. This captures the essence of mistrust in Turkish culture and speaks to the

endemic dislike and perhaps fear of “the others.” This is the mistrust that Delaney found when she moved into a Turkish village in 1980; she encapsulated this by saying, “villagers believe that all bad things come from outside” (p. 220). Participants cited this rampant attitude of mistrust as the reason people did not want to work together. Mistrust was continually identified as the underlying reason why collaborative ventures deteriorated. This has profound implications for the potential development, or sustainability, of AFNs in this province of Turkey. In these culturally-loaded endeavors, it is daunting for an alliance of any size or constitution to launch when the basics of trust or desire to collaborate are not present. I consider how the teachings of Paulo Freire (1996), who stated that it was essential to engage in dialogue striving toward “a mutual relationship of which mutual trust between the dialoguers is the logical consequence” (p. 72), might be applied in this context.

Despite the lack of trust in others, there remained in the culture of this province a genuinely cogent hopefulness. In the beginning of my study period, I continually heard one word, *olabilir*, with such casualness and repetition that it hung in my head knocking at my consciousness. *Olabilir* loosely means “may it be so” or “it can happen.” Turks loved to append it to the end of statements and used it as a reply to others’ suggestions or announcements. Eventually, I realized it symbolized a prevailing belief and hopefulness that everything one says may actually come into fruition, albeit with probabilities. This belief also has the potential to impact AFNs’ development.

As the nation continues to face food security challenges and encroachment of multinational corporations, this hopefulness may sustain their efforts. I turn to the works of Freire (1994), who wrote passionately about critical hope, meaning a conscious consideration of how to attain the collective vision of hope: “Hope is necessary, but it is not enough. Alone, it does not win. But without it, my struggle will be weak and wobbly. We need critical hope the way a fish needs water” (p. 8). Perhaps this hope is rugged enough to assuage the mistrust.

Repertoire of Actions Engage Many Ideologies

In this examination of socio-cultural interfaces, similar to Escobar’s (2008) work in Colombia, I found “endogenously generated tasks performed on incoming messages, elements, information, etc.” (p. 174), meaning that actors scrutinized the conditions and situations that affected their food system and enacted reactionary cultural politics. These findings point to the

strategies and imaginaries engaged by actors as they developed AFNs. This analysis also showed that the budding AFNs did not perceive a main adversary and therefore did not align with a collective identity. More so, alliances that formed took on projects and tasks relative to their concerns. An array of affinity groups engaged in “struggles of subjectivity” (McDonald, 2002), meaning their actions rose from the imperative that they affirm the subjective nature of their ethics and identity.

Reflexive Nature of Participants Prompts Multi-vocal Actions. Part of my analysis sought to understand how actors hoped to impact the global agro-industrial system. Four themes emerged as cultural politics; three of these are forms of “counterwork” (Arce & Long, 2000). I categorized these emergent narrative themes as: legitimization sought, infusion of heritage-based values, agricultural modernization based on Turkish ideals, and ideological-based discourses. Table 5.3 provides examples.

Table 5.3

Emergent Narrative Themes of Cultural Politics and Actions Actors Believed Engaged the Global Food System

Cultural Politics Enacted	Examples of Actions
Seeking Legitimization	Certification Government sponsorship International membership Label conformity Legal entity status Neoliberal efficiency/productivity standards Partner with corporations
Infusing Heritage-based Values	Barter system Buy local, eat local Communal support (<i>imece</i>); community supported agriculture Ecological heritage; seeds (save, swap) Heritage (meaning making, village identity, village lifestyle value)
Agricultural Modernization Based on Turkish Ideals	Collaborative governance Grassroots education (college age, peer to peer, youth) Governance less hierarchical Food cultures (ethical, heritage, local/quality, sustainable,) Local foods to institutions Local projects National information networks
Ideological-based Discourses	Anti-status quo lifestyle Anti-capitalism Localized power and control Personal becomes political Social movement (environmental, food sovereignty, gender equality)

Overlaying these four narrative themes onto the previous analysis of negotiations at socio-cultural interfaces triggered a pattern to emerge. It is important to acknowledge that actors used the agency available to them as they engaged in dialectic conversations. Thus, their dependency impelled ways to seek legitimization that was acceptable to them. Infusions of heritage-based values pointed to potentialities for healing the fragmented communities. Seeing a matrix of possibility stimulated considerations of agricultural modernization based on Turkish

ideals. Lastly, ideological-based discourses arose locally from attending to international resistance messaging. These enactments of cultural politics point toward the beginnings of a social movement. It is too early to speak of how they will organize; however, by way of this study, I illuminate that anti-hegemonic messaging and mobilization was occurring.

These findings do not implicate a monophonic voice nor a convergence of actors. Rather, the varied deployment of cultural politics and the counterwork indicated the reflexive nature with which actors moved within the network. I propose that the prevalence of activities were grounded in four antecedents: fears from cultural shifts, importance of heritage, relationships within a nature/ecology frame, and concerns with gender roles. From these antecedents came varied tactics: agricultural consultants' tactics were vastly different from anti-capitalist activists, which contrasted with village female farmers. Further, prefigured alternatives were processed differently despite actors existing within the same globalized agro-industrial system.

Untangling the Trajectories

Due to the AFNs' nascent nature, it is difficult to untangle application of the strategies in most scenarios or affirm which trajectory will attain primacy. For example, actors spoke of the desire for embedding at the same time that they were innovating governance strategies and seeking marketing funds. Overall, this study highlights that actors were trying to mobilize resources, yet availability was limited and inadequate to support the visions of activists. This was compounded by the asymmetrically application which seems to innervate the existing mistrust. Table 5.4 provides exemplars uncovered in this research; these should be followed in order to document their trajectories.

Table 5.4*Nourishing Networks Framework a Priori Themes, Along With Study Descriptors, and Examples*

Themes	Descriptors	Examples
Embedding	Common at local level; not applied regionally	Earth Market Veli Dede Factory Kaz Dağ Food Network
Governance	Innovations tested, but haphazardly	Bir Tohum Food Society Küçükuyu Community Supported Agriculture Nusratlı Development Association Village Cooperatives (>300)
Marketing	Focus on distinctive products; otherwise nonexistent	Ayvacık Organic Meat Association PDO/Trademarks
Resources	Inadequate and asymmetrical	Public: Local government, South Marmara Development, TKDK NGOs: Buğday, Cittaslow, Kaz Dağ, Kent Konseryi, Slow Food Private: Socialpreneurs

Embedding to Improve Quality of Life and Environment. There were few examples of initiatives that sought to work within the parameters of regional, sustainable development projects while also focused on social challenges. The pinnacles of success were on the two islands (Bozcaada and Gökçeada), where attention was paid to the residents' needs to enhance their quality of life. Both initiatives benefitted from government support.

One local civil society organization, Kaz Dağ NGO, strategized around embeddedness. They proposed creation of a food network to address the needs of heritage villages impacted by bioextraction industries. Their proposal also unambiguously gave voice to the struggles of the village women. This work was entirely activist oriented, was outside the boundaries of government, and was exceptionally unique in this study.

Governance Innovations Tested Haphazardly. Although momentum toward new governance strategies was evident, the preponderance of examples was incoherently structured or in embryonic development. Nonetheless, momentum was occurring. An exemplar to Turkey is the Association of Nustralı Village for Culture, Tourism, and Solidarity. Their explicitly non-hierarchical collaboration began as a women's collaborative seeking ways to secure venues for

their village food products. The governance structure of the Association eventually altered power dynamics in the village, giving the women more authority in village and household decision-making.

New governance strategies also come from the rise of consumer-activists and farmer-activists. The national Buğday NGO, stimulated by consumer-activists, supported an assessment for the potential of a start-up “Bir Tohum Food Society” (closely aligned to concepts of a buyers’ club in the US). Along those same lines, a rudimentary form of a food-purchasing scheme was evolving between an organic farmer’s village network in one region and a group of citizen-activists in another region.

Another new strategy of governance was formation of village cooperatives, of which there were over 300. The government recently legitimized these legal entities. A common belief was that the benefit came from the cooperative’s ability to better secure loans and a trademark for their products.

Marketing Provincial Heritage Foods. It appeared there was a lack of attention to marketing or business planning in the province. This may be due to the lack of basic business knowledge. However, an exemplar was the Ayvacık Organic Meat Association’s marketing strategy. Initiated by a government employee who came with considerable political capital, the association robustly developed out of an assemblage of heritage ranchers. Three elements conjoined to allow a marketing success: 1) the ability to appropriately market a distinctive geo-regional, heritage food product; 2) access to cultural, leader, and political capital; and 3) the time period in which this occurred (related to the rise of the middle class which ushered an era of increased beef consumption).

Lastly, the provincial Department of Agriculture initiated a remarkable marketing plan. Called PDO registration (similar to a food trademark), it was an attempt to both preserve and market their specialty foods. This protected nine regionally specific heritage foods.

Resources Limited and Asymmetric. Throughout the study period, I was bombarded with contradictory information regarding government resources: some said the government was highly supportive and others claimed there was no help whatsoever. Trying to document actual financials provided proved to be impossible. In terms of technical support, commonly,

participants stated the government workers lacked technical knowledge, which resulted in a lack of support. Participants also declared that there was chronically no, or low, relationship potential with the provincial university (ÇOMÜ).

With reference to private support, few NGOs existed; thus, there was limited support. Socialpreneurs supported small efforts in the regions, but not in the province as a whole. By analyzing findings at the regional level, inconsistencies in resource application were noticeable. This affected the AFNs' momentum in each locality.

It is also important to consider the deeply ingrained practices of nepotism and patronage both from government and private entities. This meant that "flexibility" of resource distribution, one of the NNF's aspects, meant that assets were given inconsistently. Rather than by a policies, assistances were distributed to those one liked, when one preferred, and in a way one felt was politically advantageous.

Updating my Assumptions

Characterizing AFNs in This Province

One profound lesson from this study was that AFNs in Turkey do not engage in the same discourses as either US or EU counterparts. Harris (2009) stated that EU AFNs' discourse revolved around rural development and US AFNs' debate was wrapped in political discourses. I argue that Turkey is emblematic of a third discourse. I cautiously acknowledge that this is bound by attributes of culturally specific defensive politics; however, more research is needed to clarify the essence of Turkey's contributions to this discourse.

This study was the first attempt to locate, define, and clarify AFNs in Turkey; and my *a priori* assumption was that they would follow a pattern similar to Jarosz's (2008) claim. Yet, Jarosz's (2008) concept of AFNs, which I used as the basis for this study, was difficult to apply. Blank stares and counter questions such as, "what is alternative?" met me during my first forays. Thereafter, I committed to engaged listening in an effort to learn the specifics of Turkey's heritage food system (prior to neoliberalism) and alterations since neoliberalism. Only then could I fully comprehend what "alternative" was.

From this analysis, I document that the AFNs phenomenon was present, albeit an altered version of Jarosz's definition. This is primarily because they have not completely lost

their traditional ways (unlike what happened in the US, the locus of Jarosz's definition). Although actors were reactionary to the neoliberal, modernization strategies taken by the government, they were also continuing with their heritage farming and distribution practices. For example, town and city farmers' markets were extant and remained preferred places from which to purchase fresh foods. Further, actors had not lost their sense of agency. They actively negotiated with local powerbrokers. This was acutely evident in Çanakkale city and on Gökçeada. Additionally, as evidenced by time in the field, the life-worlds of farmers and consumers were not as commodified as in Western lifestyles. They maintained core social relationships (versus embracing staunch individualism), informal agreements, and are mostly unconcerned with efficiency/productivity rationalities. Of course, everything in Turkey is in flux and the march toward Westernization continues. None the less, at the time of this study, I affirm that the characterization of AFNs, extrapolating from this province, provides an alternative narrative.

It is important to note, that participants were under no illusion that the power structures operating against them for the past 26 to 30 years are set to destroy small farmers and national self-sufficiency. Most were aware of what they considered terrible food problems and conditions in America. The fear that their traditional food ways and cultural practices would continue to diminish was pushing their AFNs development. My understanding of Turkey's food system prior to 1990, changes that occurred after 1990, and current reactions from persons in my study area aided me in making these assertions and I present them in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4*Four Common Features of Alternative Food Networks Related to Turkey's National Agriculture System and Local Reactions Toward*³

Four Common Features Assumed by Researchers	Characteristics Prior to Neoliberalism, 1990	Characteristics After Neoliberal Incursion, 1990 – present	Reactions From Producers and Citizens in Study Area, 2016
Shorter distances between producers and consumers	Producer was consumer and also engaged in small scale direct sales.	Enhance longer supply chains; aggregation centers; emphasis on exports; required producer registration.	Relinking producer-consumer via affinity groups; promotion of hand-to-hand direct sales and barter; development of community gardens.
Small farm size and scale and organic or holistic farming methods	Small farms owned communally by extended family or village.	Land sales and consolidation due to village flight; income and land tax; corporate promotion laws; organic methods promotion (year 2008); contract out “state” farms.	Promotion of organic and holistic methods; growth of permaculture and WWOOF networks; producer cooperatives develop for enhanced bargaining power; seeking grant funds.
Existence of food purchasing venues	Farmers’ markets were normalized purchasing venues; family-to-family sales.	Promote grocery store chains; farmers’ markets under regulations.	Development of online purchasing platforms; rise of community-initiated stores; emergent considerations of modified community supported agriculture, farm to institution, and food hubs.

Note. First column adapted from Jarosz (2008, p. 231). Remaining columns developed from this ethnographic study.

Commitment to the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainable food production, distribution, and consumption.	Localized knowledge valued sustainable production without explicitly stating parameters; communal, rotational grazing methods; uncontained livestock; subsidy to farmers.	Sustainable production minimally discussed; continual subsidy law shifts with diminishing aid; female farmers promotion (year 2001); wholesale fertilizer prices via membership groups; large dam projects and water consumption control.	Advancement of affinity groups, village associations, cooperatives, and NGOs emphasize keeping farmers on farms; advocacy for heritage lifestyles and products and producer financial and legal support; collectivizing/mobilizing disenfranchised populations: mountain villages, women farmers; rise of ecological consumption of conscious consumers; embracing transnational resistance messages.
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Pivotal Actants and Actors in These AFNs

I assumed that relational AFNs were emerging with both actors and actants playing pivotal roles. However, no confirmatory Turkish data existed. With this study, I affirm a wide range of actors and actants. At the same time, I illuminate that many of the actants and actors played more of an inhibitory role than a supportive role. I further expand on this by claiming that this portion of Turkey retains, to this day, aspects of a nature-culture, and more specifically one that pivots around a heritage-nature dimension. In Figure 5.2, I highlight the actant and actor groupings that exhibit positive influences.



Figure 5.2 Nine groupings exhibiting positive influences on development of Alternative Food Networks.

Further, although the wide variance in ideological grounding created diffuse and contradictory cultural implications, people were coalescing around “transformative food politics.” This means that they sought to restructure fundamentally not just how food is eaten, but also societal structures of food-based social relations (Levkoe & Wakefield, 2014, p. 316).

Potential for Social Movement

Another assumption was that actors within the province’s AFNs would focus on culture and identity and thus these AFNs could be conceived as a type of new social movement. In this study, I illustrate that cultural politics were a key aspect of the AFNs researched and identity management was fundamental to their desire to engage or disengage. In Figure 5.3 I show that cultural politics were intersecting at critical narratives of economy and identity. As the participants identified them, which is key to understanding resistance, their resistance efforts were in some way seeking to preserve an identity while concurrently seeking to improve their economic situations. For example, in Canakkale city, resistance showed when growers/producers continued to sell homemade products despite this being against the law.

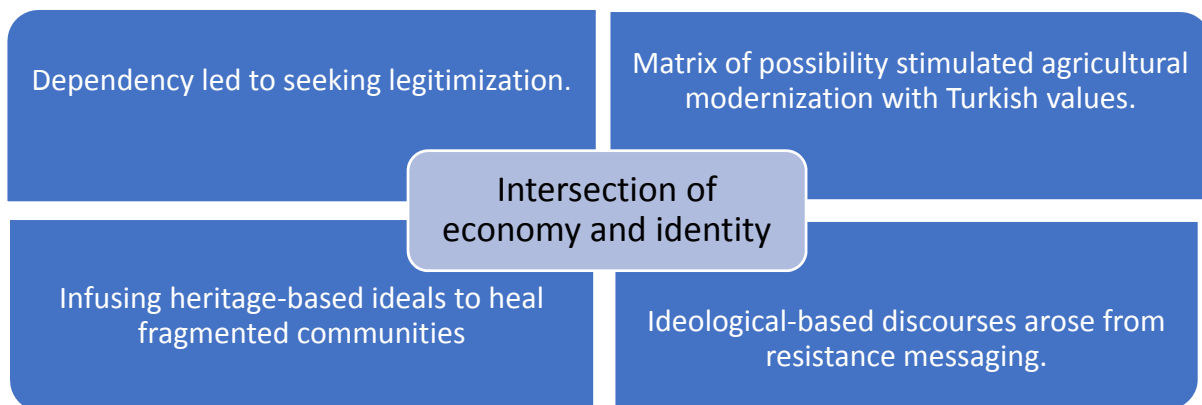


Figure 5.3 Cultural politics at the intersection of economy and identity.

The island of Gökçeada, as a whole, was a site of resistance. This is a bold statement, but in alignment with the participants, I assert that their movement toward 100% organic production was the antithesis of the modern, productionist mindset sweeping across Turkey and the world. Their decisions were rooted in their strong ecological ideology. Along the way, they hoped this would result in improved quality of life; however, that was a secondary consideration.

In the Küçükkuyu area, social activists were resisting numerous mainstream ideologies, as enumerated in the findings chapter. Most notably they were experimenting with anti-capitalist governance strategies and pushing the boundaries of gender roles in their nation. Mountain villagers and their allies were resisting mines and governmental laws, that they considered predatory and a negation of their food sovereignty.

I argue that these AFNs hold the seeds of what can be conceptualized as a new social movement. Specifically, that ideological-based discourse and anti-hegemonic actions were arising in a segmentary fashion, related to the nature of the small regional and local AFNs. This allowed for multiple frames, which makes sense given the cleavages (lack of trust, tribal imprints, etc.) that exist within their society. Placing these nascent AFNs under the umbrella terms of food sovereignty and/or anti-globalization movements would do justice to their representations. However, I must acknowledge the shifting politics of the nation which has exacerbated feelings of oppression and fear. Only time will tell if these AFNs have the space needed to develop into a social movement.

Strategies Need Time to Ripen

Lastly, I expected that any AFNs found would be in flux, but would follow the NNFs trajectories: embedding, governance, and marketing. Due to their germinating and sprouting natures, I was forced to exercise fortitude in seeking them, and then determining what strategies they were using. Figure 5.4 summarizes those findings.

Although it is too early to make strong claims to the trajectories these AFNs will claim, it was evident that energy was directed toward new governance strategies at local levels. The terms often bantered about in AFNs literature (e.g. community supported agriculture, food

justice, civic agriculture) were new to actors in this province. Overall, they lack guidance on how to integrate these into their discourse; but they are experimenting.

The other trajectories were visible at a local level; only rarely at the regional or provincial level. I argue that the lack of skill development, leaders, and resources were keeping AFNs' actors from knowing what to do, how to organize, and with what to proceed. It will take time for their work to ripen into functional endeavors.

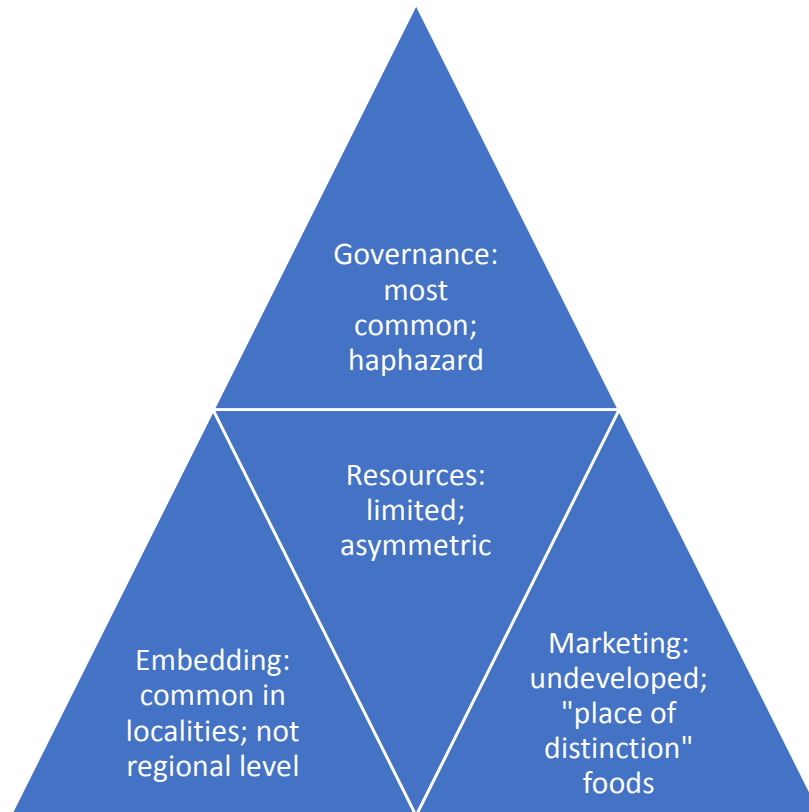


Figure 5.4 Application of the nourishing networks framework to Çanakkale's alternative foods networks.

Conclusions

Community Resiliency Support is Uncertain

I return to the overarching desire that lead me to this study. What strategies will allow AFNs to support community resiliency? This is a critical question due to the tenacious threats on the agricultural and food systems that underpin community resiliency. As the scale of wicked problems in our world exceed our predictive modeling (e.g., global weather pattern shifts, water consumption needs, and political instability), food insecurity clearly is a threat (Simmons, 2017). "Given the persistence of volatility in food and agriculture markets and the vulnerability

associated with extreme poverty and other inequities, increased resilience has emerged as a new area of focus” (Simmons, 2017, p. 33). In Çanakkale province, concerns of food security, food sovereignty, globalization, and the wicked problems noted above were present. Although I argue that AFNs have a role to play in supporting resiliency, my analysis shows that the AFNs researched were not leveraged toward an effect on any aspect of the provincial, national, or global, agro-industrial system. At present they are too nascent and fragmented.

Yet, I maintain that “probability and possibility intersect here” (Ackerman-Leist, 2013, p. xxvi). When the building of community resiliency is seen as a long-term endeavor, it must be acknowledged that grassroots level organizing has the potential to affect social change (Chetkovich & Kunreuther, 2006). In this study, AFNs were entry points for mobilization for a diverse constituency. In affinity groups, there was a shared consciousness that may lead to a common identity. Moreover, groups were identifying what might become unifying principles. These are all positive aspects to be nurtured.

It is important to also keep in mind that AFNs probably have a cumulative impact on community resiliency that may “constitute a broader process of socio-economic change” than simply success in one category (Anderson et al., 2014, p. 94). I am reminded of other locations where AFNs had positive effects on gendered concerns (Nigh & González Cabañas, 2015; Trauger, et al., 2010). Moreover, AFNs governance that embraces civil society theories may develop other areas of society, such as enhanced leadership, active citizenry, etc. (Renting et al., 2012). They must continue to negotiate their polyvalent nature.

Lastly, a key finding of this project is that many of the study participants were innovators seeking to transform their food politics. Similar to Cobb (2011), writing about her three-year sojourn across the US, this work “tells the story of people who are seeking to find a new center, to create meaning and purpose in their lives, to restore harmony and balance to their relationships with the land, food, and each other” (p. 9). With that in mind, I suggest that if these AFNs develop collaboration strategies, they have the potential to positively impact their communities’ resiliency in the future.

Three Reflections to Enhance Progress

In this section, I return to the words of Asher Miller emphasized in chapter one. He said that in this era of wicked problems “challenges we face require not solutions that make problems go away but *responses* that recognize our vulnerabilities, build our capacities, and adapt to unpredictable changes” (Ackerman-Leist, 2013, p.vi, italics in original). I suggest that the AFNs in this province of Turkey would do well to heed those words; and therefore offer three reflections for consideration.

Build Capacities. The various actants and actors discussed throughout this document exhibited power differentially in the three regions; however, as a whole, the province’s assets were notable and were being utilized. These should be further embraced in order to build capacity. Beneficent constituents that played significant roles included a handful of catalytic people, affinity groups, Buğday NGO, heritage, government resources for female farmers, organic production and rural development, nature, seed sovereignty activists, and “transplants” with innovative ideas.

Adducible from this study is that actors and actants influence the quality of AFNs’ engagement. The strengths evident in the wide range of actors and supportive actants were the primary endowments. Throughout the region, the richness of cultural capital was invested in programs and processes that challenged the agricultural modernization paradigm and infused heritage-based values in efforts to heal the fragmented communities. Further, analysis of the data showed evidence of human capital, by way of persons knowledgeable about community engagement, which led to innovative governance strategies. A different form of human capital, brought by catalytic individuals, was advanced in performative visioning of alternative lifestyle trajectories and inclinations toward radical hope (Lear, 2006).

The profound connection to heritage and nature that coursed through the province was undeniable. In fact, many of the discussions merged heritage values and mythos with specific aspects of nature; analogously discourse on nature related it to the persona, strength, and future of the Turk nation. This heritage-nature-culture composition formed an entrenched ecological message within the AFNs. Participants suggested that focusing on a heritage-nature message would be the best strategy for mobilization.

Fertile relationships with the biosphere and with heritage were continually cultivated and point to an asset upon which collective identity can be developed, thereby lending fortitude to AFNs progression. Having made that claim, I must clarify that in some situations actors were addressing deficiencies in their heritage in order to heal wounds that prevented full participation in the AFNs. For example, on Gökçeada hegemony that fueled animosities between those of Bulgarian, Greek, Hittite, Las, and Turk descent was still being unearthed. In Küçükkuyu, deeply ingrained gender inequality was actively being chiseled away.

Adapt to Unpredictable Changes. AFNs literature points out that in the multi-dimensionality of AFNs, each group of collaborators creates independent networks, regardless of the affiliation size (Latour, 2005, p. 18; Wieviorka, 2005, p. 7). This leads to the “network of network” affect often discussed. Despite arising from the same Turkish context, cultural politics within Çanakkale city, Gökçeada, and area of Küçükkuyu created various crucibles from which contestations arose. In this study, linkages between the local nodes within the regional networks were apparent; most commonly arising from anxieties of food insecurity, unstable financial status, ecological devastation, fighting for the right to preserve/enhance a way of life, and gender inequalities.

However, at the levels of either a region or at the province, there was a lack of purposeful and effortful coalitions and very little circulation of knowledge or resources. The potential for regional networks to open space for circulation of knowledge and resources is a necessary consideration if they are to adapt to unpredictable changes. This can enhance not only sustainability but also can accelerate power and agency accumulation (Diani, 2011; Tilly & Wood, 2009; Saunders, 2007). Scaling-up, to a multi-nodal provincial network, or hub of networks, requires that participants hold a certain willingness toward, or ideology of, collaboration and collective action. Some participants spoke of this desire and lamented that more sharing, or networking as an action, was not occurring. However, they felt stymied by the lack of leadership, necessary skills, political willpower, and social capital.

I propose that consideration of the benefits of the circulation of knowledge and resources from farmer/village cooperatives are necessary. For example, the ideals and values of cooperatives may disseminate beyond the cooperatives and find their way into mainstream

society, and the unintended consequences may magnify the potential of AFNs. Second, as cooperatives mature, they may coordinate with other aspects of the AFNs, thus increasing the scale of operations and available power. Third, there is potential for members to mobilize and advocate for the cultural, social, and political aspects of AFNs.

Recognize Vulnerabilities. It would be unconstructive to disregard the negative, conjunctural conditions that hold the province back from achieving thriving AFNs. As disclosed in the summary, most actants appeared to actively work against the collectivization of AFNs. It was also determined that the shallow nature of support was inadequate to meet the needs for progression. Both of these are critical deficiencies create vulnerabilities that must be overcome.

A deeper, reflexive analysis showed a seriously detrimental weakness to be the lack of social capital among and between groups of people. In truth, this study reveals that the province's AFNs could be characterized as lacking trusting relationships. This points toward a lackluster future in that lack of fidelity and reciprocity inhibit community cohesion, which links to issues with stress and coping in rural communities (Woodhouse, 2006). In brief, a lack of social capital appears to negate forward progress toward community resiliency (Dale, Ling, & Newman, 2010).

In alignment with other scholars, I propose that purposefully designing situations that develop social capital can lead toward enhanced civic engagement at a community level (Dale & Onyx, 2010; Putnam, 2001). This would decrease vulnerabilities and help mobilize other resources such as community capital, such as financial, physical, and human (Megyesi, Kelemen, & Schermer, 2011). In regard to social movement development, this type of scenario requires building bridges and not forcing consolidation of actor/actant options (Levkoe & Wakefield, 2014).

Study Limitations

The most obvious understanding of this study's limitations comes from the fact that an ethnography is inherently bound by the context in which it took place. As this study is about a country that is not my own, this is only a snapshot of 10 months and all findings should be supplemented by sustained efforts to achieve a deeper knowledge of this cultural setting. I approached this study with a deep awareness that I was new to the language, and even with

the aid of interpreters there is the possibility that cultural nuances may have been missed. Further, the interpretive nature of qualitative inquiry, where the researcher is the instrument, means that biases may be introduced (Rossman & Rallis, 2012) and the analysis may be subject to different interpretations. Lastly, in this specific context, the analysis I present may be more mainstream than is the actual situation, due to the fact that some of the AFNs' enthusiasts (particularly those reported by others as radical) declined participation.

Recommendations for Practice

Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, I recommend that policy makers and practitioners (AFNs enthusiasts and food movement activists) apply resources and commitments in order to move these projects forward. Specifically, bringing focused attention to the disclosed deficiencies would include:

Community Skill Building. The protocol would focus on developing the skills of members so that a sense of community and purpose is developed. It is important to ensure the spaces developed allow for safe sharing, debate, consent, and uniting. This may vary in intensity levels and formatting, but the key is to start, then develop iterations, scale up, and sustain them over time. With the right cultural application and devotion, development of a sense of community will propel the AFNs forward. Building the skills of a community, and doing so in a manner that equitably distributes power, both formal and informal, can occur despite restrictions to civil society (Kennedy, 2015a; Nettles, 2007). In the context of moving AFNs toward community resiliency, the Community Resilience LEARN and TELL Toolkit or similar workbook style resource would be easy to implement across a wide range of groups (RAND, 2015).

Leadership Development. To alleviate the common narrative of lack of leaders (a constant critique voiced), I recommend a shift in focus to the concept that everyone can learn leadership skills and leaders will emerge if given the space (Apaliyah et al., 2012). Consider that for AFNs to move forward, key concerns have to be delineated, such as where are we going? (seeking clarity), what are we doing this for? (seeking meaning), and will we be OK doing this? (seeking safety) (Jackson & Parry, 2011, p. 60). Developing a culture of leadership, where groups work to make sense of their apprehensions and develop forward thinking processes, is key to their success. In considering the culture of Turkey, the best approach would come from an

organization already working within the culture who can ensure an appropriate teaching strategy. I propose that perhaps the Savory Institute hub in Turkey or the La Via Campesina affiliate, Çiftçi-SEN, would be appropriate partners.

Market Analysis. Interest in ecological and heritage foods is on the rise in Turkey; however, unsubstantiated production plans put the farmer at a higher risk of over producing and suffering spoilage or not producing the items desired. These challenges have also been reported as barriers to scaling up (Ashraf & Konforti, 2010). It is imperative that a developed understanding of market needs be documented prior to continuing forward with farmer recruitment. Despite the fact that market analysis does not appear to be taught in Turkish universities, there are online resources for teaching groups how to engage in simplistic assessments. Accessing those resources could be beginning steps to assuage farmer risk. I am aware of the multitude of resources available through the Cooperative Extension programs in the US and encourage Turkey to replicate or develop similar programs and knowledge.

Social Capital Development. Often seen as a resource, researchers state that social capital development also develops rewards, as seen by participants. These rewards spur stronger, long-term social ties (Waldstrøm & Lind-Hasse Svendsen, 2008). To improve relationships between those associated with AFNs, and to recruit more participants, informal activities as well as purposeful events that provide opportunities to develop rewards, and thus stronger relationships should become a focus. Concern that social capital is inhibited by social inequalities means that an explicit awareness must be brought to the planning and facilitation of any activity. Specifically, the deeply rooted gender divisions, social hierarchies that leave some powerless, and entrenched poverty must be addressed. In addition to community and leadership skill building programs, affinity group oriented events are bonding endeavors that can easily be established (McDonald, 2002). The sharing of values, attitudes, competencies, and aspirations develops safe, trustful environment that “facilitates the sharing of knowledge and information” (McCallum & O’Connell, 2009, p. 156).

Social Movement Strategies. I am reminded of Guthman’s (2008b) critique to a consortium cautioning them to stop acting like a green business and instead act like a social movement (p. 1251). To truly impact even a small segment of the agro-industrial system, it is crucial that

messaging and recruitment tactics be applied. Creating frames that stimulate public and government consciousness may direct more political capital to the AFNs' desired outcomes (Licata, 2017). Particularly with the plight of the mountain villages, bringing emotionality to discourses and accessing all available outlets may elevate the message to the general public and may be an effective strategy for participant recruitment (Agbonifo, 2011).

Recommendations for Future Research

It is clear that an interdisciplinary approach to researching AFNs enhances our understanding of the potentials and the struggles they face, while also informing the use of deficiencies and strengths of a range of tools. In alignment with other scholar-activists, I offer the following recommendations as next steps in deepening and broadening our understanding of how to promote the development and successes of AFNs.

Expanding Turkey's Voice in the Sociology of Agri-food Literature. This is the first study of AFNs in Turkey, which leaves ample room to expand this research in a multitude of directions. The presence of catalytic persons, whom almost everyone spoke of as the true leaders in the movement, should not be lost. I propose to conduct a detailed examination of their roles using a narrative inquiry approach. It would also be advantageous to work within the confines of the government, perhaps embedding into a bureaucratic office, to delve deeper into an accurate representation of financial and technical support available to AFNs. Further, there are nuances to this movement that are regulated by the intersectionality of gender and class, which should be assessed and related to other nations with strict gender roles (Dedeoglu & Elveren, 2012). Lastly, comparative research into other nations in the region might elaborate on the themes developed, and reconstructed narrative inquiry with other "cultural entrepreneurs" could lead to a comprehensive understanding of the rise of this dynamic.

Decolonizing Methodologies: Action Ethnography/Community-based Participatory Research/Narrative Inquiry. I argue that we must continue to become acutely aware of the "positional superiority" (Said, 1978) that creates the foundation of most research paradigms. Further, scholars that work with international or Indigenous people must question the colonizer mindset that creates "regimes of truth" (Smith Tuhiwali, 2012, p. 61). By opening the research process to guidance from participants and by integrating as a participant in the research

process, activist-scholars have an incredible opportunity to robustly engage the politics of truth with tools of social justice. In Turkey, this is paramount, due to the extreme nature of mistrust and a deficient internal research culture. Therefore, for my next projects, I hope to explore participatory narrative inquiry and Photovoice as decentering methods. I propose that future studies of AFNs take these approaches (called by various names) and that universities and grant makers make explicit their role in supporting such endeavors.

Networks and Political Ecology. A substantial body of social network knowledge has started to flow into the sociology of agri-food literature. However, merging networks with political ecology (Escobar, 2008) could greatly expand our acumen. An explicit statement that AFNs are places where nature, culture, and community intersect merges analytical thoughts that can elucidate new aspects of the AFNs' discourse; particularly the ecological rationales that mobilize participants. Specifically, in Turkey, I recommend seeking to understand the effects on AFNs from the articulation of the changing political situation and the looming soil and water crisis. The yoking of networks and political ecology could penetrate the developing "culture of resistance" from a unique perspective.

Social Movements and Hope. Current social movement theories too rigidly conceptualize social networks and are not attentive to the "irreducible social complexity of the world" (Escobar & Osterweil, 2010, p. 191). I propose that we work toward a social movement model that expresses how conceptions of risk society merges with resiliency and hope. I argue that we could embrace Freire's (1994), ontology of hope with its emancipatory, action centered approach, by developing a theory using contemporary analysis of prefigurative politics (McFarlane, 2009), radical hope (Cecilia Dinerstein & Séverine, 2012; Lear, 2006), or utopian ideations (Wald & Hill, 2016). In Turkey, I am especially intrigued by the transference of experiences of anguish across time and space, as well as how resiliency is born under those conditions and how this influences AFNs.

Value Supply Chain/Sustainable Development and Community Capitals. The body of literature arising from rural development scholars seeking to assist the sustainable development of localized food supply chains can benefit from a complimentary sociological approach. I propose merging the community capitals framework (CCF) (Emery & Flora 2006) with value supply chain

tools. The CCF broadens the sustainable development paradigm from the “triple bottom line” (economic, environmental, and social) to include additional capitals: cultural, natural, human, political, financial, and built. In Turkey, I propose that fruitful research would be with the generators of the value supply chain paradigm (agricultural consultants, chambers of commerce, and departments of agriculture). Further, much could be gained from overlaying gender ideations. Especially in a nation like Turkey where gender inequality is slowly being addressed, any research seeking to circulate gender-based knowledge is important.

Augment the NNF’s Sustainability Profile. Application of the NNF was the most exciting piece of this study to participants. However, the framework does not formalize how to articulate a sustainability profile. In order to make this tool more useful, I suggest augmenting it with Marsden and Morely’s (2014) analysis from 10 years of theoretical and empirical research on sustainable food systems. Their seven major drivers: regulation and governance, sustainable supply chains, public procurement, sustainable spatial strategies associated with rural restructuring, recalibrating urbanized food systems, minimizing bio-security risks, and animal welfare burdens, could be used to create a checklist for a sustainability profile. Adding to this, Palmer and colleagues (2013) provided an analysis of the need for “joined up policy” across the national levels to support a true sustainable food system. That too could be placed on a checklist.

Chapter Summary

In this final chapter, I began by providing a summary of the project and disclosed resolution of the study’s purpose. Specifically, I illuminated an understanding of the social conditions after learning about the actors, actants, and socio-cultural interfaces. Further, I detailed the cultural politics that gave way to a repertoire of actions. An update of my initial assumptions pointed to further findings and considered unanswered questions. I concluded by stating that the potential for these AFNs to engage in community resiliency is limited. I then offered strategies for considerations. After acknowledging the study limitations, I turned to specific recommendations for practice and research.

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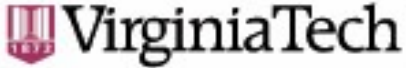
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APPENDICES

Appendix A

IRB Approval Letter



Office of Research Compliance
Institutional Review Board
North End Center, Suite 4120, Virginia Tech
300 Turner Street NW
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061
540/231-4606 Fax 540/231-0959
email irb@vt.edu
website <http://www.irb.vt.edu>
MEMORANDUM

DATE: October 20, 2015

TO: Eric K Kaufman, Rachael Eve Kennedy, Nick Copeland, Kim Niewolny, Max O Stephenson Jr

FROM: Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (FWA00000572, expires July 29, 2020) PROTOCOL TITLE:
Establishing nourishing food networks in an era of global-local tensions

IRB NUMBER: 15-385

Effective October 20, 2015, the Virginia Tech Institution Review Board (IRB) Chair, David M Moore, approved the New Application request for the above-mentioned research protocol.

This approval provides permission to begin the human subject activities outlined in the IRB-approved protocol and supporting documents.

Plans to deviate from the approved protocol and/or supporting documents must be submitted to the IRB as an amendment request and approved by the IRB prior to the implementation of any changes, regardless of how minor, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects. Report within 5 business days to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.

All investigators (listed above) are required to comply with the researcher requirements outlined at: <http://www.irb.vt.edu/pages/responsibilities.htm>
(Please review responsibilities before the commencement of your research.)

PROTOCOL INFORMATION:

Approved As: Expedited, under 45 CFR 46.110 category(ies) 6,7

Protocol Approval Date: October 20, 2015

Protocol Expiration Date: October 19, 2016

Continuing Review Due Date*: October 5, 2016

*Date a Continuing Review application is due to the IRB office if human subject activities covered under this protocol, including data analysis, are to continue beyond the Protocol Expiration Date.

FEDERALLY FUNDED RESEARCH REQUIREMENTS:

Per federal regulations, 45 CFR 46.103(f), the IRB is required to compare all federally funded grant proposals/work statements to the IRB protocol(s) which cover the human research activities included in the proposal / work statement before funds are released. Note that this requirement does not apply to Exempt and Interim IRB protocols, or grants for which VT is not the primary awardee.

The table on the following page indicates whether grant proposals are related to this IRB protocol, and which of the listed proposals, if any, have been compared to this IRB protocol, if required.

IRB Number 15-385 page 2 of 2 Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board

Appendix B

Key Informant Interview Questions

POTENTIAL KEY INFORMANT QUESTIONS:

Theme: The Existing Actors

- a) How are you associated with alternative food networks, versus corporate agriculture, in your region?
- b) How long have you been doing this?
- c) Has your role changed over that time period?
 - i. From what to what?
- d) Thinking about the groups, organizations, etc. who are talking about alternative food networks, who are some of the main people or groups? Feel free to give actual names.
 - i. Do you see action more from individuals, small groups, established NGOs, or others?

Theme: Practices/Promotions of these actors

Thinking about these same groups, organizations, etc., do they come talk with and/or work with each other?

Do you have any ideas about who the main activists represent: farmers, retailers, social activists, etc.?

Do you have a perception on what the driving force is behind any of these groups? Feel free to mention specific names of groups.

What are some of the main activities you've seen from these groups in the area?

Theme: The socio-cultural interfaces of these actors

Regarding the food system in general, does your group, organization, etc. have a particular perspective it works from?

Do you see cultural or ideological aspects about food expressed by the groups, organizations, etc. you mentioned?

What are some of the major topics of discussion regarding the food system among the groups you mentioned?

Are there major tensions that groups have identified as they work on alternative food systems?

Regarding the groups, organizations, etc. we've been mentioning, are any of them in controversy with others? Who? About what?

How is that controversy managed?

Theme: Challenges to or reinforcements of the global food system

Have you noticed conflict or controversy between the ideals of these groups, organizations, with the mainstream society? The government? Corporate agriculture?

How is that managed?

Overall, do you believe that the work being done on alternative food networks will challenge the existing food system? How?

Is there concern about this potential? From who?

c) Overall, do you believe that the work being done on alternative food networks will reinforce the existing food system? How?

i. Is there concern about this potential? From who?

d) What else would you like to share regarding the difference between, or similarities, of alternative food networks and the current global food system?

LASTLY--I am interested in finding out more about how the local alternative food system is networked? What other groups or organizations (etc.) do you know that I should talk to? I can do either interviews or a group activity. Would you help by asking them to participate? Could we touch base about this in the next 5 days?

Appendix C

Interview Consent Form

Interview script to ensure informed, verbal consent:

Thank you for considering participation in my project. I need to read this document so you know about my study and your rights. I will give you a copy to keep. I am Rachael Kennedy, a doctoral student at Virginia Tech University in Virginia, USA. My dissertation focuses on understanding Alternative Food Networks in the Çanakkale Province. I will give you a definition on a handout [pass out handout].

If you choose to participate, we will engage in an interview. This may last one hour. I need to record this so I can accurately understand our conversation. Your name or identifying information will not be connected to this conversation. The audio files photos will be kept on a password-protected computer. Only I have access to those files. The audio files will be erased at the conclusion of this project.

I would like to ask you questions about four main themes:

What groups are working on alternative food systems in Çanakkale (for example, who are some of the main groups?)

Practices of these groups (for example, what are some of the main activities you've seen from these groups?)

The ways these groups interact (for example, what are some of the major topics of discussion regarding the food system among the groups?)

Your thoughts on how this may affect the global food system (for example, overall, do you believe that the work being done on alternative food networks will challenge the existing food system?)

I may ask to also conduct general observations with you as you work on your food oriented activities. This will not be recorded. Again, you will not be identified individually.

You have the right to stop the interview or the observation period at any time.

There are no known risks associated with your participation. However, I understand that some people fear their names being exposed and possible reprisals. Please know that all information concerning your participation in the study is entirely confidential. As I mentioned, your name will not appear anywhere in my documents or writings, instead I use codes that will not make sense to an outsider.

There is no promise of benefits. There is no compensation. However, your thoughts and insights may help others working with food system concerns. After all data have been collected, I will share a synthesis of results. You may read and edit if you desire. These could be useful by

helping you better understand the region's food movement, how people are working together, or even gain insights into strategies that are useful. Also, I hope that you will have satisfaction from participating in doctoral dissertation research which will benefit food movement activists and planners via publications and/or presentations in the future.

Most importantly, please know that participation is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw at any time.

Do I have your permission to interview you? May I record your responses? (if no, take handwritten notes). Do you give me permission to use the name of your organization (if this is appropriate)? Would it be possible also observe some of your work today or another day?

If questions arise about your rights or any concerns about the conduct of this study, please contact the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board Chair, Dr. David Moore, at
You are always welcome to contact one of the project investigators: [deleted]
Dr. Eric K. Kaufman: [deleted] or Ms. Rachael Kennedy: [deleted]

Appendix D

Handout on Alternative Food Networks



DEFINITION OF ALTERNATIVE FOOD NETWORKS

Networks of groups, organizations, activists, etc. who are concerned about the global, industrial food system. They generally exhibit, or are working toward, these characteristics:

- a) shorter distances between producers and consumers;
- b) small farm size and scale and organic or holistic farming methods;
- c) existence of local food purchasing venues such as food cooperatives, farmers markets, community supported agriculture, and community food linkages (i.e. in the U.S. this might be farm-to-school, farm-to-table, farm-to-restaurant);
- d) commitment to the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainable food production, distribution, and consumption. (Jarosz, 2008, p. 231)

Good Reads!

Goodman, D., DuPuis, E. M., & Goodman, M. (2013). *Alternative food networks: Knowledge, practice, and politics*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Jarosz, L. (2008). The city in the country: Growing alternative food networks in Metropolitan areas. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 24, 231–244.

Levkoe, C., & Wakefield, S. (2014). Understanding contemporary networks of environmental and social change: Complex assemblages within Canada's 'food movement'. *Environmental Politics*, 23(2), 302-320.

Maye, D. (2013). Moving alternative food networks beyond the niche. *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food*, 20(3), 383-389.

Appendix E

Social Mapping Protocol

Social Mapping Activity Protocol (adapted from Pelto, 2013, p. 78-80)

Establish with main contact that at least three participants can be present.

Upon arriving at the site, greet the main contact person. Briefly go over the process and ensure they are comfortable with the process.

Facilitator and translator (if present) puts on a nametag.

Lay map of the region and markers on a large table. Have chairs around the table.

Greet participants as they arrive.

The main contact person introduces the facilitator and translator and the reason for the activity.

Facilitator introduces self. Thanks attendees for their time.

Facilitator communicates script for informed, verbal consent from participants.

Facilitator gives a synopsis of the protocol, ensures everyone understands, and answers questions as necessary.

Facilitator asks for the process to start and encourages dialogue throughout the process. Allow for discussion but stop the discussion if it is non-productive.

Ask them to pick a person at the table to be the key person for actually mapping (drawing locations on the regional map that is on the table). After they come to agreement give this person a pack of colored markers. *They will use based on the group's decisions.

Ask them to pick a note taker who will keep the map legend (record the names and locations of the groups as well as colors or symbols used and their intended purpose).

Ask if they are willing to work with consensus. This means asking letting people decide what and where marks should be made prior to placing items on the map. It also means allowing each person to speak freely, not shutting people down. If they say yes, go ahead. If they say no, ask what method would work.

Provide handout on Alternative Food Networks. Tell participants that keeping this definition in mind is key to the process. Tell them to keep this narrow definition in mind even though they might know about much more. Remind them that our goal is to understand the creation or maintenance of alternative food networks in this region.

Ask the first round of questions (see next section), allow for dialogue, and make sure marks are made accordingly. Ask that responses be said out loud, including the name of the location, association, etc.

Allow the process to evolve naturally. The people should lead the discussions.

Introduce additional questions as the process continues.

Ask if there are other considerations that should be noted on the map. Mark as needed.

When it appears that no new data is forthcoming, wrap up with the last question. Be prepared that the dialogue may go very different than anticipated.

Activity continues until it appears that no new data is forthcoming, but not more than one hour.

Facilitator thanks the participants for their time and knowledge and ensures participants know how to contact her should they have questions or further information. The meeting adjourns. Facilitator takes a photo of the completed map and the map key (notes taken), and collects the markers. Leave the original maps/legend with the group.

Questions for Social Mapping Process

We're interested in where the existing farmers' markets are (these are places where the farmers themselves bring their own foods).

Please mark locations of farmer cooperatives you know.

Please mark locations of leader farmers (these might be farmers who seem to lead the way or who you go to for advice).

Please think about non-profits or beginning groups that you know who are working to develop or maintain AFNs (Remind them of the definition on the handout). Mark where their office or meeting locations are held.

Are there other people who are helping AFNs develop? This may be government officials, university researchers, activists, restaurant owners, etc. Maybe they aren't part of a group but you think we should mark them on the map. If so, decide how you want to mark them and then place marks.

Is there anything else we should mark?

Please think about the importance of these markings to you. Think about who you work with the most. Which ones are the most important? Is there group consensus?

How can this be marked? For example, put number "1" on a certain mark. Then numbers 2, 3, 4, 5

Can you please help me understand your relationship to these markets, cooperatives, farmers, groups, organizations, etc. that are marked. How do you all work together? How can we represent this on the map (by color, by design)?

a. For example, you might work with some groups to bring all of your food to the markets, meet for social events, try to connect to political entities as one voice, etc. These relationships can be shown by different color markers or different line styles or anything you think of.

When you think of these markings, what do you think are their driving forces? What might those be? How can we represent this on the map? (Governance, Marketing, Development, Social, Environmental)

Of the people/groups marked, are there any that work very closely together? How? Why? Let's mark their relationship with a special design.

Are there any that are in conflict with each other? With mainstream society? With the government? How do they show this? Why does this occur? How can we mark this issue on the map?

1. I'm curious to know about other things that impact the AFNs development here. Things like specialty foods, geography, resources, problem areas, etc. Can you please decide how you want to mark these and then mark them?

- a. For example, if there are dam structures, mountains, lakes, sites of food-oriented protest or disagreement, dangerous locales where people don't go, etc. This may also include refugee locations (there are two refugee sites in Canakkale).
2. I'm curious if there are any large food corporations that you know (owned by a business, not a person or association). If so let's mark their location on the map.
3. As we wrap up, let's look at the whole map. I am interested to know what you think. What does the existing map show an outsider? What story does it tell about alternative food networks in Canakkale Province?

Appendix F

Social Mapping Consent Form

Social mapping script to ensure informed, verbal consent:

Thank you for considering participation in my project. I need to read this document so you know about my study and your rights. I will give you the copy to keep. I am Rachael Kennedy, a doctoral student at Virginia Tech University in Virginia, USA. My dissertation research focuses on understanding Alternative Food Networks in the Çanakkale Province. I will give you a definition of this on a handout [distribute handout].

If you choose to participate, we will engage in a social mapping activity. This may last one hour. I need to record this so I can accurately understand our conversation. Your name or identifying information will not be connected to this conversation. The audio files photos will be kept on a password-protected computer. Only I have access to those files. The audio files will be erased at the conclusion of this project.

This activity is widely used in research. You will draw on a map of Çanakkale Province to show locations of groups working on alternative food systems, how these groups relate to each other, and how other features (like geography, water, etc.) relate to these groups' work. Most people find this activity to be fun and informative. At the end, you will keep the social map. I will take a photo of the map. This may be used for publications or presentations in the future. I may ask to also conduct general observations with you as you work on your food oriented activities. This will not be recorded. Again, you will not be identified individually.

You have the right to stop participating in the social mapping at any time.

There are no known risks associated with your participation. However, I understand that some people fear their names being exposed and possible reprisals. Please know that all information concerning your participation in the study is entirely confidential. As I mentioned, your name will not appear anywhere in my documents or writings, instead I use codes that will not make sense to an outsider.

There is no promise of benefits. There is no compensation. However, your thoughts and insights may help others working with food system concerns. After all data have been collected, I will share a synthesis of results. You may read and edit if you desire. These could be useful by helping you better understand the region's food movement, how people are working together, or even gain insights into strategies that are useful. Also, I hope that you will have satisfaction from participating in doctoral dissertation research which will benefit food movement activists and planners via publications and/or presentations in the future.

Most importantly, please know that participation is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw at any time.

Do you agree to be part of the social mapping? May I record this event? (This should be a group decision. If no, take handwritten notes).

If questions arise about your rights or any concerns about the conduct of this study, please contact the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board Chair, Dr. David Moore, at [deleted]. You are always welcome to contact one of the project investigators: Dr. Eric K. Kaufman [deleted] or Ms. Rachael Kennedy: [deleted]

Appendix G

Member Checking Consent Form

Member checking script to ensure informed, verbal consent:

Thank you for considering participation in my project. I need to read this document so you know about my study and your rights. I will give you a copy to keep. I am Rachael Kennedy, a doctoral student at Virginia Tech University in Virginia, USA. My dissertation focuses on understanding Alternative Food Networks in the Çanakkale Province. I will give you a definition on a handout [pass out handout].

If you choose to participate, we will engage in a conversation about my data. I suggest that we spend no more than one hour, but we can meet again. I need to record this so I can accurately understand our conversation. Your name or identifying information will not be connected to this conversation. The audio files photos will be kept on a password-protected computer. Only I have access to those files. The audio files will be erased at the conclusion of this project.

I have collected interviews and social mapping around the province and would like your honest opinions about what I think I have learned.

I am interested in knowing how you perceive these statements. Even if you disagree.

What else should I know?

What picture of your province do you think should be portrayed?

You have the right to stop the interview or the observation period at any time.

There are no known risks associated with your participation. However, I understand that some people fear their names being exposed and possible reprisals. Please know that all information concerning your participation in the study is entirely confidential. As I mentioned, your name will not appear anywhere in my documents or writings, instead I use codes that will not make sense to an outsider.

There is no promise of benefits. There is no compensation. However, your thoughts and insights may help others working with food system concerns. After all data have been collected, I will share a synthesis of results. You may read and edit if you desire. These could be useful by helping you better understand the region's food movement, how people are working together, or even gain insights into strategies that are useful. Also, I hope that you will have satisfaction from participating in doctoral dissertation research which will benefit food movement activists and planners via publications and/or presentations in the future.

Most importantly, please know that participation is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw at any time.

Do I have your permission to talk about this information? May I record your responses? (if no, take handwritten notes). Do you give me permission to use the name of your organization (if this is appropriate)? Would it be possible also observe some of your work today or another day?

If questions arise about your rights or any concerns about the conduct of this study, please contact the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board Chair, Dr. David Moore, at [deleted]. You are always welcome to contact one of the project investigators: Dr. Eric K. Kaufman: [deleted] or Ms. Rachael Kennedy: [deleted]

Appendix H

Code Mapping

Code Mapping (to be read from bottom to top)				
Third Iteration: Focused Coding. Emergent Thematic Narratives				
RQ1. Which actants and actors are influencing development of AFNs?	RQ2. How do characteristics of these actants and actors influence development of AFNs?	RQ3. How do these actors negotiate and transact cultural aspects related to AFNs?	RQ4. How do enactments of cultural politics by these actors challenge and/or reinforce dominant representations and reproduction of the global food system?	RQ5. How do strategies employed by actors working on AFNs compare to sustainability trajectories from SUS-CHAIN's nourishing networks framework?
Broad spectrum of submerged and visible actants and actors, prime and fuel development; some aspects may decrease momentum.	Wide variance creates diffuse and contradictory cultural implications.	Actors conceptualize a polymorphous phenomenon of fragmented communities and culture of dependency while engaging in multi-phastic actions and multi-vocal resistance messaging.	They are working at the place where economy and identity interface. Their dependency leads to seeking legitimization. Fragmented communities leads to infusing heritage-based ideals. Their matrix of possibility leads to agricultural modernization with Turkish values. The multi-vocal resistance messaging leads to ideological-	Embedding is the primary strengthener of the grassroots networks; not regional. Governance is approached haphazardly at regional level; nonprofessional promoters. Marketing is nascent; undeveloped. Resources are limited.

			based discourses.	
Second Iteration: Code Memoing Using Constant Comparative Analysis. Emergent Themes				
RQ1. Which actants and actors are influencing development of AFNs?	RQ2. How do characteristics of these actants and actors influence development of AFNs?	RQ3. How do these actors negotiate and transact cultural aspects related to AFNs?	RQ4. How do enactments of cultural politics by these actors challenge and/or reinforce dominant representations and reproduction of the global food system?	RQ5. How do strategies employed by actors working on AFNs match to sustainability trajectories from SUS-CHAIN's nourishing networks framework?
Actants Catalytic events; Community-activated stores/community centers; Environment (plants, soil, seeds, water) and Geography: (mountains, ocean, weather); "Good Agricultural Practices"; Heritage: (connect to land, family, farming and husbandry beliefs, foods, national history, seeds, way of life); Istanbul;	Actants Ecological focus; Environment (soil broken/dead, water pure and abundant, sun and wind are cleaning); Geography (creates culture, harsh, protect against change, uncontrolled, wild); Heritage (powers culture, family supports family); Istanbul contracts = success; Tourism drives dependency Actors	Dependency Align with EU funding; Align with neoliberalism; Culture of nepotism/patronage/"turn the eye"; Government dependency vs. support; Seed Law/protection; Socialpreneurship; Villager education (commerce) Fragmented Communities Conflict; Cultural shifts; Localized power Matrix of Possibility	Agricultural Modernization With Turkish Ideals Collaborative governance; Grassroots education of youth and college age; Governance less hierarchical; Local foods to institutions; Local projects; Marketing (organic products, place of origin foods, village products); National information networks; Peer to peer education	Embedding Societal concerns addressed locally but not common at regional level; Little evidence of synergies between food supply chains and economic formats. Governance Most common construct for regional capacity building; experimental, not systematic. Marketing Least seen construct; government "trademarked"

<p>Tourism Actors Agricultural consultants; Catalytic people; Chamber of Commerce-Agriculture (Zirrat Odesi); Farmer/Producer/Village coops/associations; Government (Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Tourism); Investors: nationals and foreigners; Manipulative leaders; NGOs (local, national, and international); Nationwide food networks; Social activists and loose groups (anti-capitalist, environmentalist, gender equality, health, nostalgia for old ways, self-sufficiency); Social movement activists (organic food and permaculture);</p>	<p>Anti-status quo lifestyles; Arrogance, conflictual, mistrusting, resist collaboration; Capitalist; Ecological; Fight for way of life; Fearful, pessimistic; Government as controller, identity management purveyor, supportive, suspicious; Grassroots oriented; Hopeful, prideful; Insulatory social groups; “Intellectuals”; Semi-nomadic/mobile populus Social responsibility; Thin (incentive) support; Transplants (educated, creative, invaders, investors, no farm experience) Societal Conditions Civil society nascent;</p>	<p>Advocacy; Cultural shifts (buy less, gendered leadership, identity management, land sales contested, social hierarchy shifts; volunteer programs) Education, salons, and workshops; Expand services; Governance strategies; Increase linkages; Marketing strategies; Social embeddedness; Village level associations/coops Resistance Messaging Align with international AFN discourses (animal welfare, anti-capitalism, environmental stewardship, food security, heritage); Overlay social responsibility, ecological thinking, gender quality, and</p>	<p>Ideological-based Discourses Advocacy; Anti-status quo and permaculture lifestyle; Anti-capitalism; Personal becomes political; Social embeddedness/local power and control; Social movement (environmental, food, gender) Infusing Heritage-based Values Barter system; Buy local, eat local; Communal support; Ecological heritage; Heritage (meaning making, village identity, village lifestyle value); Seeds (save, swap) Legitimization Sought Certification; Government sponsorship; International membership;</p>	<p>distinctive products Resources Evident but not documentable; uneven application; minimal private resources (grassroots, nonprofits, socialpreneurs) Public resources (EU, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Tourism; National funders; provincial and local governments)</p>
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<p>Socialpreneurs and restaurant, hotel/pension owners “Transplants” Societal Conditions Cultural shifts and inner migration; Dependency mindset; Lack of infrastructure, leadership, and partners; National government (Erdoğan) laws/restrictions; Neoliberalism; Social hierarchy/gender roles/tribal mindset; Uneducated populous</p>	<p>“shadow government”; Dependency on government departments; Farmers=poverty; Farmers resistant to agricultural changes; Informal agreements/contracts; “hand to hand”; Investor mentality; Lack of business/organizational skills, financial support; Lack of knowledge about globalization; Localized identity and power; Supplant old knowledge with new knowledge; Turkish Neoliberalism (patronage, quasi-privatization of government services); Westernization</p> <p>From: RQ4. Mistrust rampant;</p>	<p>heritage protection; Resistance to government control; Resistance to neoliberalism; Villager education (rights)</p>	<p>Label conformity; Legal entity status; Neoliberal efficiency/productivity standards; Partner with corporations; Seed law</p>	
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	Transplants in roles of creative, invaders, investors.			
First Iteration: Open Coding/Surface Content Analysis				
RQ1. Which actants and actors are influencing development of AFNs?	RQ2. How do characteristics of these actants and actors influence development of AFNs?	RQ3. How do these actors negotiate and transact cultural aspects related to AFNs?	RQ4. How do enactments of cultural politics by these actors challenge and/or reinforce dominant representations and reproduction of the global food system?	RQ5. How do strategies employed by actors working on AFNs match to sustainability trajectories from SUS-CHAIN's nourishing networks framework?
RQ1. Agricultural consultants RQ1. Catalysts: People RQ1. Catalysts: Events RQ1. Chamber of Commerce-agriculture (Zirrat Odesi) RQ1. Community-activated stores RQ1. Cultural shifts (consumers, food security, investors, land sales, westernization) RQ1. Dependency mindset RQ1. Environment: Plants, soil, seeds, water RQ1. Farmer/Producer associations RQ1. Farmer/Village cooperatives RQ1. Geography: Mountains, ocean, weather RQ1. "Good Agricultural Practices" RQ1. Government resources: Local and national	RQ2. Lack of solidarity/trust RQ2. Localized identity and power RQ2. Organizational structure RQ2. Pessimistic RQ2. Proudful RQ2. Privatization of government services RQ2. Semi-nomadic; mobile populus RQ2. Social responsibility RQ2. Supplant old knowledge with new knowledge RQ2. Tourism dependency RQ2. Tourism drives change RQ2. Turkish Neoliberalism; patronage RQ2. Transplants: Educated, creative, no farm experience RQ3. Advocacy RQ3. Align with EU funding RQ3. Align with international AFN discourses	RQ4. Legitimization: Certification RQ4. Legitimization: Government sponsorship RQ4. Legitimization: International membership Rq4. Legitimization: Istanbul contracts RQ4. Legitimization: Labels RQ4. Legitimization: Legal status RQ4. Local foods to institutions RQ4. Marketing: organic products RQ4. Marketing: speciality/patented foods RQ4. Marketing: village products RQ4. Merge ecology with heritage message RQ4. Mistrust: Corporations RQ4. Mistrust: Government		

<p>RQ1. Heritage: Family</p> <p>RQ1. Heritage: Farming and husbandry beliefs</p> <p>RQ1. Heritage: Connect to land</p> <p>RQ1. Heritage: National history</p> <p>RQ1. Heritage: Way of life</p> <p>RQ1. Heritage: Foods, seeds</p> <p>RQ1. Inner migration</p> <p>RQ1. International resources</p> <p>RQ1. Investors: nationals and foreigners</p> <p>RQ1. Istanbul</p> <p>RQ1. Lack of infrastructure</p> <p>RQ1. Lack of leadership</p> <p>RQ1. Lack of partners</p> <p>RQ1. Loose social groups</p> <p>RQ1. Manipulative leaders</p> <p>RQ1. Ministry of Agriculture/Tarım Müdürlüğü</p> <p>RQ1. Ministry of Tourism.</p> <p>RQ1. NGOs: Local, national, and international</p> <p>RQ1. National government (Erdoğan) laws/restrictions</p> <p>RQ1. Nationwide food networks</p> <p>RQ1. Neoliberalism</p> <p>RQ1. Organic food movement</p> <p>RQ1. Permaculture movement</p> <p>RQ1. Restaurant, hotel/pension owners</p> <p>RQ1. Social activists: anti-capitalist, environmentalist, gender equality, health, nostalgia for old ways, self-sufficiency</p> <p>RQ1. Social hierarchy/gender roles/tribal mindset</p>	<p>RQ3. Align with neoliberalism</p> <p>RQ3. Animal welfare message</p> <p>RQ3. Anti-capitalism message</p> <p>RQ3. Conflict: With groups (between, internal, with local and national government, with society)</p> <p>RQ3. Conflict: With non-profits (between, internal, with local and national government, with society)</p> <p>RQ3. Conflict: With farmers (between, with corporations, with groups, with investors, with local and national government, with nonprofits, with coops and associations, with society, with transplants)</p> <p>RQ3. Community gardening</p> <p>RQ3. Community supported agriculture</p> <p>RQ3. Cultural shifts (buy less, gendered leadership, identity management, land sales contested, social hierarchy)</p> <p>RQ3. Culture of nepotism/patronage/ “turn the eye”</p> <p>RQ3. Ecovillages/ Agritourism</p> <p>RQ3. Education, Salons, Workshops</p> <p>RQ3. Environmental stewardship message</p> <p>RQ3. Expand services</p> <p>RQ3. Food security message</p> <p>RQ3. Fragmented groups</p> <p>RQ3. Fragmented projects</p> <p>RQ3. Fragmented network</p> <p>RQ3. Governance strategies</p>	<p>RQ4. Mistrust: Groups, cooperatives, associations, unions.</p> <p>RQ4. Neoliberal efficiency/productivity standards</p> <p>RQ4. National food networks</p> <p>RQ4. Partner with corporations</p> <p>RQ4. Peer to peer education</p> <p>RQ4. Personal becomes political</p> <p>RQ4. Resistance to corporations</p> <p>RQ4. Seed law</p> <p>RQ4. Seeds: saving, swaps</p> <p>RQ4. Social embeddedness</p> <p>RQ4. Social movement: Environmental (agriculture, lifestyle, villages)</p> <p>RQ4. Social movement: Food</p> <p>RQ4. Social movement: Lifestyle</p> <p>RQ4. Transplants: Invaders</p> <p>RQ4. Transplants: Investors</p> <p>RQ4. Variety of local projects</p> <p>RQ5. Embedding: Address societal concerns regarding sustainable regional development.</p> <p>RQ5. Embedding: Create synergies between food supply chains and economic formats</p> <p>RQ5. Embedding: Initiated by public-private partnerships</p> <p>RQ5. Governance: Bargaining power</p> <p>RQ5. Governance: Initiated by farmers</p> <p>RQ5. Governance: New rules, new division of roles, new arrangements</p>
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<p>RQ1. Socialpreneurs RQ1. Tourism RQ1. Uneducated populus RQ1. University resources RQ2. Alternative (anti-status quo) lifestyles RQ2. Arrogance, conflictual, resist collaboration RQ2. Capitalist RQ2. Civil society nascent; “shadow government” RQ2. Ecological mindset RQ2. Environment: soil broken/dead, water pure and abundant, sun and wind are cleaning RQ2. Farmers=poverty RQ2. Farmers resistant to agricultural changes RQ2. Fight for way of life RQ2. Fearful/paranoid RQ2. Geography: Creates culture RQ2. Geography: Harsh, wild RQ2. Geography: Protect against change, uncontrolled RQ2. Grassroots oriented RQ2. Government: Controller, suspicious RQ2. Government: Dependency RQ2. Government: Identity management RQ2. Government: Supportive RQ2. Heritage: Supports the culture, family supports family RQ2. Hopeful RQ2. Informal agreements/contracts; “hand to hand” RQ2. Insulatory social groups RQ2. “Intellectuals”</p>	<p>RQ3. Government dependency RQ3. Government support RQ3. Heritage message RQ3. Hope RQ3. Increase linkages RQ3. Informal agreements/contracts with eco-farmers RQ3. Marketing strategies; trademarks RQ3. Not building bridges between consumer needs and farmer needs RQ3. Overlay social responsibility, ecological thinking, gender quality, and heritage protection RQ3. Resistance to eco-discourse due to lack of education and assistance RQ3. Risk assumed unevenly RQ3. Permaculture Institutes, certifications, community groups RQ3. Rebuild villages RQ3. Resistance to government control RQ3. Resistance to neoliberal philosophy RQ3. Seeds: Law/protection RQ3: Seeds swaps RQ3. Social embeddedness; localization of trust RQ3. Socialpreneurship RQ3. Villager education RQ3. Village level-associations and cooperatives RQ4. Advocacy RQ4. Agri-tourism RQ4. Anti-capitalism message RQ4. Barter system</p>	<p>RQ5. Governance: Protected space or niche for experimenting. RQ5. Marketing: Improve competitive position RQ5. Marketing: Initiated by small-scale processors or retailers RQ5. Marketing: Marketing distinctive products alongside well established products. RQ5. Private resources (grassroots, nonprofits, socialpreneurs) Public resources (EU, Ministry of Ag, Ministry of Tourism, provincial and local govt)</p>
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<p>RQ2. Istanbul contracts = success</p> <p>RQ2. Investor mentality</p> <p>RQ2. Lack of business/organizational skills</p> <p>RQ2. Lack of financial support</p> <p>RQ2. Lack of knowledge about globalization</p>	<p>RQ4. Buy local, eat local message</p> <p>RQ4. Collaborative governance (associations, NGOs, Zirrat Odesi)</p> <p>RQ4. Community-driven projects</p> <p>RQ4. Education events</p> <p>RQ4. Governance strategies</p> <p>RQ4. Government control</p> <p>RQ4. Government support</p> <p>RQ4. Heritage: Meaning making</p> <p>RQ4. Heritage: Village identity</p> <p>RQ4. Heritage: Village value</p>	
<p>DATA</p>	<p>DATA</p>	<p>DATA</p>

Appendix I

Extending Findings, by Objective

The following link will take you to a document showing the extended findings (by objective). That document gives minute detail about the many parts of the AFNs I studied and is quite lengthy but rich! Any references cited in that document can be found within this larger document

Enjoy!

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1pYSHZvAXxcvOUfejVcUDdqzDjX30I4GcOCeXe9E0SNM/edit?usp=sharing>