

GLOBALIZATION AND DIMINISHING LOCAL TASTES:
THE CASE OF SPICE BAZAAR

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THE CASE OF SPICE BAZAAR

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Osman Zinnur Aksu, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Globalization and Diminishing Local Tastes:

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Food industry, together with the agricultural production is getting more dominated by globalization effects. As the companies get dominant within the sector, they raise many problems for those whose income is based on harvesting with traditional methods that are ineffective compared to the mass production methods. Local foods are getting standardized throughout the world and most of the exotic tastes are either lost, facing depletion, or standardized so that they are not exotic anymore. Spice Bazaar has been one of the central places to attract tourists. The bazaar used to offer various local food from different groups of products including olive, fish, coffee and it was characterized with spices. Bazaar is recently facing a major problem of standardization. In order to offer “proper” products to their clients, the dealers in Bazaar left the small businesses which produce at relatively higher prices in their unique way compared to the big companies which use standardized mass production that allow them to produce at lower prices. The dealers also changed the type, sector, and overall structure of their shops. This thesis deals with the question why such a transformation happened. Three possible explanations of this question were detected in literature. The transformation could be an outcome of the global trends towards liberalized trade and globalized world, the effect of Turkish political economy, or changing consumer preferences as the expected standardization from the demand side. This research made use of qualitative data, more specifically semi-structured interviews with two groups of actors: the current shop owners within the Spice Bazaar and the current and former suppliers (producers) of those shops.

ÖZET

Küreselleşme ve Azalan Yerel Tatlar: Mısır Çarşısı Örneği

Tarımsal üretimle birlikte gıda sektöründe de küreselleşmenin etkileri giderek daha fazla hâkim olmaktadır. Büyük firmalar tarım sektörüne egemen oldukça, seri üretim yöntemlerine göre etkisiz kalan geleneksel yöntemlere dayalı olan köylünün birçok sorunu gündeme gelmektedir. İstanbul'daki Mısır Çarşısı, egzotik tatları ile turistlerin ilgisini çeken merkezlerden biri olmuştur. Çarşı, eskiden farklı baharatla özdeşleşmesine rağmen zeytin, balık, kahve gibi farklı ürün gruplarından yöresel yiyecekler sunardı. Çarşıda son dönemde tektipleşme sorunu görülmektedir. Çarşıdaki dükkanlar, müşterilerine ucuz ve “doğru” ürünler sunabilmek için, standartlaştırılmış seri üretimden yararlanan büyük şirketlere kıyasla, kendilerine özgü yöntemlerle nispeten daha yüksek fiyatlarla ürün üreten küçük işletmelere sırtlarını dönmüşlerdir. Ürünlerin nitelikleri hızla değişmekle kalmamış, dükkanlar da mağazalarının türünü, sektörünü ve genel yapısını değiştirmiştir. Bu tez, böyle bir dönüşümün neden gerçekleştiği sorusunu ele almaktadır. Literatürde bu sorunun üç olası açıklaması tespit edilmiştir. Dönüşüm, a) serbestleşen ticarete ve küreselleşen dünyaya yönelik küresel eğilimlerin, b) aslında küresel eğilimlerle uyumlu olan Türkiye ekonomi politiğinin etkisinin veya c) değişen tüketici tercihlerinin bir sonucu olabilir. Bu soruların cevaplarının izini sürmek için, bu araştırma nitel verilerden, daha spesifik olarak iki aktör grubuyla yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerden yararlanmıştır: 1) Mısır Çarşısı'ndaki mevcut dükkân sahipleri ve 2) bu dükkanlara yönelik üretim yapan mevcut ve eski tedarikçiler.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Global Village is an outdoor shopping, leisure, and entertainment destination in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. The park features pavilions from over 75 countries, each showcasing traditional products, art, food, and entertainment from their respective countries. The theme is that in every pavilion, all the products sold and the employees working must be from the country attached to it. For instance, if you go into the Turkey pavilion in the park, all the dairy, desserts, teas, spices, etc., should be made in Turkey, as well as all the employees being Turkish. As the managers claim, the idea behind Global Village is to bring together people from around the world to experience different cultures in a single destination. The park also provides an opportunity for people to engage in commerce, as almost all the pavilions offer products for sale.

However, this celebration of neoliberal globalization as a theme park has been under attack in recent years. As more and more people became aware of the potential profits of running a business in any of the pavilions, the demand for renting stores in pavilions has risen, thus, the prices. Big fishes around the park have started to monopolize and exclude newcomers from renting stores through various mechanisms. As a result, although the numbers are unofficial, it is believed that some 60 to 70% of shop owners are from Turkey, Syria, and Bangladesh. For instance, if you buy socks from the Kuwait pavilion, you would think that these socks were made in Kuwait, yet they are all brought and managed by some Turkish employer. To some extent, the park's original purpose of globalization and learning about

different cultures are being lost. This is similar to that of the transformation of Spice Bazaar to a large extent. Spice Bazaar has also been a profitable place to do business in. However, it has started to change in the last 3-4 decades, diminishing its authenticity just like Global Village. As globalization forces started to penetrate into both the global and Turkish political economies, the transformative effects of them started gradually how their effect on city-signature places such as Spice Bazaar and Grand Bazaar. What is being sold in the Spice Bazaar has been standardized in a unique way. Although it may find more items than before both within the Bazaar and outside it, the system created a dynamic atmosphere that favors certain products and pushes away others. This research aims to explain those similarities and differences through the lens of political economy.

Globalization in the 21st century has brought about many different aspects and faces of itself. While some celebrated liberalization as well as the rise of what they call a "global culture," others emphasized the struggles that emerged linked to the scope and speed of this globalization process. Coca-colonization is the term that was introduced by them to stress out the standardizing methods of globalization. Standardizing principles of food production occurred not only in restaurants but also in agricultural foods, which go through relatively fewer processes until being ready to be consumed. The corporatization of such industries resulted in the loss of many local food products, as well as making it harder for the weaker producers to compete against major companies that make use of mass production.

The food industry throughout the world, together with agricultural production, is getting more and more dominated by multinational companies. Although the process is more smooth and rapid in those countries that are industrialized and wealthier, lesser-developed countries are also on the same path, as

some of the companies they welcome with subsidies and fewer taxes for the foreign direct investments they bring about to deal with the standardization and corporatization of the food industry. Although the Turkish economy has been stagnating for the past few years in terms of the amount of foreign direct investments it gets, the figures are still dramatically high compared to the figures of a decade ago. As the companies get more dominant within the agricultural sector, they raise many problems for the peasants whose income is based on harvesting with traditional methods that are ineffective compared to the mass production methods MNCs use. At the same time, the process of such rapid standardization combined with the corporatization of food challenges traditional cuisines. Local foods are getting standardized in many markets throughout the world, and most of the exotic tastes are either lost, facing depletion, or standardized in such a way that they are not exotic anymore.

Spice Bazaar in İstanbul has been one of the central places to attract tourists with the exotic tastes of Turkish cuisine. The Bazaar used to offer various local food from different groups of products, including olive, fish, and coffee, even though it was characterized by different spices. Bazaar is recently facing a major problem which is characterized by the standardization aspect of globalization. To offer cheap and "proper" products to their clients, the dealers in Bazaar turned their back to the small businesses, which produce products at relatively higher prices in their unique way compared to the big companies which make use of standardized mass production that allow them to produce in lower prices. Not only have the attributes of products changed rapidly, but the shop owners also changed what they sell in the last few years.

This thesis presents a qualitative analysis of interviews with both the Spice Bazaar shop owners (former and recent) and producers in rural Turkey. This analysis of qualitative research will investigate the effects of globalization and neo-liberalization on the Spice Bazaar in Turkey. Specifically, it will explore how the standardization of local tastes has occurred due to the influence of globalization and neo-liberalization. The argument is that globalization and neo-liberalization have had a major impact on the transformation of the Spice Bazaar, resulting in the standardization of local tastes. However, this top-down approach also signifies that there have been some struggles within that process. There was some local resistance, especially by more traditional sectors such as dowry shops and historically important shops such as the Grand Bazaar gold dealers. While dowry shops have resisted the spatial transformation of the Spice Bazaar and in overall Eminönü, gold dealers resisted actively against the government that planned to move them out to the Kuyumcukent, a newly built urban shopping area in İstanbul, yet far away from the city center.

The thesis will draw on three chapters of the literature review; the first will focus on globalization and the global politics of agro-food, the second on the political economy of agriculture in Turkey, and the third on the history of the Spice Bazaar.

The first chapter of the literature review will discuss the concept of globalization and its effects on agrifood businesses. It will explore the impact of globalized markets, international trade, and increased access to information and communication on the standardization of local tastes. It will also investigate how supermarkets, as well as chain hotels, have emerged as a critical factor in shaping production methods and qualities in rural. That somehow unexpected effect of

supermarkets and hotel chains was extracted from the field, as most of the producers pointed out the importance of supermarkets' hygiene mechanisms as one of the most significant shaping factors in their production methods. However, it also shows the deliberateness of said processes, as these big firms usually coincide with the governments. While historicizing the global political economy of agricultural production, a Marxist approach that emphasizes the "Food Regimes" were used. This was a practical choice through which it could be more easily planned and properly presented. However, liberal arguments and explanations were also included in the said chapter.

The second chapter will discuss the political economy of agriculture in Turkey, focusing on how neoliberal policies have affected local farmers and producers. It will begin its analysis with the 1980s, a turning point that was believed to be the emerging point of the open market economy in Turkey.

The third chapter will discuss the history of the Spice Bazaar, from its beginnings to its current state. Most interests were given to the transformation of Spice Bazaar, both physically and popularity-wise, after the 1980s.

The analysis of interviews with Spice Bazaar shop owners and producers will provide a qualitative understanding of the transformation of the Spice Bazaar. It will focus on how the shop owners and producers see the process of standardization through the lenses of globalization and neo-liberalization. As a case study, it will also analyze interviews with Spice Bazaar shop owners and producers to provide a qualitative analysis of the transformation of Spice Bazaar into a more standardized setting. The research begins its journey from the global, to the country-wise analysis, to the local analysis through which the similar and differentiating trends would be pointed out. Through the local analysis of Spice Bazaar, it is believed to point out the

specialties. While the story of Spice Bazaar shows how the meta-theories operate in the actual world, it also resembles how these changes fail to operate in the actual world. These failures are often due to resistance from local traditional actors. In conclusion, this research will provide a comprehensive analysis of the transformation of the Spice Bazaar due to globalization and neo-liberalization. It will provide an understanding of how the standardization of local tastes has changed the way in which people interact with the Spice Bazaar and how this has impacted local businesses and producers.

CHAPTER 2
INTERNATIONAL
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AGRICULTURE

International political economy has been researched in various contexts throughout literature. One of the most critical sub-fields of research in this area is the political economy of agriculture and food. As it was seen as a "national security issue," agricultural production has, by nature, been as political as it is economic before the eyes of decision-makers (Miroux et al., 2009). It has been highly contentious, and the history of the political economy of agriculture and food is similar to any other sectors in political and economic research. Throughout the years, while the U.S.— the global hegemon —insisted laissez-faire mentality in every sector of the world economy, the South, and quite surprisingly, Europe has struggled against this type of liberalization regarding agricultural production (Friedmann, 1993).

In this chapter, the political economy of food and agriculture will be analyzed through a) a historical perspective that emphasizes certain critical junctures within the world economy, b) an analysis to show the current situation through a detailed revision of current discussions, which primarily circulates around globalization and c) how both historical and current developments affect(ed) the Turkish political economy of agriculture and food.

2.1 Food Regime Theory

When analyzing the political economy of global agriculture, the most popular analysis within the Marxist literature seems to be the “food regimes analysis” (Bernstein, 2015). Friedmann and McMichael (1989) initially identified two food

regimes, the first between 1870-1914/30 and the second between 1947-1972. The food regime is a historical concept that approaches food production and consumption in the axis of periods in which stable relations are maintained for a brief time and crisis moments in which the balance of power changes (Friedman, 2005, p. 228). The groundbreaking notion of the food regimes analysis was that it reversed the traditionally assumed relation between state formation processes and the political economy of food. In that, they argued for the formative power of agricultural production in the capitalist labor-owner relationships and vice versa (Giménez and Shattuck, 2011). The article was so well-timed—right in the middle of the neoliberal globalization discussions—it was accepted that a new phase and third food regime was dominant in the world economy since the 1980s (Bernstein, 2015). A significant remark of this new phase and the so-called "triumph" of neoliberal globalization was concretized in the Uruguay Round of the GATT. Yet, it was also a "crisis moment" when disputes over agricultural production delayed the Rounds (Watkins, 1991). Therefore, by examining these three phases, the history of the political economy of agricultural production and food could most likely be understood. Although following this Marxism-dominated way of historical narration, this sub-chapter would also look for liberal explanations as to how these times of hegemony shaped global consumption and production of food. Thus, this systemic analysis, by nature, would need some state-level research in it.

Food Regime Theory tries to politicize the history of capitalism through global food production processes. Friedmann and McMichael (1989) have identified three phases within the history or three "global food regimes." Each of these deals with a phase in which a hegemon was present in the global political economy, and they investigated how this hegemon related to the other (primarily underdeveloped)

parts of the world (McMichael, 2013). Global value relations determined global food regimes (Araghi, 2003).

2.1.1 First food regime

The first food regime was derived from the British evolution of Corn Laws in the 1840s. Through the so-called Pax-Britannica, the U.K. was centralizing the world's food, bringing it from far away commonwealth lands such as Australia, Canada, and so on to the island. The characterizing notion of the first food regime was the transformation within grain production in the U.S. As Great Britain tried to feed a mass working class with cheap and proper food within its soils, it incentivized food production within its colonies (McMichael, 2005). Cheap and proper food that only meets the nutrition goals, thus ensuring the minimizing labor costs (namely, wage food), was dominant in those colonial lands. Great Britain's campaign to promote the production of wage food and then concentrate those produced in the island and has created an export-oriented agricultural production in commonwealth countries. "Metropole" states—as McMichael (2009) names them—had enjoyed the cheapest wage-labor costs throughout this period (McMichael, 2009). The first food regime brought about revolutionary reforms not only in production and trade relations but also in the financial relations they have been transforming and reorganizing (Burch & Lawrence, 2009). Great Britain enjoyed the benefits of the gold standard through which the state was able to control the flow of money.

Friedman names the first food regime a "colonial/diasporic food regime.

"Modern agriculture has shown its first signs through the first food regime.

Especially within the U.S., mechanizing agricultural activities allowed for a big boom in global grain production. Newly established agricultural lands, the lowlands

that were previously used for non-agricultural purposes, have also allowed for this boom” (Friedmann, 1978). The picture is drawn to clearly represent "world systems theory." This explains that the core countries are exploiting the periphery countries by enjoying the flow of cheap raw materials from them and then returning refined products to them (Wallerstein, 1974). What the first food regime deals with was an example of how the world systems theory operates in practice. Great Britain and other powers within Europe were using lands worldwide for their benefit at the expense of the world, getting increasingly dependent on them. Growing export incomes and the need for more and more products have a hand-in-hand hit on household production in the U.S., as traditional household productions have been placed by capitalist companies and more critical production sites. The crisis moment and the end of the first regime were bound to happen within this dependent atmosphere with grain production constantly rising globally, especially in the U.S. Although, the demand was yet to meet this supply. Especially after the sharp decrease in demand—and the constant increase in supply—World War I pressured the price of grain worldwide, paving the way for the Great Depression of 1929, and finally, the end of the first food regime. Typical notions of the first food regime were the formation of nation-states, the transformation of production methods (i.e., the metamorphosis of household producers into capitalist companies), and self-regulated markets worldwide. These factors would be significant in how the second food regime was to be organized.

2.1.2 Second food regime

The second food regime was organized around the United States, the world hegemon after World War II. Through Pax-Americana, the U.S. started "subsidizing" the non-industrialized countries with their foreign aid. It almost redispersed the global food stocks before stockpiling within European lands through Pax-Britannica. The second food regime was named the "mercantilist food regime ." Entering the second food regime, big agricultural firms had already been established within the U.S., and they had replaced household producers. After the Second World War, the U.S. established floor price practices and controlled trade within its own soil to prevent producers from being harmed by decreasing agricultural product prices worldwide. As mechanized agriculture has spread through the entire world, and as the chemical supplements allowed for even greater production numbers, the U.S. must have felt it necessary to prevent its agricultural sector from falling apart. These technological developments led to further division of labor within the agricultural sector, and companies producing chemical supplements emerged (Friedmann, 1993).

These chemical companies and big agricultural firms have been internationally significant through the second regime. Another vital characteristic of the second regime was the use of foreign aid by the world superpower, the U.S. The U.S. has used subsidized exports for food aid, which would serve two purposes. Domestically, it would favor the agricultural producers and floor price practices, and internationally, it would help the U.S. seek alliances and keep its usual allies away from Soviet influence. Marshall Aid provided the developing countries with cheap and proper food produced in the U.S. It restructured and damaged post-war Europe until 1954 and helped the U.S. fight the influence of communism after that (Giménez & Shuttuck, 2011). Late in the second food regime, sugar and vegetable oil were

replaced with their industrial substitutes: corn syrup and soy oil. This development had a two-way effect on the global food trade: firstly, it made the U.S. use its excess supply of corn and soy, and secondly, it harmed the agricultural sector of the developing countries, which were mainly dependent on tropical products like sugar. It also made them leave agricultural production as the U.S. provided cheap (or even free) products for which they would otherwise need an excellent investment. This has also affected the global diet. The number of people dealing with diabetic diseases has increased sharply, and it would even be a dispute settlement in the WTO later when Mexico tried limiting corn syrup imports from the U.S. in 1998 (World Trade Organization, 2001).

The third food regime placed its roots in the 1980s when neoliberalism started to take over the popular dominant political discourse throughout the world. However, it is unclear when and how the third regime has been apparent and dominant worldwide (or even if it had started). Friedman (2005) and Burch and Lawrence (2009) argued that it hadn't started yet. However, this paper will follow the point of view which claims that the third regime has been dominant since 1980 (Giménez & Shuttuck, 2011). Through this third regime, the global food trade was more decentralized, becoming more of an interdependent exchange of food stocks worldwide. Not only did the name of the hegemon and the attitude it takes within global trade change as the food regimes passed, but the “nature” of global food has also differed. Wage foods were dominant within the first regime, which was cheap and mass-produced raw nourishments to feed the unindustrialized working class in the U.K. and continental Europe. Processed foods were dispersed from the U.S. to the rest of the world within the second regime. Rich foods dominated the third regime. We are now experiencing a state of food exchange within the world

economy where even seasonal foods are distributed from anywhere. It was argued that the hegemony was “inherent” or “embodied” (concerning the ‘embedded liberalism’ argument of Ruggie [1982]) in the Bretton-Wood institutions). Therefore, the third food regime has also been named the "institutional food regime."

2.2 Third Food Regime: effects of globalization and contemporary issues

The third food regime followed the collapse of nationally incentivized agriculture sectors of the second food regime. This occurred within a context where Western capitalist states started to shift away from Keynesian policies, and the role of the state in national economies as an actor had started to be questioned. As the national regulations were still relevant and terms such as food sovereignty and food security started to be more popular, actions of a state within the third food regime were called “neoregulation” in a Polanyian sense rather than deregulation (Pechlamer & Otero, 2008). It is crucial to explain different factors to understand the structure and practical process of food politics in the third food regime. For the sake of this thesis, these factors will be limited to only three: the role of Multinational Companies (MNCs), supermarkets' role in shaping agricultural production methods worldwide, and the role of states and international institutions.

2.2.1 Role of multinational companies

Any global political-economic research should, at some point, touch on multinational companies and their role in shaping both consumers' and producers' markets on any scale. This thesis on the local Bazaar of İstanbul is no different. The transformation in the Spice Bazaar has been tightly linked to the transformation of the rural agricultural areas, which had been feeding stores in the Bazaar throughout history.

The story of the transformation of agricultural areas around Turkey is closely linked to the story of multinational companies. To better explain the Turkish transformation story, it is significant to understand how multinational companies operate, how their strategies differ from developing to developed countries, and how they generally affect the host country's agri-food sector.

It is not new that food and beverage multinational companies have been significant actors in the global political economy. Big-scale agri-food firms originating in the USA have intervened in politics in the host country in Latin America throughout the post-World War II period. Some, like the United Fruit Company, were powerful enough to overthrow governments via coup d'états or to shape the host country's railway systems, agriculture politics, and land reforms. They were so dominant that the term "banana republic" appeared in literature to designate their actions. However, after the 1960s, their direct interventions started to decline. Whether it is a purely public relations tool to ensure the "good intentions" of the global food giants (along with corporate social responsibility aspects) or the host countries opened up their economies and such interventions are no longer needed, the coup d'états and similar actions that were previously popular among the (mostly Latin American) countries that these firms are operating in are no longer used (Turner, 1974). They utilize different strategies to do what is best for them within the market. Yet, how the general picture of the multinational agri-food sector is shaped and whether there is a shared global "international agri-food industry" is questioned.

The global agri-food sector is rather close to a perfect competition picture (Alexander et al., 2011). Several big, small, and middle-scale firms compete with one another throughout the world. In the packaged food industry, the biggest ten companies account for only 15.2% of whole sales around the world

(EUROMONITOR, 2011). However, there are some oligopolistic faces in the "agri-food" sector as well. For instance, both the soft drink and tobacco industries are dominated by only a few companies, and they implement what is best for not only their own firm but also their "rivals." In other words, the whole sector benefits. The latter two industries are vulnerable to reaching exotic/tropical products, flavors, and sweeteners. However, the packaged food industry deals with more properly found agricultural products through which they can access more easily. Therefore, the sector is more diffused and elastic to the global competition and demand of consumers (Alexander et al., 2011). In fact, food MNCs are the second most internationalized among the sectors, following the media. "Internationalizing" is a term measured by looking at the foreign assets, sales, and employment (Senauer & Venturini, 2005).

Studies show that if you are a food exporting country, the FDI inflows from the USA-based MNCs trigger and actually increase your exports. However, if you are an importer, they further increase the food imports (Barkley, 2005). This data implies that the MNCs' investments in an importing country are only beneficial for the production of raw materials (and usually tropical items), but their investments also bring about further imports and deepen the trade deficit of the host country as they see those as new markets. FDI outflow in the agriculture and related industries roughly doubled from 1989 to 2007, and they quadrupled in the food & beverage and tobacco industries (UNCTAD, 2009). This growing investment trend has many causes, including but not limited to the trend of trade liberalization worldwide, the formation and empowerment of multi-state trade organizations, and the liberalization of formerly state-controlled economies (Rama, 2017). All these developments indicate that there is a new food system being shaped around the globe. The system

is designed to cooperate production, commercialization, consumption, and distribution of agri-food. MNCs, along with hegemon powers such as the U.S. and Europe, are parts of this new system. They also seem to be the most active components among those (Arroyo, 1981).

The relationship between MNC activities and their local and national effects on the hosting countries was concrete, mostly in Latin American countries. The region is geographically close to the USA and has vast unindustrialized lands. As a result, it has been an early laboratory for the MNCs to expand their influence, and the political instability in the region has played into their hands. Mexico and Chile are among two examples where the MNCs most affected the peasants locally and nationally. Both countries have started to gradually liberalize their economies after the 1980s. In the Chilean case, small-scale peasant farmers started to disappear after the U.S. firms came and reshaped the use of lands according to their needs. That is to say that products that could be imported at a cheap price tag, such as grain, have started to decline in harvest numbers, and exotic products, such as palm oil, started to be grown more over time.

As state retrenchment in the agricultural sector occurred, cutbacks of incentives, social policies, and stimulated gas and electricity deepened. Small-scale peasantry farmers were replaced by middle- and big-scale agricultural firms. This aligned with McMichael's assumptions within the second food regime. Thinking alongside urbanization and neoliberal city planning, this whole process is believed to be a political choice by the government rather than a natural global process (Murray, 2002). This transformation was also similar in the Mexican case where the boom in mango production replaced the production of grain in village lands. This remarks the vulnerability of local peasants as they became more and more dependent on the big-

scale (primarily multinational) companies to buy their products. Once they reshape their lands to rely on those products, there is no going back (Echanove, 2005).

2.2.2 Role of supermarkets

There has been a shift in the sector of food trade throughout the world. Formerly dominant traditional family stores have been replaced by supermarkets, starting firstly in the North and spreading gradually to the South. These traditional family-owned businesses had virtually no impact on the production methods of what they sell (Konefal et al., 2007). The impact of the production methods was one of but not the only revolutionary outcomes of supermarkets. Another significant revolution was the logic of counter. Formerly, within traditional shops, customers could only *tell* the cashier what they needed from behind a counter. However, with the invention of supermarkets (the first of which was founded in 1930 in New York) customers would walk around and self-serve their needs. This allowed the industry to further commercialize its brands as "transforming shopping into an experience." Generally, there are five main characteristics of supermarkets identified within literature and by the governmental branches: 1) cheap and mass consumption, 2) self-service, 3) nationally and internationally-owned businesses, 4) brands and packaged items, 5) chain marketing (Konefal et al., 2007; Lawrence & Burch, 2007; Smithsonian Institute, 2022). This recipe of success was quickly spread around —mostly within the developed parts of the world. In 2021, the supermarket industry enjoyed a fairly dominant position within the food retail sector. Table 1 shows the biggest 10 supermarket brands throughout the world, along with their annual revenue and ownership information.

Table 1. Revenues of Top 10 Supermarkets Worldwide

Rank	Company	2020-2021 Revenue (in Billion Dollars)	Number of Stores	Headquarters
1	Walmart	523.9	5342	Arkansas, USA
2	Costco	166.8	559	Washington, USA
3	Target	93.56	1897	Minnesota, USA
4	Walmex	34.2	3407	Mexico City, Mexico
5	7-Eleven	65.9	13839	Texas, USA
6	Woolworths	67.3	3000	NSW, Australia
7	Tesco	70.78	4613	WGC, U.K.
8	Æon	79.22	14830	Chiba, Japan
9	Carrefour	80.66	12225	Boulogne-Billancourt, France
10	Metro	28.66	1601	Dusseldorf, Germany

Sources: Statista (n.d.) and Macro Trends (n.d.)

Headquarters of those countries seem to be congregated. Four of them are on the borders of the USA. The total revenue of the ten companies in 2021 is 1200 billion USD. For reference, Turkey's total exports in the year 2021 were roughly 225 billion USD (Turkish Statistical Institution, n.d.). This demonstrates their significance within the retail food industry, further emphasizing the desperation of little stores. All ten companies have a global reach. However, some of them are more powerful in specific geographies (like Aeon in Japan or Tesco in the U.K.). Although

the food industry was fragmented and seemed closer to perfect competition rather than a monopoly (previously explained), the supermarket industry seems more concentrated. Together, the top 10 have accounted for 61.313 stores around the world in 2021. That means an average of roughly 315 stores for every country in the world. This figure shows the growing popularity of supermarkets worldwide. Although there is a lack of quantifiable data in terms of household stores and traditional shops, it is easy to claim that they were harmed and removed by this transition process.

The case of Spice Bazaar offers yet another exciting insight into this discussion as the shops inside the Bazaar are among the minority of traditional stores that resisted this transition. It is significant to point out particular characteristics of this transition period to understand this resistance. The story of spreading supermarkets in developed countries is, as always, a story of business plans and profit-maximizing decisions. However, in developing countries, there are different facets of the story. Although it is also argued that the story is similar between developed and developing countries, it is only a matter of *when* this transition happened, rather than *why* or *how* it did, when it comes to distinctions between those two. There are a variety of timetables, even in developing countries. For instance, it became earlier in more advanced developing countries like Brazil and relatively later in poorer ones like Guatemala (Reardon & Berdague,2002).

In the demand part, the gradual industrialization of developing countries has served the high-speed spread of supermarkets. With urbanization and the need for processed, easy-to-use food types, the supermarkets offered a variety of productions that were usually not there in the traditional stores. Women's integration into the workforce has also fueled this need. On the other hand, the supply side would prioritize profit maximization as always. Little competition in the newly penetrated

markets has attracted the attention of big supermarket chains. For instance, the French supermarket giant had much more profit in Argentina, where it had just begun operation, than in France, its own homeland (Gutman, 2002).

The dominant perspective of supermarket innovation analyzes the expansion of supermarkets throughout the world in four waves. The waves were differentiated both geographically and timewise (Reardon et al., 2004). All waves were identified in Table 2.

Table 2. The Four Waves of Supermarket Expansion

Name	Whereabout	Timewise	Main Characteristics
First Wave	Relatively richer cities of Latin America	Starting from 1990s, to mid-2000s	Supermarkets began to discover their purchasing power shapes how the products are being produced.
Second Wave	East Asia, as well as Central and Eastern Europe	From late 1990s to mid-to-late 2000s	There was great competition among the biggest supermarket companies in order to spread more properly and earlier in newly established markets.
Third Wave	Africa, and secondary cities of the countries that were influenced by the first wave	From the start of 2000s, to late 2000s	The abundance of money around the world made the overall living standards rise up, thus the need for supermarket products in many new areas.
Fourth Wave	Southern Asia and West Africa	Is still happening	Rapid urbanization further spreads around the "virgin" areas of the world. Thus, the supermarkets come along.

When it comes to the characteristics of supermarkets on the buying side, there are distinctive but common strategies among those big companies. Mainly four principles are used within those: 1) using unique buyers and thus making them

experts for their products, 2) making use of distribution centers to minimize operational costs, 3) using "preferred suppliers," a system which rewards the supplier with most proper products and penalizes others, and 4) implementing private standards over the suppliers (Reardon et al., 2004). They wouldn't buy from traditional wholesale centers because of lacking standards and technical misinformation.

This resistance to buying from traditional supply chains and overall systemizing the buying principles have together paved the way for the term "supermarket imperialism." As the supermarkets require particular know-how from the suppliers to ensure uniform, safe, and proper products, they would reward and prioritize certain producers and penalize and exclude certain others, as described above (Freidberg, 2009). This whole process pushes certain producers out of the sector. A study shows how the procedures implemented by British supermarkets influence the fresh vegetable-producing farmers in Kenya and Zimbabwe. This was one of the most prominent, most concrete examples of how globalization paced and how supermarkets influenced not only the countries in which they operate a business (i.e., selling products via opening stores) but also the countries where they buy food from. The British supermarket giant's attitude is inclusionary toward big, early-established, exporting food firms, thus eliminating household peasantry farming (Dolan & Humphrey, 2000). Ironically, this process would, in turn, increase further urbanization, and in a way (probably unintentionally), lead to even more significant revenues for supermarkets, as these desperate peasantry farmers would have to immigrate to the cities to survive. To a certain extent, supermarkets are doing what big food retailers like United Fruit Company do in a more globalized world with the help of technological innovations.

Some 17 years ago, three big companies were predicted to dominate global food procurement. Namely, Carrefour, Royal Ahold, and Walmart were expected to dominate the buying side within the supermarket industry (Wrigley et al., 2005). This domination would also pave the way for the threat of cartelization, which had become a big issue within Turkish politics in the last two to three years. In 2021, Erdoğan was quoted as saying:

There are five chain supermarkets. Together, these five round-up exclusive products in the farms. The sector is turning upside down with the product collected by these five chain markets. The Ministry of Commerce will take all necessary measures in the fight against the borderless practices of chain markets and will carry out the necessary operations for them. If they act more fairly at this point, both the citizens will be able to buy products at affordable prices and the producer will have the chance to receive their earnings and money on time as of now.¹

This was before the Institution of Competition (*Rekabet Kurumu*) penalized five chain markets and a producer for the sum of 2.7 billion TRY (which then accounted for 283 million USD) (NTV, 2021)². Thus, it is easy to argue that the concentration of the supermarket industry in the hands of a small number of firms has been an issue in Turkey, and it will likely spread to the rest of the world.

2.2.3 Role of states and international institutions

The story of technological and industrial development in the agricultural sector is a story of developing countries in the 20th century. The literature is vast in terms of defining and explaining how agricultural industries have developed, how they changed within a globalized manner on one hand, and how developing countries have adapted or failed to do so on the other. The question is how to bring these two

¹ SoLHaber. (2021, February 4). Erdoğan bu 5 zincir market piyasayı altüst ediyor; gerekli operasyon yapılacak. Sol Haber. <https://haber.sol.org.tr/haber/erdogan-bu-5-zincir-market-piyasayi-altust-ediyor-gerekli-operasyon-yapilacak-314378>

² NTV (2020, July 6). Son Dakika Haberi: Rekabet Kurumundan 5 Zincir Market ve Bir Tedarikçiye Ceza. Retrieved from <https://www.ntv.com.tr/ekonomi/son-dakika-haberi-rekabet-kurumundan5-zincir-market-ve-bir-tedarikciye-ceza,VLI6-EqZp0yh8l2kdJm1cg#:~:text=Buna%20g%C3%B6re%205%20zincir%20ve,6%20milyon%20TL%20ceza%20verildi.>

aspects of political economy together and how these two have interacted with respect to one another. To do so, literature came up with the term "agro-industrialization."

Agro-industrialization, by nature, deals with how the industrializing forces have affected agricultural development and vice versa.

Agro-industrialization examines 1) the expansion of off-farm agro-processing, distribution, and farm-input provisioning operations carried out by companies which are referred to as "agribusiness firms" in the agribusiness research field; 2) institutional and organizational changes in agro-industrial businesses' and farms' relationships, such as greater vertical coordination; and 3) changes in the farm sector that occurs at the same time, such as product composition, technology, and sectoral and market structures (Wilkinson, 1995). From the 1990s onwards, there has been a rapid agro-industrialization process in developing countries and much research has been conducted to understand how it expanded.

Table 3 identifies the indicators of agricultural industrialization around the world. The indicators are the number of fertilizers (in 1,000 tons), the number of the rural population (in millions of people), mechanization (which was calculated through the numbers of tractors worldwide), cereal yields (that indicate the productiveness of cereal farms worldwide, through examining the kilograms of yields per hectares of fields), food energy, and daily energy intake per capita. Except for the food energy and energy intake per capita, virtually all these indicators have at least tripled in 45 years between 1963 and 2008. Table 3 demonstrates the dramatic increase in agricultural industrialization. The questions, therefore, address how and why this trend occurred.

Table 3. Indicators of Agricultural Mechanization

	Units	1963	1978	1993	2008
Fertilizers (N)	1000 t	15.011	53.327	74.493	105.738
Rural Population	Millions	2.106	2.656	3.134	3.385
Mechanization	1000 Tractors	12.389	20.557	26.003	-
Cereal Yields	kg/ha	1.321	1.946	2.502	3.149
Food Energy	Petajoules	11.027	16.075	22.393	29.060
Energy Intake per Capita	Kcal/day	2.253	2.451	2.636	2.822

Source: Reardon and Barret (2020)

One of the most significant determinants of agricultural industrialization is the export numbers of non-processed and processed agricultural products. The exports in dairy products (which include cheese, butter, and other milk-based products) have risen in value from 39.83 billion USD in 2015 to 63.59 billion USD in 2021. It marks about 59% growth in the exports of said products. Dairy products are very significant in terms of the effects of globalization's effects on local markets, especially in the Turkish Spice Bazaar case, because it is the sector in which the most prominent expected change vis-à-vis globalization occurred in the area. However, the change in the number of exports has varied from region to region and from country to country. For instance, there has been a rapid increase in dairy exports in India and other East Asian developing countries; however, in most of Africa, it happened much more slowly and even decreased in some parts of the continent. The following section of the chapter would analyze Turkish export figures in dairy and fruits to show whether Turkish exports have suffered or claimed opportunity out of this rapid change.

To answer why and how these changes have occurred within the agro-industrial sector, Reardon and Barrett (2000) have come up with a multi-layered

analysis that examines the developments and effects of them. Their analysis covers three levels of development within the sector before explaining their linkage to the development indicators. The three levels include global, sectoral, and country-based analyses which they call “meta-trends, global agri-food economy changes, and developing country agro-industries respectively.

On the global level, the overall income and wealth rise throughout the world have fed the developments within the sector. As the people generally got wealthier, they started to seek more processed foods that would fit not only their newly adopted diet per se but also their lifestyle. This would require easy-to-use processed food rather than raw materials such as vegetables and fresh fruits that could only be consumed after certain in-kitchen activities. This phenomenon is also significant with the rising urbanization and women's integration into the workplace. These sociological changes, mashed up with the political movements' (such as feminism and egalitarianism) main goals, have been feeding the rapid change within agricultural sectors' industrialization worldwide.

However, when talking about global, (or in Reardon and Barret's [2000] words, meta) developments, the political economy should also be noted, and they do so. The national economic policies worldwide, which would turn into a more liberal, open understanding of the market economy after the Second World War and even more rapidly after the Cold War, have been examined in the first section with a particular interest in the Food Regime Theory. It is also significant in Reardon and Barret's work, as they don't miss out on the importance of the formerly-protected agricultural economy's relatively recent openness worldwide, and it, in turn, shapes how the agro-industries became more rapidly developed and efficient globally. Finally, it is essential to note that modern technology and its use of it not in the

agricultural sector—because it will be discussed under the coming sectoral level analysis—but in the logistics, communication, and transformation sectors has also fueled the rapid rise in the global agricultural industry. With the use of modern tools and devices, it is now much easier than it has ever been to produce, relocate, and process agri-food.

On the sectoral level, the globalization and liberalization of agri-food have been identified as the main factor that feeds agricultural industrialization. Through this globalization and liberalization, Reardon and Barret (2000) address only the consumption side of liberalization per se. However, it should also be noted that there has been rapid globalization and liberalization on the production side. That is to say, it is not only the product itself, which is more easily transferred with little trade, tariff, or quota barriers through WTO and GATT agreements. Although, it plays a huge part in why this meta-trend of agricultural industrialization occurred. With mechanical and engineering tools, as well as seeds, biochemicals have been more easily transformed and used worldwide. Firstly, the WTO agreement on agricultural trade emphasizes the importance of trade liberalization, as usual. According to the WTO official website, "The agreement covers market access — the use of trade restrictions, such as tariffs on imports domestic support — the use of subsidies and other support programs that directly stimulate production and distort trade export competition — the use of export subsidies and other government support programs that subsidize exports."

Secondly, there has been a dramatic increase in both the production and export of biochemicals, as well as seedling. For instance, total Turkish exports of the top10 exported seeds (namely wheat, barley, corn, paddy, sunflower, potato, cotton, vegetables, forage crops, and grass seeds) have risen from 16,095 tons in 2003 to as

high as 22,019 tons in 2008. This rapid change in such a short time span would be understood by not only the globalization and mechanization of the seed industry in Turkey, but it was also fueled by the newly implemented seed laws and the overall openness of the seed market in Turkey. The argument is that these implementations were also fueled by the meta-trends: Turkey had taken deliberate political action to liberalize the seed industry to better fit in the new global liberal order. Finally, the technological and organizational developments within the sector have dramatically fueled the advancements within the agricultural sectors' industrialization worldwide.

The last level that was identified is the country level. In fact, the country-level analysis is not about listing the various countries' agricultural policies respectively, but it is a general picture of how developing countries behave in the agricultural sectors that would lead to a boost in production, consumption, and distribution of agricultural products. In this sense, the first important factor is the increase in the scale of production within developing countries. As the technological advancements started to make themselves visible within the agricultural sector, they were much more rapid in developing countries than the developed ones since the 1990s, as the sector in the developed countries had already taken that step before. Secondly, the extroversion of markets and ownership was identified by Reardon and Barret (2000) as one of the significant differences in the agricultural sector in developing countries. The markets of seeds, agricultural products, and even machines and biochemicals have been opened for competition recently in said countries; thus, they fueled the rapid increase in the scale of production in turn. Ultimately, the increased use of coordination and control mechanisms, along with capital intensity, have affected these advancements together.

2.3 Touristification of historic sites

The commodification of historic sites is a phenomenon that has become increasingly common in the global political economy. Touristification, or the process of transforming a site into a tourist attraction, is a strategy employed by many actors to attract visitors and generate economic benefits. This sub-chapter will examine the ways in which historic sites are touristified and how this affects the authenticity and environment of these sites. It will also explore the implications of commodifying such sites, as well as the strategies used to mitigate any potential negative impacts. Also, some examples from around the world will be demonstrated to make the effects of touristification more concrete.

Historical sites are often touristified due to the natural appeal of their iconic landmarks and the opportunity for visitors to experience a sense of place and history. Touristification typically involves the introduction of services and amenities that cater to the needs of tourists and make the site more attractive and accessible. Examples of touristification at historical sites include the development of tourist-oriented retail, restaurants, hotels, and other services, the introduction of audio-visual displays and exhibits, and the provision of tourist-oriented information and activities. The extent to which a historical site is touristified is largely determined by the specific site's location, cultural significance, and the resources available. The implications of touristification on several historical sites from around the world will be explored more in-depth in this subchapter, supported by relevant research and evidence. The commodification and touristification of places are processes that have become increasingly prominent in today's world. While this process is unique to each place, common strategies and outcomes can be identified. This subchapter addresses these commonalities, as well as their differences in greater detail, with

references to relevant scholarly literature. As it is clear through field research, it is significant to point out that the commodification of tourist sites is often a deliberate process, led by the incumbent governments of relevant states. States sometimes even go as far as forcefully pushing and imposing these changes on the locals.

2.3.1 Commodification as a way of touristification

The commodification of cultural and historical heritage sites has been drastically investigated throughout history and around the world. Commodification is seen as a way to “touristify” a destination. It is used to draw in tourists by providing them with a product or service that is attractive and useful to them. This can include souvenirs, food, and entertainment. The concept of commodification has been used to describe the transformation of a heritage site into a tourist destination. It is argued that this transformation results in the “commodification” of the heritage site. In other words, it is argued that the site is no longer seen as a place of cultural and historical value, but instead, it is seen as a commodity that can be sold to tourists. By commodifying a heritage site, it can become more appealing to tourists as they are provided with a product or service that they can purchase. This can also result in increased economic benefits for the area as tourists are more likely to visit and spend money in the area. Furthermore, it can also result in increased awareness of the heritage site as it is marketed to a larger audience. However, there are many criticisms of commodifying heritage sites. With the focus shifted away from its cultural and historical value and toward its commercial value, it is argued that this process can lead to the erosion of the authenticity of the site. Another argument is that commodifying heritage sites can lead to overcrowding and exploitation as the site is marketed to tourists who may not be respectful of the site and its importance.

Commodification and touristification of historical sites have been investigated through literature with respect to both production and consumption. It is important to include the tourists' relations with the locals in this type of analysis as it is one of the main drivers of the commodification processes.

The introduction of the term 'local gaze' provides an alternative concept to the formerly described term "tourist gaze" (Urry, 1990) to analyze the agency and power of locals in Third World countries. 'Tourist gaze' has been widely discussed in literature and is used to denote the control and dominance that Western tourists possess over the people in the countries they visit (Maoz, 2006). It has been suggested that the Western, affluent, heterosexual, capitalist, white male has the capability of creating a gaze that can control and standardize the habits of the native population in less-developed countries (Urry, 1992). Those who do not fit the above description are subject to the power of this gaze. Conversely, the local gaze is seen as a more intricate, two-sided view with both tourists and locals influencing each other through the reciprocal gaze, also known as "the mutual gaze" (Maoz, 2006).

Thus, the question is how the inhabitants that depend economically on the incomes they gather via tourist attractions change their behavior and overall spatial atmosphere with respect to the mutual gaze. The strategies employed by the local inhabitants of a certain area may vary depending on their situation and the resources they have available to them. These strategies range include resistance, returning to traditional language and culture, the purposeful upkeep of boundaries, the adoption of Western culture, or the revival of arts and crafts (Doğan, 1989). Additionally, selling and displaying their images is known as "veiled resistance," a form of passive or mediated resistance that may include various tactics such as obstruction, gossip, teasing, sulkiness, and insults (Joseph and Kavoori, 2001). In contrast, organized

protests and aggression are known as “open resistance” and adjusting to the needs of the guests is referred to as “cooperation” (Westerhausen, 2002). This subchapter provides insight into how these different tactics used by the inhabitants have affected the overall structure of touristic sites worldwide. This will help in the understanding of the dynamics of change and resistance within the Spice Bazaar.

2.3.2 Examples of commodification from around the world

The local people that live in tourist sites around the world have used different strategies in their relations to tourists. Strategies include cooperation, veiled resistance, and open resistance. Factors that can influence local people's reactions to tourists vary greatly, depending on the cultural, economic, and political contexts of the local area. To better understand the factors that have led to the commodification of Spice Bazaar, it is important to consider the reactions of local people to tourists and how these reactions have changed over time. These reactions are to be traced through the interviews with shop owners in the field research. This section deals with how locals have reacted to the touristification and commodification of historical sites worldwide. With the help of this literature research, the story of the Spice Bazaar is a local explanation of a global story.

Touristification of Thai material culture is one of the most significant examples of cooperation and veiled resistance among tourists. Beginning in the 1960s, the Thai government incorporated the acceleration of tourism into its national development projects. Mass tourism in Thailand began in the 1970s and saw a substantial increase after the Vietnam War ended in 1975 when a new demographic of tourists began visiting the country. Prior to 1975, the majority of foreign visitors to Thailand were young male soldiers on extended stays; however, the mid-1970s

saw the emergence of the more traditional tourist. These tourists were characterized by a diverse range of ages and genders, typically spending only a few weeks in the country (Cohen, 2014). In the early days of the development of mass tourism, the Chiang Mai Night Bazaar was established as one of the most renowned tourist destinations in Chiang Mai City.

From the 1970s onwards, vendors from the neighboring Hill Tribe villages began to set up stalls in the Bazaar, with most of them originating from the Hmong village of Doi Pui. As the years progressed, the number of Hill Tribe vendors increased significantly, resulting in a rise in the variety and amount of goods available (Husa, 2017). Interviews with the inhabitants of the villages showed that the production and sale of handicrafts and souvenirs had become a significant source of additional income for many ethnic minorities in recent decades. This process was supported by NGOs and the Thai government's development aid projects. According to the research, the villagers were aware of the potential negative effects of the 'souvenirisation' and 'touristification' of their material culture. Maoz's concept of the Mutual Gaze suggests that the villagers developed their own 'strategies' to deal with these tendencies. For example, they combined modern forms with traditional patterns, which opposed the orientation toward touristic demand and external ascriptions of 'Thainess.' Remarkably, the strategies seemed to be independent of the frequency of contact that the respective community had with tourists, if there was any contact at all (Husa, 2017). Thus, it is suggested that the locals change their attributes and the items they sell even if they had no visible contact with the tourists.

Another significant example of a commodified local market lies on the borders of Spain. The iconic La Boqueria food market in Barcelona is renowned both locally and internationally. It is a major source of groceries for the neighborhood and

provides a range of ingredients for renowned restaurants. Consequently, it is a highly popular tourist attraction due to its unique offerings. La Boqueria is widely regarded as the premier indoor food market in Barcelona. It has existed since the 12th century when it was an open-air market outside of the medieval town walls, where farmers traveled to the city to sell their produce and livestock. The market is now located in a 19th-century arcade and built on the foundations of an old monastery in the Rambles, a popular pedestrian area in the city. It is in the heart of the historic town Centre.

The Boqueria market is an exemplary example of resilience and adaptation, demonstrating an interest in all aspects of the local community. At its core, it provides groceries of excellent quality at a reasonable price. However, it also serves as a cultural hub where festivals, gastronomic courses, and art are celebrated and shared. This is an example that other cities and markets can look to when trying to create a vibrant and diverse space. Additionally, The Boqueria caters to tourists with demonstrations of cooking and the opportunity to blend in with the locals by browsing and taking part in guided tours of the market. Tourists can also gain an understanding of the ingredients necessary to create a dish.

La Boqueria boasts 250 stalls that provide a mix of both traditional and gourmet products. There is an increasing number of stalls owned and operated by immigrants. Several tourist guides, websites, and blogs have identified La Boqueria as a must-see when visiting the city. It has many stalls that appeal to new customers, offering fresh juices, fruits cut into 135 pieces, ready meals, sweets, candies, chocolates, and other products that can be conveniently consumed by tourists. Additionally, there are traditional stalls selling high-quality meat, fish, and other products. La Boqueria also offers cooking classes for both children and adults — tourists and locals alike. Through these specifications, La Boqueria resembles a

unique way of touristified food marketplace which still carries its historical, social, and traditional value of itself among the locals of Barcelona (Crespi-Valbona and Dominguez-Perez, 2015).

CHAPTER 3
POLITICAL ECONOMY
OF AGRICULTURE IN TURKEY

In the previous chapter, the thesis addressed the changes within the political economy of agriculture on a global scale. This chapter focuses on how these changes in the Turkish political economy occurred and whether they diverged and converged with the global changes. This section will then be linked to the changes that affected the structure of Spice Bazaar.

Turkey has gone through some significant changes in terms of political economy, especially in the agricultural political economy since the 1980s. This timeline coincides with one of the most critical junctures in global political economy history, namely the start of the Third Food Regime. In the previous chapter, it was highlighted that the emergence of the Third Food Regime occurred in the 1980s. It was marked in the Turkish political economy as the start of openness and neo-liberalization.

After the 1980 coup d'état, and under the governance of Turgut Özal's cabinet, Turkey gradually integrated into the world market. Post-2000, this neo-liberalization process was continued by the AKP government and especially in İstanbul's metropolitan areas. For example, the Historical Peninsula was deeply affected by it. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was the mayor of İstanbul before his party became the ruling party in the 2002 elections; therefore, he put a special emphasis on the city. It is easy to suggest that Eminönü site and the Spice Bazaar were deeply affected by the Turkish political economy trends after the 2000s.

This chapter deals with how the Turkish political economy opened to the world markets in the 1980s. After that, the changes under the AKP rule in the 2000s will be evaluated in a chronological manner. These transformations that are described coincide with the global trends, which were explained in the previous chapter. After framing a picture of how the Turkish political economy developed in these times and how it affected the agricultural sector in Turkey, supermarkets will be discussed as a case of the commodification and standardization of Turkish agricultural production. Shops in the Spice Bazaar were affected by the standardization that supermarkets bring about via production methods. On the other hand, they were also affected by supermarkets as rivals because of their rapid growth in the country.

Analyzing this process in chronological order would be better suited to the research as the field study requires a chronological examination of the standardization and transformation of the Spice Bazaar. The essence of the research focus is on the occurrences after the 1980 coup d'état because:

- a) it overlaps with the global political trends of getting free trade and excess neo-liberalization
- b) Turkish economy's initial integration into the world economy happens to overlap with this global trend right after the early 1980s
- c) it seems as if these periods are when the Spice Bazaar, the critical case study of this paper, gets visibly affected by the political economy of Turkey

3.1 Turkey within the Third Food Regime

As it was stated in the earlier chapter, most scholars agree the Third Food Regime starts in the 1980s. In this chapter, the thesis will address the initial changes that

happened in the Turkish political economy under the Third Food Regime. Changes in the history of the political economy of Turkey usually go hand-in-hand with the changes in the global political economy. The neoliberal transformation happened in both the global political economy and in Turkey in the 1980s, which was led by increased foreign investment and integration into global markets. Turkey implemented structural reforms to liberalize its market system and attract foreign capital during this period. In addition, it developed export-oriented policies, which helped strengthen its trade ties with other countries worldwide.

With these changes, Turkey became more open to international economic relations and political influences from abroad. In Turkey, the story of agriculture also mirrors the trends and changes in the global political economy of agriculture. Mechanization and liberalization are among the concepts that define the initial change in the Turkish agriculture sector. By nature, these technical and global political enhancements had effects on the social and political structure and transformation within itself. Mechanization in Turkey started after the country freed itself from occupiers in 1923 after World War I. The newly formed republic had given great emphasis on mechanization and overall technological developments from the everyday life of ordinary people to public policies. Of course, the agriculture sector was not different. In fact, the liberalization and mechanization process dates back to the period after the Second World War with the help of the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. These included US-funded foreign aid for both Turkey and Greece and demanded some technological advancements from both countries.

However, there are two other distinctive critical junctures that are more recent and have had an impact on the Spice Bazaar. These two critical political periods, which will be analyzed deeply in this chapter, are Turgut Özal's rule after the 1980

coup d'état and Erdoğan's rule after the 2002 elections. These two periods are among the longest continued governances in Turkish political history, and both had liberalizing (or neoliberalizing) effects on the political economy of Turkey. Additionally, the country's currency has experienced significant devaluation since 2013 due to rising inflation rates caused by fiscal mismanagement by successive governments alongside geopolitical instability in neighboring Syria and Iraq, which resulted in a large influx of refugees into Turkey, further exacerbating existing problems within the economy. As a result of all these challenges, the Turkish economy has been in a state of recession since 2018. To address these issues, Turkey has implemented various economic reforms such as increasing taxes on imports and reducing government expenses to balance its budget.

3.1.1 Political economy of Turkish agriculture in the 1980s

To understand how the Turkish political economy has changed after the 1980s, i.e., under Özal rule, it is by nature significant to explain how the status quo looked. Before 1980, Turkey's political economy was primarily characterized by a state-controlled economic system and a high level of government intervention. The government heavily regulated the banking sector, foreign exchange markets, and trade through import/export policies. Inflation was high due to inefficient agricultural production practices and an overvalued currency. Investment in infrastructure and industry lagged behind other countries in the region as well as Western Europe.

Understanding the background of Turkey's political economy during 1950-1980 (prior to these neo-liberalization trends in the 1980s) is essential. Although the focus of this chapter is on the political economy of agrifood in Turkey in the 1980s, a brief explanation of the political-economic framework in the 1950s is necessary. The

introduction of the world trade structure with new organizations under the leadership of the USA after the Second World War and the implementation of policies to increase the world trade volume of these organizations deeply affected the countries globally (Parasız, 2004). During the establishment period of the republic, an uninterrupted industrialization process had taken place. In that area, economic policies that emphasized the creation/development of critical sectors, which were conservative, introverted, and paid attention to the balance of payments and budget, came to the fore.

In the post-war period, on the other hand, an open economy policy was followed, in which protectionist policies were gradually reduced, import taxes decreased, and foreign aid, credit, and foreign enterprises were engaged (Boratav, 2010). The economic recession during the Second World War and the climatic challenges that would coincide with the end of the war caused economic difficulties in the field of agriculture. This was the main production item in Turkey (Alkinoğlu, 1999).

To overcome all these incidents in the economy, the Marshall Aids, which were embraced as the general foreign aid in the post-war processes, were put in place (Oktar & Varlı, 2010). The primary condition to be eligible for the Marshall Aid was to embrace an economic program that is based on competitive advantage. Experts who came to the country on the occasion of these aids have stated that Turkey has a comparative advantage in the field of agriculture and that necessary mechanical equipment should be included in the agricultural production sector in order for this superiority to exist (Şener, 2005).

The agriculture-based growth model, which continued until the first half of the 1950s, was no longer implemented as forcefully with the end of the Korean War.

The abundance of demand for agricultural products during the Korean War hid the shortcomings of the existing policy (Oktar & Varlı, 2010). The rapidly falling demand after the Second World War in the late 1950s caused food prices to decrease, and the agriculture-based growth model started to give its first negative signals (Şener, 2005). When the foreign exchange bottleneck was observed in the late 1950s, it was felt by all parts of the country. The liberal economic model based on agriculture was abandoned, and the self-sufficient import substitution economic policy of domestic production was activated again (Pamuk, 2016).

The Turkish economy switched to an import substitution model by pulling the industrialization initiatives that it had shaped on the axis of consumption goods during its establishment period to the axis of intermediate goods-investment goods after 1960 (Bahar, 2006). The import substitution model was adopted by the Turkish economy in 1960 as a way of industrializing and developing the nation. This policy sought to reduce Turkey's reliance on imported goods while simultaneously promoting domestic production. The governments following the 1960 coup d'état implemented various measures such as providing incentives for local businesses, establishing protective tariffs and quotas, and granting subsidies to encourage investment in domestic industries. These efforts were successful in increasing the production of intermediate goods-investment goods such as machinery and equipment that are necessary for industrialization. At the same time, consumer product imports decreased significantly during this period due to increased competition from domestically produced alternatives. As a result of these initiatives, Turkey experienced rapid economic growth throughout this period which helped it transition from an agrarian society into an industrialized one. For this purpose, Turkey will aim to gradually transform the import substitution development model

into an export-oriented development model by determining four separate development plans in this period (Mangır & Acet, 2014).

Since the 1950s, the agricultural sector in Turkey and elsewhere has been largely supported by price policies, subsidies for inputs, and commodity boards. These policies provided farmers with security and protected them from fluctuations in the market. However, since the 1980s, there has been a shift toward deregulation in the agri-food sector. These changes have been driven by agreements with the IMF and World Bank to restructure debt, commitments to the requirements of World Trade Organization membership, and treaties signed under this membership. As a result, the earlier regulatory regime has been gradually dismantled (Tahsin, 2001).

During the ISI period in 1960 to 1980, the government also intervened in agriculture, implementing high tariffs on imported food and imposing strict quotas on domestic production to protect local markets and producers. During the ISI period, the Turkish economy experienced a remarkable expansion of approximately seven percent per annum (Çeçen et al., 1994, p. 38). This growth was driven by a shift in the country's economic composition with the manufacturing sector's contribution to GNP rising from 17.5% to 21.2% between 1960 and 1976. The agricultural sector's contribution decreased from 36.5% to 27%. (Boratav, 1998, p. 105). These policies created a system that led to low yields, reduced investment, and increased prices for consumers. Furthermore, the state-run Agricultural Bank of Turkey (Ziraat Bankası) provided subsidized credit to farmers; however, these loans often went unpaid due to poor management practices. Mechanization of agricultural production was usually through state-led economic policies before the 1980s. In 1948, the total number of tractors was 1,756, which quickly rose to 9,170 by 1949

with the commencement of the delivery of the first tractors under the Marshall Aid Program, and by 1960, it had reached 42,136 (Kadayıfçılar, 1968, p.7).

Turgut Özal took office after the 1980 coup d'etat in Turkey. The coup had claimed an end to a chaotic atmosphere in Turkey—politically, socially, and economically. Özal was selected as Prime Minister in 1983. During his tenure, he implemented a series of economic reforms that transformed Turkey's economy and helped to reduce inflation, increase foreign investment, open markets, and encourage entrepreneurship. He also liberalized trade and currency regulations, improved relations with Greece and other neighbors in the region, ended restrictions on private enterprise and privatized many state-owned companies. Özal is credited with modernizing Turkey's infrastructure through investments in roads, bridges, and airports. However, as is constantly indicated, neoliberal policies also have their shortcomings. For instance, it increases social inequality and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. It also leads to a standardized and commodified political-economic framework. Agriculture is not privatized.

In Turkey, the situation before Özal was unstable in political, economic, and social aspects. The contraction in the world trade volume—caused by the global oil crisis along with the Cyprus Peace Operation which left its mark on domestic policies—has increased the demand for foreign currency, decreased workers' foreign exchange income, and led to the emergence of the deficiencies of the import substitute industrialization model with the support of the state. Unemployment, current account imbalance, and high inflation, which were seen in developed countries in the mid-1970s, started to be observed in Turkey in 1977 (Alkinoğlu, 1999).

Özal's policies that left planning-supported development and turned to a neoliberal political economy had a significant impact on the political economy of Turkey. He liberalized the Turkish economy by introducing market-oriented reforms such as reducing government intervention in economic activity and privatizing some state enterprises. He also encouraged foreign investment, promoting trade liberalization and allowing private companies to access capital markets.

Neoliberal policies are based on the realization of faster economic growth through liberalization in world trade instead of state intervention and economic development through growth efforts in general. In this context, industry branches that were created with state support or directly implemented by the state before 1980 were privatized. To overcome inflation, the main problem of the 1970s, it was aimed to withdraw the state from the market by entering a period when monetary transmission mechanisms were introduced. The IMF program implemented after the 1980 coup, and the subsequent IMF that led to the January 24th stabilization package triggered a new wave of mechanization in agriculture.

In January 1980, an economic program was introduced to literature containing structural transformations. Suleyman Demirel had assigned Turgut Ozal, whom he had appointed to the Prime Minister's State Planning Office in 1979, with the task of preparing a new economic stability program, and this program was prepared in a short period of time. It was announced to the public on January 24, 1980. These steps were led by Turgut Özal, a bureaucrat in prime ministry and then-president of the Republic of Turkey in 1983. To address the economic instability, economic measures—such as limiting public expenditure, reducing wages, and introducing a floating exchange rate to eliminate the reduction in production and emergence of black markets—were taken (Yılmaz, 2016). On one hand, the aim of

the January 24 decisions taken in this context was to lower the budget deficit by reducing public expenditures and privatizing the sectors that burden the state. On the other, it aimed to reduce domestic consumption and direct production to exports to overcome the shortage of foreign currency. In this context, after the 1980 Stabilization Program, the government's recourse to Central Bank resources was significantly limited, but domestic borrowing became the usual source of financing as an alternative to meeting the public's funding needs (Takım, 2011).

Özal shifted the Turkish economy to a more open and liberal style. The liberalization of the agricultural market and policies led to a significant increase in private-sector investment. In his paper presented at a symposium in Ankara Dedeman Hotel in 1979, Özal defended the importance of concepts such as "free exchange regime," "import and export liberalization," "export mobilization," "transition to convertibility," "value-added tax," "mass housing," and "free interest and free price." He also insistently emphasized the necessity of integrating Turkey into the world economy. The similarity of this speech to the basic principles of the January 24 decisions was remarkable. The decisions made during Demirel's prime ministership and Özal's under secretariat were referred to as the "Özal Period" both domestically and internationally in Turkish political history. From another point of view, the decisions were integrated with IMF policies. In the process led by the military wing after the coup, it was decided that Özal was the most appropriate name for the implementation of the decisions taken (Tanör, 2013).

Özal also introduced incentives for agribusinesses, such as subsidies, tax breaks, and other benefits. Additionally, he opened Turkey's markets to international trade by removing many of the restrictions that had been put in place during previous governments' protectionist policies. These changes helped modernize the sector and

improve its overall “efficiency.” Although, some would point out its devastating consequences, which (as this study will point out) includes the loss of authenticity and local taste in agricultural production. The Özal Period is characterized by an unprecedented level of farmers’ getting vulnerable and ineffective, which Yenel names as gambling activity within the agricultural sector. Gambling activity and its mechanisms will be elaborated on later in this chapter. It is a result of the dramatic transition of Turkish agriculture following the implementation of neoliberal policies in the 1980s. In line with the IMF and World Bank's efforts to reduce public spending and liberalize food markets, a series of structural reforms and measures have been introduced (Yenal and Yenel, 1993).

Turkey was dragged into a stagflation crisis between 1988-1989. These measures caused the decision makers to make the February 4 decisions in 1988. Within the framework of this decision, practices that restrict imports, accelerate the return of export revenues to the country, and increase the reserve requirements of banks and foreign currency holding measures were increased (Gündüz, 1999). This financial situation in the 1990s paved way for dramatic changes within the agricultural sector in the Turkish political economy. Between 1990 to 1995, while the total exports had risen from 12959\$ Billion to 21636\$ Billion, the agricultural exports diminished from 2347\$ Billion to 2314\$ Billion (TUİK, 2012, pp. 498).

Before 1980, the Turkish government was heavily involved in the agricultural sector, providing inputs, credit, and marketing through state and parastatal entities such as TIGEM, TUGSAS, IGSAS, TZDK, YEMSAN, TCZB, TKKMB, TSFAS, TMO, ÇAYKUR, TEKEL, TSKB, TSEK, and EBK (Karataş, 2006). The implementation of the January 24 stabilization package, in conjunction with structural adjustment policies, marked the beginning of a period of deregulation and

privatization of the state and parastatal economic enterprises in agriculture (Öniş, 1991). This allowed transnational companies and their local partners to further penetrate the agricultural sector. Subsequently, the government has been required to eliminate much of the support previously given to farmers, with the privatization of parastatal and state enterprises beginning in 1985 under the Master Plan for Privatization. It was funded by the World Bank and produced by the US Morgan Guaranty Bank (Morgan Bank, 1986). The privatization of the Turkish Dairy Products Industry (TSEK), Meat and Fish Board (EBK), and Turkish Fodder Industry (YEMSAN) by the state provides an illustrative case of how the deregulatory groundwork carried out by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, United States (USA), and European Union (EU) has enabled Transnational Corporations (TNCs) to become influential players in the dairy farming sector.

Established in 1963 by Law 227, TSEK was designed to support a large number of unorganized milk producers by providing guidance, collecting, and processing their milk, establishing enterprises throughout the country, and promoting the dairy products industry (Aydın, 2010). From 1993 to 1998, 33 TSEK-owned enterprises were privatized. Prior to its privatization, 1,308 enterprises- comprising 48 public enterprises, 63 cooperatives, and 1,197 private enterprises- were involved in dairy production and were beneficiaries of milk support subsidies (Suiçmez, 2003, 30). The privatization of TSEK has led to the emergence of six major companies that play a major role in the dairy products industry: Pınar Süt (Yaşar Holding), Mis Süt (Nestlé), SEK (Koç Holding), Danonesa-Tikveşli-Birtat (Sabancı Holding), Ülker and Süttaş. As illustrated in the table, these Turkish holdings have entered into joint ventures with transnational corporations (TNCs) such as Nestlé and Danone. In

particular, Danone has increased its market share to 28% by acquiring local firms Birtat and Tikveşli and acquiring a 50% stake in Sabancı's holdings in the sector (Durna, 2008).

Table 4. Food Companies in Turkey and Their Multinational Partners

Main Holding	Agribusiness subsidiary	International partner
Sabancı Holding	Marsa, <u>Danones</u> , Carrefoursa, Tikveşli, Birtat	Kraft-Jacobs Suchard (part of Philip Morris), Carrefour, Danone
Koç Holding	Tat, Pastavilla, Maret, Fidan Tohum, Migros	Sodial, <u>Kagomeco</u> , Sumitomo
Tekfen Holding	Mis Süt, Toros Gübre, Marko supermarkets	Nestlé
Yaşar Holding	Pınar, Çamlı Yem <u>Besici</u> . AŞ	<u>Yadex</u>
Yimpaş Holding	Yimpaş Supermarkets, Aytaç	APV Pasilac, IFU, IFC
Ülker Holding	Ülker, <u>Besler</u> , <u>Akgıda</u> , Pakyağ	DCI, Cerestar, Al Tawfeek Company For Investment Funds, United European Bank (UEB)

Source: Suiçmez (2003,38)

The privatization of the dairy industry by TSEK has resulted in the consolidation of small-scale producers. From 1998 to 2005, the number of milk processing companies decreased from 4,088 to 2,839 and then to 2,160. This trend toward monopolization has adversely affected the presence of small-scale producers in the industry (Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, 2005).

3.1.2 Effects of political changes on the Spice Bazaar

On the other hand, it is important to cite how all these changes affected the Spice Bazaar. Spice Bazaar in İstanbul also changed significantly since the 1980s. Before the Özal administration, the Bazaar was so-called "unmodernized." It was a place of

traditional trades and crafts with small shops selling spices, nuts, dried fruits, and other items. The main street outside the Bazaar was narrow and unpaved. There were “tanzim sale points” around the Bazaar which reminds one of street bazaars. However, since the 1980s, when Turgut Özal came to power in Turkey, there have been significant changes to the Spice Bazaar. The area has seen dramatic modernizations, including wider streets lined with pavement stones as well as larger stores that sell ready-made products like clothing or jewelry. In addition to this, many new restaurants and cafes have opened around the Bazaar providing a wide range of food options for visitors. Additionally, the number of tourists visiting the Spice Bazaar has increased significantly due to its improved infrastructure and appeal, which has led to an increase in commercial activity within the area itself.

As the country was experiencing a rapid transformation from a state-led economy to an open market, the Bazaar would naturally get its share of that transformation. Newly opened gross markets, as well as newly penetrated global food chains, which had started activities first in tourist places, were one of the earliest signs of the Bazaar getting transformed into a new shape. Therefore, it is easy to claim that Spice Bazaar has been affected by these domestic and international phenomena in a highly stressed fashion. All these effects are more easily seen via the analysis of the interviews conducted with the Bazaar's shop owners. These interviews will be elaborated on more extensively in the coming chapter.

3.1.3 Changes in the Turkish political economy of agrofood after 2002

Between 2002 and 2010, the political economy of Turkey was shaped by several events and developments. When Erdoğan’s ruling party AKP gained a victory in the 2002 elections, he was not able to act as a prime minister because of his penalty.

However, his party was eager to take action to wipe away the unpleasant effects of the 2001 crisis. When AKP took power after the 2001 financial crisis, the government implemented a series of reforms to stabilize the economy and improve its international credibility. This included privatizing state-owned companies, liberalizing foreign exchange transactions, and reducing government debt. As a result, the economy experienced high growth rates and declining inflation. The period also saw a surge in foreign investment, particularly from the EU, which helped spur economic development. However, significant challenges remained, including a large current account deficit. The current account deficit during this period was fueled by strong domestic demand and relatively high levels of imports. As a result, Turkey was running sizeable external financing needs, which the government sought to cover with foreign direct investment and portfolio investments. The government also implemented macroeconomic policies to help keep inflation in check, such as limiting public sector wage increases and increasing taxes. In addition, to encourage investment, the government introduced incentives such as tax exemptions. The rapid growth of the economy over this period enabled the country to make significant progress in advancing its human development goals. However, it came with its negative side effects as well, which will be elaborated further throughout this chapter.

By nature, it is remarkable to explain the situation before 2002 to better understand what changed after the AKP was elected as the government. Before Erdoğan took office in 2002, Turkey's political and economic atmosphere was characterized by high inflation and weak economic growth, resulting from years of high government spending and large deficits. The country's economic prospects were bleak with its currency suffering from a sharp decline due to continuous

devaluations. Political tensions were high with the military having a significant influence over politics and the country also facing separatist conflicts in the southeast. Inflation was further exacerbated by the burden of paying off a sizeable foreign debt while corruption and cronyism were rampant.

The rapid transformation of technological developments between countries has led to an increase in production capacities. In the 90s, besides foreign trade liberalization, financial liberalization also found its counterpart in the world economies. This caused countries that were not ready for this freedom to face current account deficits and budget deficits in a short time. In this period, parallel to the world economies, the Turkish economy also met with neoliberal crises at specific intervals (Kepenek & Yentürk, 2011). Restrictions on imports caused a decrease in exports. After the Gulf War, there was a decrease in public revenues and foreign exchange inflows, and the expected efficiency from privatizations could not be achieved, causing difficulties in meeting public expenditures. To meet public expenditures, domestic and foreign borrowing was used, but the failure to implement the tax reform that will provide income in the long term has led to the beginning of the debt payment period. To get out of the current vicious circle, April 5 decisions were taken. The April 5 decisions are decisions that will provide long-term structural impact instead of making short-term impact decisions for the elimination of existing disruptions. The effect of the decisions taken, the acceleration of the Customs Union process in 1995, and the signing of the agreement in 1996 received a positive response in the markets. In this period, the volume of production and consumption increased, and improvements were observed in growth rates. On the other hand, the increase in public expenditures, which was the unsolved problem of the 90s, could not be prevented. The inability to obtain sufficient efficiency from privatizations

caused public expenditures to remain high within the budget, and the budget balance could not reach the desired levels during this period (Soyak, 2003).

In the mid-to-late 2000s, the agricultural sector was in a state of disarray due to the sweeping changes that had been taking place since the 1990s and that had been accelerated by the beginning of the 2000s. In response to the financial crisis in Turkey in 2001, the IMF and World Bank implemented financial stabilization packages which aimed to reduce state expenditure and eliminate state intervention in the economy and facilitate Turkey's integration into the global markets. One of the most important components of this package was the Agricultural Reform and Implementation Project (ARIP), which was introduced by the World Bank and IMF between 2001 and 2008 and was instrumental in removing the price subsidies for agricultural products and inputs as well as in the privatization of state-run marketing and credit cooperatives (World Bank, 2022). These organizations were formerly the mainstay of peasant households, so their removal resulted in many producers being unable to survive and thus leaving agriculture for urban areas (İslamoğlu, 2017).

The growth of the agricultural sector during the AKP period was driven mainly by the reforms to the economy implemented by the government. This included increased access to credit for farmers, improved infrastructure such as irrigation, and increased access to market information. The Agricultural Law (no. 5488) of 2006 provided a summary of the primary categories and ideas of the new market structure in Turkish agriculture. The introduction of market reforms in Turkey placed a great emphasis on land ownership as a requirement for registration as a farmer, effectively making it a necessity for attaining economic citizenship within the agricultural domain (İslamoğlu, 2017). This placed a particular emphasis on individual ownership, which has become a source of disparity, as land ownership

in Turkey is heavily fragmented and the boundaries of the property are difficult to define due to historical and societal factors (İslamoğlu, 2000).

As such, this prioritization of individual ownership has resulted in several holdings being excluded from the new market order (İslamoğlu, 2017). These measures facilitated an increase in agricultural production, which helped spur economic growth in the sector. AKP also implemented policies to improve food security and provide subsidies to improve agricultural production. As a result, the sector experienced an increase in productivity and export revenues. Agricultural exports of Turkey have risen from 1.976\$ Million in 2001 to 5.353\$ Million in 2011 (TÜİK, 2012, p. 487). During this period, Turkey's agricultural sector underwent significant structural changes. These changes helped to improve productivity and profitability in the sector. However, this meant that further mechanization occurred within agricultural production. Fewer people were needed to produce the same number of agricultural products.

The period from 2002 to 2010 saw a significant increase in urbanization in Turkey. This had several effects on the agricultural sector, including increased demand for agricultural products and improved access to markets for farmers. Additionally, the urban population provided a more extensive potential customer base for agricultural goods and services. However, as urbanization occurred, it led to a new vulnerable lower-middle class in big cities like İstanbul. It also caused a city-planning crisis as the urban areas in İstanbul were now being dominated by shopping malls and gated communities. The then-rural places, such as Arnavutköy and Halkalı, were either urbanizing vastly or becoming hubs for warehouses or shops.

Liberalization without the necessary regulations in the financial field and the rapid development of the volume of financial movements on a world scale has caught

many countries off guard. The Asian crisis in 1998, the Russian crisis in 1999, the crises experienced by South American countries, and the 1994, 2001, and 2009 crises in Turkey are similar to the fact that the financial structures do not have the necessary equipment and become disconnected from the real economy. The effect of the financial crisis that started in Asian countries on the real sectors affected many countries, especially Russia and Turkey, causing the mid-90s and early 2000s to be a period of crises.

With the effect of the crisis coming from abroad, the contraction in domestic production, and the decrease in exports to the countries that provide foreign currency, the growth rate of Turkey slowed down, and the country came under the influence of the crises in the world. Turkey tried to find its foreign exchange need, which it could not provide with exports, from the shrinking financial markets. Finding foreign financing in short-term, high-interest foreign currency, Turkey's domestic long-term, high-interest local currency loan distribution weakened the ability to roll over debts in the short term and caused the transition of the economic crisis from the financial market to the real market (Akkaya & Gürkaynak, 2012).

These financial crises have shown its effects on the everyday lives of the agricultural population. From the 1950s until 2002, peasant household production was a cornerstone of economic policy under liberal right governments, with subsidies, tariffs, and other measures ensuring sustainable incomes for these agricultural producers who provided food and raw materials for the national economy and consumed goods produced by national industries. This gave them a significant degree of political leverage as they were a reliable vote bank for liberal right political parties. However, the arrival of the new market order has seen the rural population largely excluded from the political domain with no influence over

decisions that affect their production or livelihoods (İslamoğlu, 2017). As a result of all this, the number of farmers in Turkey decreased by almost 50% between 2008 and 2021. The number of farmers, which was around 1,127,000 in 2008, has declined to around 512,000 in 2021 (Erdoğan, 2021).

In Turkey, especially in areas heavily intertwined with international markets, farmers have recently experienced a heightened sense of insecurity and uncertainty concerning the potential effects of their production and marketing strategies. This heightened anxiety has been described by many as "gambling" due to the inability of individual growers to predict the outcomes and consequences of their decisions. This vulnerability to the risks that come with commodity markets is not a new phenomenon. Farmers all over the globe have been exposed to these risks for a considerable amount of time. The gradual progress of deregulation has not been rapid; however, in the AKP era, the process has gained considerable traction due to the implementation of an economic reform package that aims to further deregulate the agricultural sector (Aydın, 2010).

The Agricultural Co-operative Restructuring and Improvement Programme (ARIP) ushered in significant changes with two main goals: to empower the co-operatives through autonomous management and financial independence. Consequently, the 2000 law imposed a ban on government subsidies to agricultural co-operatives, thereby compelling them to comply with the rules of the market. Additionally, the co-operatives were prohibited from producing food items for consumers and instead limited their production activity to the primary processing of agricultural goods, while being encouraged to privatize their processing plants. Moreover, the law enabled the government to maintain its political oversight through the establishment of a restructuring board, in which the majority of members were

appointed by the state (Oyan, 2001). As discussed in the previous sub-chapter, the privatization of agriculture was demonstrated within the dairy industry in detail. As is the case in the Spice Bazaar, small-scale producers tend to combine and be dominated within the sector in Turkey.

As the locomotive of rapid growth, Turkey has determined exports as an economic policy. To increase exports, it liberalized its economy in the fields of goods, services, and finance and preferred an open model. This preferred model made foreign capital inflows compulsory, and the country experienced the budget deficit and current account deficit together, which is described as twin deficits in the economy (Türel, 2010). Governments have implemented a low exchange rate-high interest policy in certain periods to attract foreign investment to the country. Thanks to the foreign investors earning high interest by converting the foreign currency brought into the local currency, the foreign currency kept low at the end of the maturity period. The investor was prevented from making a loss during his/her exit from the country. In this way, foreign capital inflows financed the rapid growth necessary to support exports (Seyidoğlu, 2003). These rules tend to benefit those with wealth, including multinational corporations while disadvantaging small farmers and powerless workers. The inequality embedded in the rules of governance is hidden behind claims of universality and objectivity based on the "natural laws" of the market (Scharf, 1999). Expert bodies took charge of specific economic activities, showing themselves as expert boards (e.g., the Sugar and Tobacco Board in Turkey) with the power to determine production levels, certify and standardize products, and control trade. The main difference between these expert boards and traditional administrative regulators was that they had no responsibility to the democratic system or the overall interests of the national economy and society. In the process of

integrating with the EU, the government established legal regulations. To ensure this, the government considered the country's situation, as well as studies and recommendations from international agencies, leading to the enactment of Decree Having the Force of Law No. 560 in 1995. This decree outlined provisions for the hygienic and technical production, processing, preservation, and storage of food. In June 2004, the 'Food Law' was instituted (Pekcan, 2006). These regulations started to make production methods more standardized, as will be discussed in detail with the help of interviews with producers in the coming chapter.

3.2 Supermarkets emerging (and developing) as an actor in Turkey:

a demonstrative case of effects of liberalization

Supermarkets have been one of the most significant demonstrators of the effects of liberalization. Through their standardizing methods, they have had an enormous effect on both the producers and local sellers. Supermarkets have had two-way effects on the shop owners of the Spice Bazaar. Firstly, they became a rival as they started to become more widespread within the Turkish political-economic sphere. They started to be found in every corner of big cities like İstanbul, so people no longer had to come to the Eminönü site to shop for everything they need. Secondly, supermarkets have started to put pressure on the producers through various legal mechanisms and hygiene principles. These pressures have led the producers to modernized mass production through which the traditionally produced authenticated products would be pushed away. As noted in the previous chapter, these hygiene principles of supermarkets were observed strictly by the leading “consultancy” companies through the security certificates they issue. These hygiene demands make

the producers use “proper” methods in their sites, thus resulting in a convergent method of production.

In May 2001, for instance, the State Planning Organization (SPO) spearheaded the creation of a Working Committee Report of National Food and Nutrition Strategy for Turkey, which involved multiple sectors regarding food and nutrition. The report was subsequently uploaded to the SPO's website.

Reorganization of the SPO had been mandated by the Council of Ministers on June 19, 1994, as authorized by Law No. 4004, dated June 16, 1994. The primary responsibilities of the SPO are to offer advice to the government regarding economic, social, and cultural policies and objectives; develop long-term plans and annual programs that align with the government's established targets; coordinate the initiatives of ministries and public institutions in terms of social, economic, and cultural policies; make sure these policies are properly implemented; and provide the government with advice on policy matters (Pekcan, 2006).

Furthermore, it is important to note the global alliance had put these hygiene principles in place in Turkey. In March 2002, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) collaborated to hold a workshop on the advancement of Food and Nutrition Action Plans in Southern European countries, which served as the starting point for the creation of a National Plan of Action for Food and Nutrition (NPAFN) in Turkey. To facilitate this, three working groups were established to focus on food security, food safety, and nutrition. They were charged with the responsibility of formulating the action plan, conducting related studies, finalizing the NPAFN, and monitoring its implementation. The first phase of the NPAFN was completed by July 2002 with the State Planning Organization (SPO) associated as a responsible body for the NPAFN (Pekcan, 2006).

The producers of Spice Bazaar were put under severe pressure as the supermarkets became more and more powerful. They had to start to produce more at a lower cost as the supermarkets wanted higher quantities at lower prices. The producers had to use the globalized market to their advantage, but they also had to face the difficulties of the market. The traditional producers had to start to use mass-production techniques, which caused them to lose the authenticity of their products. This has caused the traditional producers to suffer from financial losses, and they usually had to abandon production activities totally.

The effects of globalization on the Turkish economy, especially in the Spice Bazaar, have been immense. Supermarkets have become the main driving force of the market, as they have provided people with a wide range of products and services. They have caused a shift from traditional production to mass production, which has led to a decrease in the quality of the products. This has put the traditional producers in a difficult situation, as they had to start to compete with the supermarkets. As a result, the producers have had to face a number of problems, such as financial losses, government debt, and a lack of authenticity in the products. This has caused a great shift in the Turkish political economy as the traditional producers have been pushed away and the supermarkets have become the main power in the market.

Supermarkets were, by nature, preferable to the customers for obvious reasons. These reasons include convenience such as being drivethru, finding everything in one place, and not having to move to buy everything you want, among others.

Supermarkets are essential because they help to standardize tastes and create a more globalized market. For example, in the Spice Bazaar of İstanbul—the story of which will be explained in the coming chapters—merchants would buy, produce, and sell local products that were conducted through traditional production mechanisms.

Most of the time, the sellers have been the ones that produce the items they sell. By standardizing tastes through supermarkets, people lose access to these unique items as they are excluded from their shelves.

Supermarkets began appearing in Turkey's political economy as far back as the 1950s with the emergence of Migros Turk—an exciting tale. The story of Migros provides a good example of how supermarkets have expanded in Turkey. The story of Migros Turk differs from other developing countries which will be further evaluated in the coming sections.. However, supermarkets became stronger. They were a deciding or even dictating force within the political economy of Turkey in the 1980s, which aligns with global trends. At that time, the government began encouraging foreign investment in the country and allowed private companies to operate supermarkets within the country. Since then, supermarkets have become more popular, and their presence has grown significantly. The government also enacted new regulations and laws to protect consumers and ensure the safety of food products. This encouraged domestic as well as foreign investment, which strengthened the role of supermarkets in the Turkish political economy.

As noted previously, the emergence of supermarkets in Turkey in the 1980s matches global trends. Supermarkets began appearing in other countries around this time as well, with many governments encouraging foreign investment and allowing private companies to operate within their countries. This trend continued throughout the 1990s as more countries adopted laws to protect consumers and regulate the food industry. As such, the emergence of supermarkets in Turkey fits with the global trend chronologically. The waves of supermarkets getting popularized around the world aligned with the supermarkets getting popularized around Turkey.

The story of supermarkets becoming widespread in Turkey began in the early 1990s. At first, most food items were stocked and sold in traditional markets with customers selecting individual items for purchase according to their needs. However, a shift toward globalization brought with it an increased number of foreign corporations looking to expand into Turkey, such as Carrefour, Metro AG, and Migros. These companies started to open stores that began to edge out the traditional markets, offering products at lower prices and more variety. By the mid-2000s, supermarkets had become more commonplace in Turkey's urban areas. According to the Sectoral Change and the National and Discount Market Chains Report prepared by the sectoral communication company Ortakalan for the food retail sector, the total number of stores for market chains with at least 5 branches increased to 38,387 with a 274% increase between 2000 and 2010 (Cumhuriyet, 2021). As shopping centers and malls grew in popularity, supermarkets found a new home within them. The availability of processed food in the form of packages, cans, and frozen goods made it easier for customers to buy pre-packed goods, which in turn led to further growth in the supermarket industry. Today, supermarkets are commonplace in almost all parts of Turkey. Supermarkets are seen as places for convenience and offer customers access to a broader selection of goods than ever before.

Meanwhile, supermarkets have had a standardizing effect on the food culture of Turkey as well. This standardization has diminished the diversity of goods that customers can buy and has led to them buying only mass-produced goods. This reduces the diversity of the goods and food culture and can lead to a homogenization of taste, as it is often difficult to find unique and locally-sourced goods.

After framing the overall picture of the supermarkets' effects on the Turkish political economy, it is now the thesis' aim to explain further in detail what

concretely happened, especially after the 1990s. Although the global retail sector started with the phenomenon of supermarkets in the USA in the 1950s, it is stated that the actual development of the sector was in the 1990s. The events caused by the "opening up" winds that started to blow in the Eastern Bloc countries in the 1980s resulted in the collapse of the communist system in the 1990s, and a significant part of the world's population was included in the capitalist system in a short time. With the collapse of the system, many people who were not allowed to buy the goods and services they wanted and did not have the right to choose had the opportunity to physically obtain more than they needed in a short time with the removal of economic borders (Mutlu, 1999). Parallel to these developments, the approaching of the excess point of the market in developed countries has led global investors to explore new markets. The deterioration of the economy led to a decrease in incomes, and the consumer, whose income decreased, became more conservative in their shopping and started to be more sensitive about price. In the face of this situation, businesses operating in the retail sector have started to increase their efficiency by reducing their expenses (Seth et al., 1999).

The development of the organized retail sector in Turkey gained momentum in the 1990s, and many food retailers operating on a global scale entered the Turkish market (Ülker & Arslan, 2020). In 2014, BİM had the highest market share of any individual retail chain in Turkey, comprising 6.7% of the country's grocery sector. The Turkish-owned business operates more than 4,700 stores and reported sales of 14.5 billion TL (\$5 billion) that year, an increase of 22% from the previous year. Andolu Endustri Holding, a Turkish corporation, has divided its food operations into three distinct brands. Migros is responsible for super and hypermarket sales, Tansas encompasses discount stores, and Macro Center specializes in up-scale "gourmet"

options. In 2014, Migros Ticaret saw impressive growth, with net consolidated sales increasing by 14% and amounting to 8.1 billion Turkish Lira (\$2.5 billion). It is interesting to note that this company has its roots in a joint venture between Swiss-based Migros Co-operatives and the Istanbul Municipality (Burman, 2016).

The development of organized retail and the decrease in the number and place of trade of traditional retailers, which are described as “esnaf,” discussions about moving shopping malls and big stores outside the city, and obtaining permission from the central authority or local authorities (such as municipalities for the activities of the aforementioned stores) brought the discussions to the public agenda. As far as is known, the first draft law prepared on this subject was submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 1999. Subsequently, many draft laws with different coverage areas have been prepared on various dates until today.

Table 5 shows the development of supermarkets and hypermarkets in numbers between 2000 to 2005 in Turkey.

Table 5. Number of Types of Supermarkets Over Years in Turkey

Market Segment	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Hypermarket (>2.500 m2)	129	149	151	143	152	160
Big Supermarket (1.000-2.499 m2)	306	357	368	367	394	454
Supermarket (400-999 m2)	1.818	2.229	2.577	2.764	3.179	3.673
Little Supermarket (100-399 m2)	726	835	909	968	1,082	1,258
Total	2.979	3.64	4.005	4.242	4.807	5.545

Source: AC Nielsen Zet, “Çerçeve” (2006)

Even after the 2000s and before the newly embraced neoliberal policies of AKP would show its effect on the overall Turkish political economic atmosphere, the

trend was moving upward in terms of supermarkets becoming more and more popularized throughout Turkey. It aligns with the global trends of the third wave of supermarkets getting popularized. It shows its effects on the Spice Bazaar shop owners, as well as the producers, in many mechanisms.

Supermarkets can put pressure on producers to standardize local tastes through a variety of mechanisms, such as hygiene inspections, product quality testing, adherence to shelf-life guidelines, and product placement strategies. For example, supermarkets often conduct regular hygiene inspections to ensure that the food items on their shelves are safe for consumption. This puts pressure on producers to ensure the cleanliness and safety of their products, thus influencing consumer tastes. Additionally, supermarkets may impose requirements on suppliers to regularly submit product samples for quality testing to ensure that the items being sold meet established standards for freshness and taste. Furthermore, supermarkets may enforce shelf-life guidelines that regulate the amount of time a product can remain on the shelves before being pulled from sale. Finally, supermarkets use strategic product placement techniques to influence consumer preference and drive sales of certain items. By strategically placing popular items at eye level and less desirable items on bottom shelves, supermarkets can shape the tastes of local shoppers.

On the other hand, the share of supermarkets in e-commerce has increased with the spread of home delivery services, especially after the pandemic process. Moreover, many supermarkets have adopted new technologies that enable customers to seamlessly view and purchase their products online. This has allowed shoppers to order their goods from their own homes, as well as access more items than ever before without ever leaving their living room. The rise of home delivery has also allowed supermarkets to reach a broader consumer base, creating even more

opportunities for them to reach potential customers and increase sales. The rise of supermarkets and e-commerce has had a significant impact on local producers and stores. After the introduction of home delivery grocery firms such as Getir in 2015 and İsteGelsin in 2018, other big e-commerce companies also started to serve in the same field such as YemekSepeti in 2019 and TrendYol and Hepsiburada in 2020.

After the pandemic started to show its effects in the second quarter of 2020, Getir's CEO stated in an interview in April 2020 that—only three weeks after the first coronavirus case was announced in Turkey—the download rate of the application had increased by 60% since the first announcement of the case detection. The average basket size had increased by 50%, and the overall business volume of the company had increased by 65% (Önemli, 2020). The big supermarket chains also jumped on this bandwagon sooner rather than later. Migros Sanal Market had already been established as soon as 1997, however, it gained more popularity through the pandemic process. ŞOK also started home delivery services in April 2020.

By stocking mass-produced goods from large corporations, supermarkets have pushed out many small, local producers and merchants who are unable to match the prices and variety of goods offered by the more prominent companies. Furthermore, the convenience of having goods delivered right to their doors has led many customers to prefer shopping at supermarkets over local shops. This has resulted in decreased sales for local stores, as well as a lower value placed on locally produced goods. The introduction of supermarkets has had a standardizing effect on local tastes. Supermarkets stock products that come from a select few large corporations that were addressed in the previous sub-chapter, which limits the availability of locally produced goods and can lead to homogenization in the tastes of Turkish customers. Furthermore, as supermarkets often stock cheaper processed

goods, this can limit the variety of fresh products available to customers, which can reduce customers' exposure to local ingredients, recipes, and flavors. All this contributes to the standardization of local tastes and can lead to a loss of traditional cuisines and flavors that were once beloved in Turkey.

3.3 Conclusion: how the Turkish political economy affected the Spice Bazaar

As previously stated when addressing the political economy of Turkey in the 1980s, the political economy of Turkey in the 2000s is also interconnected with the global political economy. In the 2000s, the global political economy was characterized by increasing globalization, liberalization, and deregulation. This is also reflected in the political economy of Turkey as the country has increased its economic integration with the global economy, adopted more liberal economic policies, and reduced government control over the economy. In addition, the country has also increased its reliance on foreign direct investments, embraced more free-market-oriented policies, and sought to attract more foreign capital. All these trends are similar to those witnessed in the global political economy in the 2000s.

In conclusion, Turkey's economic policy of rapid growth through exports has had both positive and negative effects. The positive effects include increased foreign capital inflows, which financed rapid growth and supported exports. However, the liberalization of the economy and the rapid growth of the volume of financial movements on a world scale has led to several financial crises. The current account deficit in the manufacturing sector has also been affected by import-restrictive measures such as surveillance and protection measures, health certificate applications, and anti-dumping duties imposed on many goods groups.

Ultimately, this has led to a dependence on imports with a low exchange rate high-interest policy, and the effects of the applied protectionist policies have been prevented. On the other hand, some products which were authenticated through traditional production methods have started to standardize via gross mechanization.

In conclusion, the international political economy and the Turkish political economy are closely interconnected. The international political economy affects the Turkish political economy, while the Turkish political economy affects the events that take place in the Spice Bazaar. As we move from the top down, we can see how the political and economic phenomena affect each other at every level. This interconnectedness serves to emphasize the importance of understanding global and local dynamics and how they interact to gain a better understanding of our world.

As the thesis has addressed in the broader context of Turkey's agricultural transformation, the Spice Bazaar reflects the processes of liberalization, standardization, and deregulation. This Istanbul fixture has seen an increase in tourists since 2002, which can be attributed to both global and Turkish politics. The touristification of the Bazaar has brought with it many advantages, such as increased exposure, more economic opportunities, and a more diverse range of visitors. However, it has also had its drawbacks, especially when it comes to the uniqueness of the Bazaar and its culture. To better understand the effects of touristification on the Spice Bazaar, it is vital to consider the interviews with local shop owners, who have experienced the shift firsthand. Their insights will provide valuable understanding into how touristification has endangered the authenticity of the Bazaar and its traditional culture while also shedding light on how the Bazaar's new popularity has impacted the local economy.

Urbanization is another endangering power in the Bazaar. Rapid urbanization after 2002 in İstanbul has changed the structure of Eminönü and the Spice Bazaar dramatically. With the new buildings around it, the visual aspect of the Bazaar has changed too. This has affected not only the Bazaar's physical environment but also its cultural environment as well. As more and more tourists visit the Bazaar, the culture of the Bazaar has been diluted by external influences. Local shop owners are now catering to the needs of tourists, rather than focusing on the needs of the local community. This has caused a loss of the traditional values and customs that had previously been integral to the Spice Bazaar. Additionally, with the process of commodification of land, old traditional shop owners were pushed away or forced to transform their business to serve the newcomers of the Spice Bazaar. The rapid increase in both rental and exact value of spaces in and around the Bazaar has pushed them away from traditional local-serving businesses to the ones that appeal to the tourists and changing local customer profiles.

CHAPTER 4
IMPORTANCE OF SPICE BAZAAR
AS A CRITICAL EXAMPLE

This chapter gives a historical and geographical context of what will be addressed in the coming chapter through the interviews. The Spice Bazaar, along with all Eminönü sites within which the Bazaar, has had an enormous historical, cultural, social, and political significance throughout history. This chapter will provide a general context of the area and the historical monuments that lay within the area. The significance of Eminönü was one of the most critical factors of the site being rapidly commercialized, commodified, and touristified.

The Spice Bazaar, along with the other monumental places surrounding the Eminönü district in İstanbul (such as Grand Bazaar, Blue Mosque, Hagia Sophia, and many others), has been one of the most significant urban places in İstanbul. Although the history of Spice Bazaar can be traced back to as soon as the sixteenth century, the area's history as an urban gathering center dates back even further. One of the earliest signs of the Eminönü district's importance within İstanbul is the hippodrome, built near the Hagia Sophia.

Hippodrome, which means a place in which the horse races take place, is remarked to be the first public place in which citizens gathered in Constantinople. During the Roman Empire and later the Byzantine Empire, the hippodrome continued its importance as the city's meeting, entertainment, excitement, and sports center until the 10th century. Besides chariot races, groups of musicians, belly dancers, acrobats, and fights with wild animals, meetings were held. There were plenty of holidays in the Roman period for all these activities. The Sultanahmet

Square lies where the hippodrome used to be, and it remains one of the most toured public spaces in İstanbul, especially because of its proximity to historical sites such as Hagia Sophia, Blue Mosque, Grand Bazaar, and Spice Bazaar. The historical peninsula must be analyzed properly at first to better understand the importance of the Spice Bazaar in geographic, political, social, and economic contexts.

Hagia Sophia is a mosque, former basilica, cathedral, and museum in İstanbul. It was a cathedral built by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I between 532-537 in the old city center of İstanbul's historical peninsula. After the conquest of İstanbul by the Ottomans in 1453, it was converted into a mosque by Mehmed the Second. It was converted into a museum by the Decree of the Council of Ministers published by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1934. Excavation and renovation started, and it served as a museum from 1935 to 2020. In 2020, the status of a museum was canceled, and the status of a mosque was granted. The Hagia Sophia serving as a museum and the potential of its transformation back to a mosque has been one of the most controversial issues, especially among the Islamic movements in Turkish politics. As one of the most important figures within the Turko-Islamic movements, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek puts it, "Young people! I don't know if it's today or tomorrow, but Hagia Sophia will be opened [as a mosque again]. Those who doubt whether the Turks will stay in this homeland may also doubt whether Hagia Sophia will be opened. Hagia Sophia will open. And it will open so much that all the lost mana will be tearing off its head, just like innocents in chains of blood."³ Therefore, the site possesses not only historical value but also social and political importance within Turkish politics.

³ Yeni Şafak (2020) "Necip Fazılın Ayasofya sözleri gerçek oldu Sonunda açıldı," *Yeni Şafak*, 10 July.

The Blue Mosque, or in its original name "Sultan Ahmet Mosque," was built by the Architect Sedefkar Mehmed Ağa on the historical peninsula in Istanbul under the rule of the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I between 1609 and 1617. The mosque is called the "Blue Mosque" by Europeans because it is decorated with blue, green, and white colored Iznik tiles as well as half domes. Inside the big dome is decorated with hand-drawn works predominantly in blue. With the conversion of Hagia Sophia from a mosque to a museum in 1935, it became the main mosque of Istanbul. The Blue Mosque, together with its social complex, is one of the greatest monuments in Istanbul. This complex consists of a mosque, madrasahs, a sultan's pavilion, arasta, shops, a Turkish bath, a fountain, public fountains, a tomb, a hospital, a primary school, an almshouse, and rental rooms. Some of these structures have not survived to the present day. Sultan Ahmet Mosque's "külliye" (a complex of structures consisting of a mosque, bath, madrasa, school, soup kitchen, tomb, library, soup kitchen, hospital, bazaar, lodge, and zawiya buildings) resembles many similarities with Spice Bazaar, which will be further detailed in the following sections.

One of the oldest shopping centers in the world, and what they call it themselves "the world's first shopping mall," Kapalıçarşı – "Grand Bazaar" – also traces back to the Byzantine period. The year in which the construction of the Grand Bazaar began, 1460, was accepted as the foundation year of the Bazaar. However, the actual big Bazaar was built in wood by Suleiman the Magnificent. Like a giant labyrinth, the Grand Bazaar is a unique center with 66 streets and 4,000 shops on 30,700 square meters. This site resembles a city, and it is completely covered. It has developed and grown over time. Even to this day, five mosques, one school, seven fountains, ten wells, one fountain, one fountain, 24 gates, and 17 inns operating within the Bazaar remain. The two old buildings with thick walls from the 15th

century, covered with a series of domes, became a shopping center in the following centuries by covering the developing streets and making further additions. In the past, this was a bazaar where certain professions were located on every street. The manufacture of handicrafts was under strict control, and commercial ethics and customs were highly respected. Nowadays, these practices are only brought about within family gatherings as a blessing of the past.

Although the Spice Bazaar lacks some of the historical and commercial powers that the told examples resemble, it has unique historical, social, and commercial attributions. The following two sub-chapters will deeply analyze the importance of the Spice Bazaar as a unique critical example within the globalization context, especially concerning historical and social characteristics.

4.1 History of Spice Bazaar

The history of Spice Bazaar is closely linked to the "New Mosque" in Eminönü, another significant historical monument within the Historical Peninsula area. Spice Bazaar was originally built as a "vaqfiyya" to the New Mosque to cover the mosque's expenses. As a vaqfiyya, the Bazaar is crucial in the transformation processes, even in modern times, which will be clearer in the case study section of this thesis.

Vaqfiyya means a foundation center in the Ottoman Empire, usually paid for by a Sultan, a Valide (Sultan's mother), or an important pasha. These foundation centers are usually commercial buildings rented or managed by the mosque to which it is connected. So, the Spice Bazaar was built, and the New Mosque administration rented the stores within itself to make money. With the foundation of the newly formed Turkish Republic, the Spice Bazaar, along with many other "vaqfiyya"s, was put under the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (The General Administration of Vaqifs),

which used to be under the order of the prime minister. After the transition to the Presidency of the Republic system in Turkey, VGM was transferred under the order of the Culture and Tourism Ministry. It is not allowed to sell any waqif properties; however, it rents them once every month in a render. Once a new renter rents the waqif property, it is illegal for the VGM to get rid of him/her unless he/she fails to pay their rent.

The 17th-century chroniclers knew the Spice Bazaar as the "New Bazaar" and "Valide (Mother) Bazaar." However, since the goods sold in the shops here are mostly Egyptian goods and spices, it is seen that it started to be called the "Egyptian Bazaar" in the middle of the 18th century. According to the sources, each shop in the Spice Bazaar had its unique sign. These signs on the doors of the shops could be a ship model, ostrich egg, tassel, or lantern signs. The purpose of placing such signs is to be able to say, "From the Spice Bazaar, from the lantern or egg shop" to those who say, "Where did you get it from" if a person buys a piece of goods from the Spice Bazaar and does not like it. The shops were recognized with the help of these signs found in the Spice Bazaar shops (Alper, 2009).

4.1.1 The foundation of Spice Bazaar as a "Vaqfiyya."

The Spice Bazaar is an "arasta" inside the New Mosque complex. The Bazaar has been a city center where various spices have been sold since its founding. The Bazaar, which the Europeans call the "Spice Bazaar" because of the products sold in it, is also known as the "Egyptian Bazaar" among the people, mostly because of the products brought from Egypt. The Bazaar has been the center of shopping for the city since its establishment. People mostly like spices, tea, etc. They consciously came to the Bazaar from all over the city to buy the products and do their shopping. In this

respect, the Bazaar and its surroundings maintain their characteristics by addressing the expanding needs of the people. For example, DoğuBank İş Hanı has been a point where electronic devices, which have been passed through customs since 1952 (usually illegally) are sold. Likewise, the shops on Mahmutpaşa Street have become a center where dowry items are sold. Most newly married couples do their shopping from Mahmutpaşa. The process of "pushing" the dowry shops from the Spice Bazaar to Mahmutpaşa and its surroundings was also explained in detail in the field study.

In the classical Ottoman period, there was a bazaar in almost every city. These bazaars were usually located in the most crowded points of the city. They were established as rows of shops at the junction points of the main arteries and streets, which could have been open or closed. Generally, open bazaars were called "pazar" and covered ones were called "bedesten." The bazaars in the Ottoman period are divided into two in terms of their structures. The first type is the bazaars described above, which expand spatially and in importance over time. The second type is called "arasta." Arastas are bazaars with rows of shops facing each other in a closed area. They are usually built with stone walls. The purpose of its establishment is to provide financial income to the "kulliye" in which it is located. That is why they have the feature of being "vaqfiya." All the shops in the arastas are the same in shape and size (Ceylan, 1989). The Spice Bazaar was also built-in the purpose of being a wealth generator for the "New Mother Mosque" – the original first name of the New Mosque in Eminönü-.

Since the mother of Sultan Mehmed IV constructed the Spice Market between 1661 and 1665 as a revenue-generating element for her sizable mosque complex, New Mother's Mosque Complex, it has played a significant economic and trade role in Istanbul (Thys-Şenocak, 2006). A modest palace pavilion, a mausoleum, two

fountains, a time-keeping facility, a primary school, and other educational facilities were also incorporated to instruct the Koran, hadith, and other Islamic teachings in the complex in addition to the market and mosque. Since the 17th century, the Spice Market's surroundings have undergone a significant change; nonetheless, the building still exists in front of the mosque as a vaulted L-shaped brick and stone edifice with two long hallways of stores (Davis & Şenocak, 2017). The Spice Market was originally referred to as the Sultan's Mother's Market in the original 17th-century foundation deed for the mosque complex. This was done in honor of its patron Hatice Turhan Sultan. Because spices and other goods from Egypt and other countries within the vast Ottoman commerce network were sold there, the market became known as the Egyptian Bazaar by the 18th century (Casale, 2006).

The traveler and novel writer Edmondo de Amicis wrote this in 1874 in his book "Constantinople" on the Spice Bazaar:

As soon as you enter inside, a person's nose hits with such a strong smell of herbs that you almost turn back. This is the essence that circulates all kinds of spices coming from India, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, that paints the hands and faces of the concubines, that gives good smells to the houses, baths, mouths, beards, and dishes, that gives strength to the irritable pashas, that dispels imagination, intoxication, and joy in the magnificent city. It is the Spice Bazaar, where it turns into pills, powders, and ointments. After walking for a while in the Bazaar, people start to get stunned and immediately get away from there. However, with this hot and heavy air, the intoxicating scents' effect continues even when you go out into the open air. It remains alive in your mind as one of the most intimate and meaningful traces of the Orient.⁴

Therefore, in a very literary way, the Spice Bazaar has been one of the most significant symbols of Ottoman İstanbul. It was symbolized by the smell it diffuses to the different corners of the city. Those spice shops, which are the main source of that smell, are under the attack of globalization forces and are being standardized. As the field study could better understand it, these spice shops are either being vanished or transformed in such a standardized way that they lack their characteristics.

⁴ de Amicis, E. (1896). Constantinople, vol. 1. *Henry T. Coates & Co., Philadelphia*. Pp.65-66

4.1.2 Initial transformation of Eminönü and Spice Bazaar

To see the current change in the Spice Bazaar, it is necessary to examine the different modification processes that the Bazaar has gone through, both legally and socially.

The change in the Spice Bazaar cannot be understood without researching the changes in Eminönü around the Bazaar. Therefore, in this section, the changes that the Bazaar and its surroundings have undergone since the late Ottoman and early republican periods will be examined. It can be said that these changes are directly related to the current change in the Bazaar.

The first urban planning studies in Istanbul date back to the 19th century. The city's planning process started with the preparation of a map by Moltke in 1836 to 1837, on which there were various plan decisions for the development of the city. The first legislation regulated by the Ottomans was the Ebniye Nizamnamesi, which was issued in 1848. After the 1864 Hocapaşa fire, the Turuk Ebniye Regulations dated 1864 were issued. Planning studies in Europe were imitated in the plan studies until this period. The plans made without examining the city structure remained superficial and mechanical. The unique functioning of the city has become unhealthy. From 1932 to 1933, a competition was opened for Istanbul as the first planning step of the Republican years. For this competition, Agache, Elgötz, and Lambert were invited to Istanbul and worked for one month each. However, these experts were not given the information to provide the necessary infrastructure for the planning of Istanbul, and the studies were insufficient. Elgötz's plan, which was found successful, could not be implemented. It was seen that Martin Wagner's "Plan of İstanbul and Its Neighborhood," invented in 1935, was a study based on environmental analysis and aimed at protecting agricultural lands. This plan was not implemented either (Ist. Ask., 1994). In 1936, Istanbul Municipality, Paris Regional

Capitalist, Prof. He called on Henri Prost to prepare the master plan of the city. Prost's plan, which left important traces in the structuring of Istanbul and implemented some principles and practices that are still valid today, has been a plan for realizing urban design examples rather than urban planning (İBB, 1995).

Important decisions— such as pulling the Galata bridge inside, creating regular areas around it, and clearing Sarayburnu from warehouse and cargo transportation functions—were taken in the Prost plan to create and protect the city. Decisions such as opening up wide streets in Beyoğlu and the historical peninsula were some of the most serious mistakes of the plan (İBB, 1995). In the establishment phase of the Republic, it is seen that the planning studies carried out with the help of foreign experts in Istanbul were generally aimed at short-term processes rather than determining the general settlement and development principles and could not help defining the development of the city. The city could have become more beautiful once the Prost plan was executed. However, the main functions of the city centers near Eminönü were trying to be wiped away in a pretty inorganic way. These functions include making Eminönü a hub for warehouses, small production sites, and others.

According to the Prost plan, institutions such as fruit and vegetable markets and fish houses that have existed in Eminönü since ancient times should have moved out of the city. However, these areas were not easy to move to due to the habits of the people and their proximity to the city's main arteries. Because what seemed logical and "beautiful" on paper could be met with resistance by the city's residents when it was put into practice, transporting fish and fruit-vegetable markets was not possible until the 1970s. Though, the fact that these centers were not moved further increased the liveliness of Eminönü. Therefore, the Spice Bazaar and the shops

around it, which had to meet the different needs of the expanding city, started to host different products. The first geographical expansion of the Bazaar also began in this period. With the population expansion of both Istanbul and the historical peninsula, different needs have emerged among the people. New shops responding to these needs, and workshops producing the products these shops sell, began to spread to the streets, stretching from the Spice Bazaar to the Grand Bazaar.

4.1.3 “Turkification” of the site: the effects of 6-7 September incidents

Between 1940 and 1943, the Spice Bazaar underwent a major restoration. It is thought that the order of the shops in the Spice Bazaar was changed with the restoration. As a result of this restoration, in the original form of the building, there were shelves where each shop in the market displayed their goods, the iwan section where the seller sat, and a room with a wooden door closed behind it that was twice as deep as the area in front of it. These rooms were generally used as warehouses. The cell entrances formed a symmetrical arrangement placed against each other. In the last restoration, the iwans were connected to the rooms behind them. The wooden joinery separating the rooms was removed, and these spaces used as warehouses were turned into shops. (Alper, 2009). However, it was not only the structural change of the Spice Bazaar in these times. There were also some crucial social and economic changes.

The minorities were usually engaged in trade and shopkeeping in and between the Spice Bazaar, usually in the Historical Peninsula in İstanbul. In fact, most of the historical memories of the elderly shopkeepers of the Spice Bazaar had some Jewish or Armenian neighbors inside them. Two incidents are usually cited within the Turkish Politics literature regarding the struggles against non-Muslim

minorities in Turkey, which happened during either the Second World War or in an early post-Second World War atmosphere. Wealth tax, which was issued under the one-party rule of CHP and prime minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu, and the September 6-7 Incidents of 1955 were the two incidents that standardized—at least ethnically—the Spice Bazaar, Grand Bazaar, and Eminönü site in general. Even though there is a lack of official records on the issue, it is told by the collective memory of both the public and the shopkeepers that, before those incidents, there were plenty of non-Muslim minorities on the site. After them, they were gradually wiped away, and now they are either non-visible or non-existent (Aktar, 2000).

In this sense, especially in the single-party period, the Wealth Tax, which was enacted in 1942 during the prime minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu period, dealt a great blow to the minorities economically and resulted in the change of capital. For example, after the Wealth Tax law was enacted, real estate sales of non-Muslims increased tremendously within 15 days. It is seen that Jews hold a share of 39%, Armenians – 29%, Greeks – 12%, and foreigners – 5% in total real estate sales. In return, 67% of the real estate purchase transactions were carried out by Muslim Turks; 15% by State Economic Enterprises, National Insurance Companies, National Banks, and Istanbul Municipality; and 14% by the General Directorate of Foundations. This situation caused a serious reaction against the Republican People's Party (CHP) among non-Muslims and almost all non-Muslims voted for the Democratic Party (DP) in the 1946, 1950, and 1954 elections (Kaya, 2007).

The events of September 6-7 were some of the most important turning points in the history of Turkey regarding minority rights. These events, during which attacks were organized against non-Muslim people living in Istanbul, maintain their place in the memories. The houses, workplaces, schools, churches, crosses, and

valuables of the non-Muslim minorities of Istanbul were destroyed by burning during the riots. It changed the demographic structure of İstanbul and greatly affected the Historical Peninsula, within which mostly Jewish and Armenian minorities were acting as tradespeople. As will be seen in the coming chapters, these transformations enormously affected the Spice Bazaar renting and shopkeeping procedures. Thus, it is significant to know what happened on September 6-7, 1955, and how it shaped the Turkish political atmosphere.

In 1954, the Greek Cypriots started a struggle for independence against the British colonial rule of the time, and the Greek government brought the issue of the right of self-determination of the Cypriot peoples to the agenda of the United Nations (UN). When the Greek Cypriots' idea of connecting the island to Greece was brought to the agenda, it brought the Turkish and Greek peoples of the island face to face. Parallel to this process, news containing hate speech against the Greek people living in Istanbul was written by the media in Turkey in 1955. In the press, how the Greeks of Istanbul lived and were happy was compared with the Turkish minorities of Western Thrace. This fueled the increasing tension between the two peoples. Established in 1954, the Cyprus Turkish Society made an important move in the name of the 'nationalization' of the Cyprus issue. It conducted studies in Istanbul and other big cities to create public opinion on this issue. The association was also supported by then Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. The bombing of Atatürk's house in Thessaloniki on September 5, 1955, greatly impacted Turkish public opinion. Upon the news that Atatürk's house was bombed, those who started to gather in Taksim Square toward the evening proceeded to Istiklal Street with slogans and posters and began to destroy Greek shops. As the events spread all over Istanbul, the attacks soon led to the looting of shops. Of the workplaces that were attacked and

looted, 59% belonged to Greeks, 17% to Armenians, and 12% to Jews. According to official sources, 4,214 houses, 1,000 workplaces, 73 churches, and 26 schools were destroyed during the September 6-7 Incidents. According to the human rights organization Helsinki Watch, 15 people lost their lives in the incidents (Güven, 2005).

In addition, these two events have made the view of non-Muslim minorities suspicious of the Turkish State. When all these factors come together, the migration of non-Muslims to countries where they will not be a minority by waiving many commercial and social rights has intensified. This is the chronology of the processes in which Turkey and Istanbul in general, and the Historical Peninsula and Spice Bazaar in particular, began to lose their different colors and become standardized in these ways. The changes that the Bazaar has experienced recently have been directly influenced by the Turkish economy, which returned to neoliberalism after 1980.

4.2 The modern status of Bazaar and its recent transformation

One of the respondents of the interviews, a shopkeeper who had been operating a shop inside the Spice Bazaar for more than 50 years, has said that the Bazaar has changed in the last 10 to 20 years more dramatically than it did in the 50 years before that.

After these social and structural alterations, a hugely radical operation that caused a change in Eminönü was the operations of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality President Bedrettin Dalan, which took place in the 1980s. In 1985, the "Recreation Plan" for the coastline of Sirkeci-Florya, on the West Marmara coasts, in the Historical Peninsula, and parts starting from Samatya, was put into practice. Serious interventions were carried out in line with the goal of demolition, filling, and

opening coastal roads in coastal areas and integrating the city with water. However, with these interventions that do not consider this geography and the places around the coast, the relationship with water has weakened. After the interventions were carried out under "the operation to clean the beach," all buildings were cleaned in Eminönü, except for a few buildings on the coast. Almost all the remaining tissue in the Yemiş İskelesi area has been destroyed, and only a few monumental structures remain (Tülek, 2015).

The most recent restoration of the Spice Bazaar happened between 2011 and 2018. With the last restoration of the Bazaar, the decorations and shops in the Spice Bazaar were standardized. Air conditioners were installed in shops. Electric panels were moved out of the Bazaar. The generator has become central. Shop signs are designed to be in the font and size determined by the State (General Directorate of Foundations), and tradesmen are not allowed to make other signs. Great care has been taken to restore the Bazaar to its former State. A new shop, which did not exist before the restoration but existed in the photos of the Bazaar in the early 1900s, was added to the project and opened.

Of course, this Bazaar is expected to respond to the new needs of the people of Istanbul, and it has started to host shops where many new products have been sold in the last 10 to 20 years. To respond to both the increasing population of Istanbul and the new developing needs of people, different sectors have been added next to the shops, such as jewelers and herbalists, that have existed in the Bazaar for a long time. The ready-made food sector has also developed significantly in the Bazaar. The artisan restaurants, which previously only served tradesmen, have started to be replaced by ready-to-eat food shops that cater to domestic and foreign customers who come to shop.

The number of Turkish businessmen who bring goods from China to Tahtakale—near the Spice Bazaar—is quite high. These have undertaken the role of wholesaler warehouse, and distribution is made to our country from here. At the same time, transport companies have a special duty to bring goods as intermediaries (Çiçek & Koyuncu, 2007). After the Chinese economy's opening to the world market, these shops have become a hub for distributing and expanding Chinese goods. These goods usually include fake leathers, cheap toys, and other "proper" goods that would replace the traditional hand-made artisanal goods once produced in the region.

CHAPTER 5
A CRITICAL CASE STUDY:
STANDARDIZATION OF SPICE BAZAAR

The story of standardization is indicated via the analysis of Spice Bazaar in Eminönü, İstanbul. Several aspects of globalization feed the standardization process in the Bazaar. The main argument is that there is a convergence of a) the items sold in the shops in the Spice Bazaar and b) the sectors within which the shops in the Bazaar operate. For instance, there used to be many different types of cheeses in dairy shops in the Spice Bazaar some 40 to 50 years ago; although, now there seems to be a smaller amount of cheese. While some new types were invented, they lack certain characteristics that the older ones had. There used to be less-processed, small-scale products that may not carry some of the hygiene principles that were imposed by either the state or market itself. Nowadays, newly developed products are produced on a mass scale and are highly processed, often with the use of machinery. They are often in line with the new dietary habits of the globalized 21st-century world. Through this process, the standardization of cheese and other products has occurred, and though some have survived, many of the formerly sold products have been wiped away by the forces of globalization.

This paper aims to analyze this shift gradually. Firstly, to make the argument viable, whether this shift had actually occurred will be analyzed through the Spice Bazaar. After explaining the change within the Bazaar and demonstrating the former and recent types/sectors of shops inside it, this thesis will analyze whether there was a change in the types of products sold within the shops that operate in similar sectors in the past and present. Processes explained within the globalization literature have

affected many steps throughout this analysis. My aim is to explain the changing dynamic of the Spice Bazaar in a top-down manner. The analysis investigates the standardizing facet of globalization by explaining two aspects: the producer side and the shop owner side.

Firstly, the global aspects of standardization and how they have affected the Turkish agriculture industry, as well as cheese production in specific, will be explained through semi-structured deep interviews with the former and recent producers that sell products to the Bazaar. Secondly, after the production side has been explained, the shift would be to the shop owners of the Spice Bazaar, and their perspectives on globalization would be investigated through semi-structured interviews with them. Through every interview and every step of the analysis, the changing dynamics of globalization and how it acted to standardize the products as well as the shops in the Bazaar would be investigated.

Change in the sectors of the shops will be evaluated through primary data. The paper will make use of a combination of official data sources. Firstly, the videos and photos taken by a) (former) Eminönü Municipality Archive and b) (state-owned) Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) will be compared to photos taken inside the Bazaar recently. The thesis takes 1977 as a milestone, a year in which there was not a harsh effect of globalization over the Spice Bazaar, and compares it to 2022, where the paper argues there is a visible globalization dominance over it. The year 1977 is also when TRT captured video shots inside the Bazaar for the documentary “Geçmişten Bugüne” (From the Past to Today), one year before capturing other shots for another documentary named “Kapalı Çarşılar” (Indoor Bazaars). The photos taken by former EMA are from the 1950s and 1960s. However, there is a strong

argument that the Bazaar has not dramatically changed within those 20 years when compared to the last 20 years before that.⁵

Changes in the products that are sold within each shop would be traced via two unofficial sources. Firstly, through semi-structured interviews with the shop owners. However, this alerts some reliability issues as the comparative analysis of what each owner says would provide some strength over them. Secondly, the unofficial records that were used by the shop owners would be anonymously analyzed to compare a) where they get the products from and b) what products they get. Although old-school people would hesitate to share their (mostly hand-written) notebooks with strangers, I would make use of my peculiar advantage at this stage. My parents have been operating shops in the Bazaar since the 1950s. Therefore, I can both use their own notebooks to understand the change within their shops, and the other owners have usually been more willing to share their top-secret records with me, a former “çirak” that they've known since childhood, rather than a complete stranger whom they would probably think of as a tax agent. Appendix A demonstrates the list of all the stores doing business in the Spice Bazaar (updated lastly on 10.2.2022), their door numbers, and the sectors they conduct business in. Appendix B includes the photos that were taken by the former Eminönü Municipality archive.

⁵ One of the shop owners (Hasan [72]) I interviewed argues: “If you were to divide the history of Spice Bazaar into decades, you would see virtually no difference at all since 1955 to the Özal government. If these photographs that you showed me [the photos taken by former EMA] were taken after the 6-7 September Incidents, which they seem like they are, I could tell secondhand that there has not been much change between the photographs and the documentaries.” Although Hasan was not physically there until he started being a “çirak” under his parents when he was 8 (in 1957), he claims that this information is secondhand because he was raised with the stories of old Moti (a then-popular name within the Jewish community in Turkey) Usta. He claims he had never seen Moti, yet he knows very well where his store was and who "occupied (in his own words)" Moti's store after he had to flee the country because of the 6-7 September incidents.

5.1 Faces of standardization: Bazaar's transformation story

Standardization of the Spice Bazaar would be best understood and explained by the types of stores that operate within the Bazaar. There is a total of 88 stores inside Spice Bazaar. All these stores are owned by the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü ("Turkish Republic Directorate General of Foundations, "VGM" from now on). None of the "shop owners" technically "own" the place. They just rent it from VGM. However, according to their contract with the state, they cannot be moved out unless they fail to pay their rent two times in a row. Therefore, the tradition is that none of the owners would leave their shops unless they willingly disclaim their right to rent the store. The disclaim process usually goes through with an unofficial deal, and they sell their rights to rent to the new renter at an amount of money which they call "hava parasi" (a tradition in Turkish trade that's similar to nuisance money and a word-to-word translation of "hava parasi" would be "air money"). Usually, this amount is twice or three times more than the value of any store in İstanbul. However, it was not always like that, as a shop owner claims:

(After asking the question, "Were these shops always this valuable?") No way. I mean, even the owner of the shops around us was only one person. So, four shops belonged to one person. The man got bored and said he would sell it and leave, but he could only buy 2 Murat 131 cars with the money he received. Of course, they say that this is due to the effect of September 6-7, but I do not know. In other words, when they [Jewish and Armenian people of İstanbul) leave the shops and run away. It is said that whoever finds it has taken possession of them. But we saw that there was a Jewish paper maker, for example, where the tea maker is located now. The man did his job properly. He would not interfere with anyone, and no one would interfere with him. When he was going to sell the shop, my father gave him half the value of a taxi license plate at that time's money. Now you cannot afford this shop from here with even 2-3 plates, I guess. (İhsan, 67)

Therefore, the research has started to focus on another aspect of the Spice Bazaar: when did these stores become so unaffordable that only the most powerful or trade-wise talented artisans have survived until today? Naturally, the state and the VGM have also recognized the value increase in the stores inside the Bazaar. Therefore, rents have skyrocketed, especially after the 1990s. As the Bazaar got more

and more expensive, only the people who could afford to pay the rents survived, and other renters were wiped away. For reference, the annual rental of a store in the 1950s was some 1,980 Turkish Liras, an amount of money that would fail to buy even a quarter of a standard house in İstanbul back then, according to an interviewee. Nowadays, it is 50,000 Turkish Liras a month for the new renters. However, the value of rents has actually not been increased much when compared to the actual value of the stores. As another interviewee claims:

Now, rather than this price increase, the real problem is bigger. The main problem here is the transfer right. So, for example, I entered the tender for another foundation property last week. It was a land in Adalar(the Prince's Islands). They started the tender on a monthly rent of 2,500 TL. At the end of the tender, the lessor rented the land for a rent of 10.000 TL. However, it was the money that had to be. Now there are no tenders in these shops. You transfer your right to anyone you want. By the way, when I talk about this transfer, it is usually a paid transfer. The person to whom you transfer your rights pays the same rent as you pay. In other words, if a shop for which 40.000 TL rent is paid goes out to tender, 120-130.000 TL rent would have been taken from these places. Does it make sense to you? They want millions of dollars to transfer their rights to rent the shop, but they pay 3-4 thousand dollars in rent while inside. So, there is such a gap. If you look at the official figures, you cannot see this price increase in the rents because of this gap. Nevertheless, there is a serious increase in the value of the shops, not the rental prices. Rents did not rise that much. So, what is going on here? Those artisans, shop owners, who don't want to deal with the stores, sell their rights and leave.” (İhsan, 56)

Of course, these transfer issues would help sellers to exchange their rental rights within a certain network gradually. Through these practices, there has been a convergence in the number of shop owners inside the Bazaar. Small-scale owners that would interfere in virtually all steps of the products they operate would be replaced by bigger-scale, financially-stable tradespeople that usually engage only in buy-and-sell types of product operation.

The study to research the relevancy and validity of the hypothesis that the regulations and the criteria that the producers must meet to gain incentives make production processes follow certain paths. This feeds the convergence of the production methods, resulting in a decrease in the number of product types they engage in operating and dividing them into two sections. The first section deals with the *descriptive* figures that were collected to demonstrate the validity of the

“assumed” conditions. There are many assumptions regarding the hypothesis, the sources of which were investigated throughout the research. The argument is that the local food culture of Spice Bazaar and İstanbul could be damaged or even lost if the number of types of symbol products such as cheese, delight, and spices sources itself on the literature on local cultures and İstanbul.

The research agenda was designed to explain *how* this decrease occurs specifically in the case of cheese sold in the Spice Bazaar; however, *whether* there is a decrease in the number of types of cheese is a question that was yet to be answered properly. To explain that variety, I got data from the Spice Bazaar tradespeople personally. Many of those Bazaaris keep a record of what they sell, especially with their traditional methods of recording the products both in informal notebooks and in their declaration to the Tax Office of Hocapaşa. Although many Bazaaris would not want to share this usually confidential information with the outsiders, there is a strategic benefit for me personally gaining this information. My family has been operating some stores in the Bazaar themselves; thus, the Bazaaris would acknowledge me personally and were more inclined to share those with me, not to mention that I was able to gain information of the stores my family owns from the first hand. If there was no written data available, the Bazaaris were asked to recall the information through their own experiences, i.e., their memories. Though, this data was not as strong as the data that were gathered via written documents.

The classification (i.e., how many types of cheese does a certain record includes) and the quantification of the records were conducted together with the Bazaaris, as they were to a major extent experts of the relevant sectors. However, as the research deals with the production side of the story, I did not discuss the sources of the standardization process through the interviews with the Bazaaris. I only

researched if there was that process indeed. The classification regarding the *sector* that each product belongs to was done by the researcher.

The second section of the study deals with the *interpretational* variables to support the hypotheses suggested above. Through that, I made a series of elite interviews with the local producers of cheese and spice, respectively. By elite, I do not mean a group of people that are of a superior position regarding social, economic, or cultural aspect, but rather elite in terms of exclusiveness, as the interviewees would all be of a certain occupation, local producers that is. Although the selection of the "elites" that are described seems arbitrary, it is not because the critical information that would describe best what I aimed to interpret can only be provided by those elites that I chose. The historical development of the globalization process and its effect on the local food markets could better be interpreted by signifying the Spice Bazaar example in İstanbul. On the other hand, standardization of the local food in İstanbul's Spice Bazaar could better be explained by demonstrating two aspects of the process, namely production and consumption. The research deals with the former, so it argues for a deepened analysis of what the experts of that production side tell about the historical trends.

The selection of the "local producers" followed the certain methodology that is described below. It requires two steps to be taken to assure both randomness and the relevance of the interviewees. Firstly, all the suppliers of the Spice Bazaar store that have operated since 2010 were listed. This list of the suppliers was abstracted from the unofficial or official data that were taken from the Bazaaris in the first phase of research, which deals with the descriptive information. Secondly, 20 companies were randomly selected among this list. Throughout these 20 randomly assigned companies; the ones that fit to at least one of the two conditions (firstly, the

formerly small-scale producers that have expanded their production capacity, and secondly, the formerly small-scale producers that have either changed sectors or withdrawn from the market) would be interviewed. If the randomly selected producer does not belong to any of those groups, the selection would be repeated until it does so. This list of the producers was also divided into three sub-categories: firstly, the ones that keep small-scale production, and secondly and thirdly, the ones that are described above. Through that classification, the paper aims to demonstrate the effect of the globalization process on the small-scale local producers.

The interviews were semi-structured, i.e., there would be five questions discussed with the respondents. However, there have been questions added or skipped during the interviews, which was up to the researcher and the type of answers the respondents gave to the prior questions. Respondents would be made as clear and honest as possible with the help of the jargon that they are used to hear from their colleagues. The questions were open-ended and are designed to mainly stimulate the respondents to explain their stories and engagements with the globalization process without leading them to give certain answers. All five of the questions are included at the end of the thesis in the Appendix C. Appendix D demonstrates the consent and information form that was signed by the respondents.

I have listed 82 stores inside the Bazaar and have looked up their sector. The list was compared to the sectors that were doing business in 1982. The second information was obtained by comparing the photos of EMA and videos of TRT to photos taken recently. Then, the 20 shop owners inside the Bazaar were asked to recall what their stores used to be and which sector their neighboring stores used to operate in. After comparing the information taken by the interviewee and the photos, the list was complete. If an interviewee's data was contrary to the photo and/or

video, the photo and/or video was regarded correct as they demonstrated concrete proof instead of basic memoir. However, as an interviewee's memory was not only compared to the concrete proof as videos/photos but also the data taken by the other interviewees, they still claim some reliability. Only 3 out of 82 stores had to be changed after these comparisons.

The list shows that the 82 stores were dispersed into 6 sectors in 2022. If you exclude Cankurtaran (the only dairy store), Özer (the only antiquity store), and Güllüoğlu (the only baklava store) left in the Bazaar, the list would be 79 stores that were dispersed into 3 sectors. The most popular type is the stores that sell dried nuts, Turkish delight, and spices. In 1979, 82 stores were dispersed into almost 12 sectors, and there were also nuanced differences between them. Although dried nuts stores are thought to have survived since 1977, with 44 stores still dealing with similar sectors, there are big differences between them and the spice shops ("aktar"s) of that time. These nuances will be elaborated on throughout this chapter while surviving cases will be analyzed.

All the interview dates, the names that were used to demonstrate the shop owners or producers, as well as the sector the respondent operates business in are shown in Appendix E.

Regardless of their types, spice sellers and jewelers are the most dominant inside the Bazaar, with the two making up 57 of 82, or 70%, of the stores inside the Bazaar. Other sectors such as the wooden toy sellers, "çeyiz"⁶ stores have been wiped away. Wooden toys have been replaced by plastic and cheaper toys as the toy

⁶ "Çeyiz" or dowry means any item prepared for the bride by her family. Traditionally, the so-called "dowry" begins to be accumulated before a girl reaches marriageable age and is completed until she is married. These are mostly handcrafted carpets, sewing embroidery, pillows, quilts, and household items such as towels. The early modern tradition of İstanbul girls was to go to the stores inside Spice Bazaar and fulfill their dowries all at once.

industry has become more mechanized. The Turkish economy has received made-in-China-wise products with open arms, especially after the 1980s. Nowadays, toy stores that sell home-made wood toys are nowhere to find near the Bazaar. The story of dowry shops is quite different. It will be elaborated on in the survivals sub-section. Thus, upon these interviews and through the investigation of semi-official documents such as photographs and videos, some standardization is occurring within the Spice Bazaar. To explain how and why this standardization and these changes occur, the analysis will first research the shop owner side via the interview analysis. There are also stores outside the Bazaar, but they are connected to the Bazaar in Tahmis Avenue. These stores are also owned by the VGM, and they oblige to the rules that the VGM enforces to the Spice Bazaar. Therefore, they were also included in the research. What is astonishing about these stores is that the dairy shops, which used to be inside the Spice Bazaar, have been moved outside of it to the Tahmis Ave. On Tahmis Avenue, virtually all the stores except for one fish seller deal with either dairy products or driednuts/spice/Turkish delight.

5.2 The reason of transformation: shop owners' stories

The transformation of the different industries of the Spice Bazaar shops signifies a convergence and a standardization. The question then is why and how this transformation links to the globalization forces that were explained in literature. To explain this linkage, this study has made use of semi-structured interviews with the shop owners. Three main reasons come to the forefront in these interviews. Firstly, one of the most common issues that were brought into consideration by the shop owners was the consumers' preferences. All 12 respondents have signified the importance of changing dynamics of their customers' preferences. Secondly,

financial and market forces were identified as one of the most significant forces as to why the shops were changing their suppliers. As the shop owners seek for cheaper and more reliable products, they have prioritized the standardized mass-scale producers over the peasant-owned small-scale producers. Finally, some seven shop owners claimed that the Spice Bazaar is a place that seeks so much attention, both from the public and the state, so they must sell "proper" products that align with the state's regulations. Formerly sold, hand-made products would cause legal problems for them, and they couldn't risk getting in trouble with the government or municipality.

When I showed a spice shop owner a section of the TRT documentary and asked him why they wouldn't operate the products that their colleagues used to in 1977, he responded:

Now, of course, you used to sell what you want before. There is no state. In other words, the municipality sends a police officer, or sometimes friends from the agriculture directorate come. You do your business with them by paying soup money.⁷ In other words, there would be almost no monitoring, and when there was, we would get away with it anyway. That's the first reason. Secondly, which is more important, people do not want to buy legumes and spices from such open sacks anymore. They want packaging and sales that comply with health conditions. If you ask me, the health conditions of the old ones were more suitable, now if you visit the facilities where these packaging is made, you can't oversee the dirt there. But they say that when the eye does not see, the heart is deceived. So, when you see it packed in there, it's more comfortable for you. Finally, let's say 50 years ago, you were buying paprika from Hasan Usta and selling it. These days, Hasan Usta does not have the opportunity to compete with Bağdat Baharat. The man [Bağdat] produces tons of spices a day. You see, Hasan Usta sells the pepper for 10 Lira. If you can buy it for 8 Lira from Bağdat Baharat, you prefer them. Make no mistake, it's not just the price either. If the product is bad, he [Bağdat] gets it back and changes it with the new ones. He comes every two days, not once a week. All these important features inevitably lead you there [Bağdat]. (Kemal, 49)

All three present important aspects that were summarized briefly by Kemal.

However, almost every other interviewee had something to say about them as well.

The study will now focus on how these three causes were shaped by the shop owners

⁷ "Çorba parası" which translates to English as "soup Money," is an idiom in Turkish that refers to bribing public agents.

in detail and how these stories relate to the political economy of Turkey as well as globalization.

5.2.1 Consumer preferences: McDonaldization?

When Ritzer(1993) published his famous book *McDonaldization of Society* in 1993, what he had in mind was the effects of the McDonald's model in society. Ritzer identified four distinct dimensions of the McDonald's business model: efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. Accordingly, as McDonald's has succeeded within the food industry, other firms followed those basic principles, and eventually, it became such a norm within modern society that individuals started to aim for those needs to be met in virtually every other area in their lives. The McDonaldization process is stronger than ever, according to Ritzer's preface of the book's ninth edition, which was published in 2018. Although it was meant to address the effect of the use of the internet, it is possible for one to claim that, with the help of internet use, the McDonaldization process has accelerated dramatically within the physical world as well.

What this study would offer with regards to the McDonaldization literature signifies quite a contrast with the mainstream works on it. Ritzer argued for the importance of predictability of McDonaldization and how the society expects to see similar products wherever they go as part of his argument. Both the consumers and workers of McDonald's offer somewhat predictable manners: in Ritzer's own words, "Egg McMuffins in New York will be virtually identical to those in Chicago and Los Angeles. Also, those eaten next week or next year will be about the same as those eaten today."⁸ However, in touristic sites, which is the core of the study in this paper,

⁸ Ritzer, G. (2018). *The McDonaldization of society: Into the digital age*. Sage Publications., pp. 21

both the consumers and the sellers prioritize—or at least had been prioritizing—localization and uniqueness above all. One of the most significant features of the Spice Bazaar in İstanbul is that you cannot buy the spices, desserts, cheese, and other products that are sold anywhere else in the world, not even in other shopping sites in İstanbul. Bazaari people have always been proud of the uniqueness of their products, citing how their clients come from far away parts of the city only to buy their local and unique items. However, this uniqueness of the Spice Bazaar seems to be diminishing in the last couple of years. As rivalry grew between the shop owners, they started seeking for cheap and efficient products, which meant for the producers to shape their production methods to enlarge their operations. This cycle finally resulted in more and more standardized food and even other items. For instance, the most unique items like scarves and even evil eye amulets that ties directly to the Turkish culture have the “Made in China” marks on them.

The key in this story is that even most local and unique products are being produced in large-scale factories and in a standardized way. Although the items are standardized, they lack the McDonaldization theory’s suggestion of predictability as the shop owners always seek new and more efficient products. Therefore, although standardized, the items that are sold in the Spice Bazaar offers a unique critical way of being McDonaldized, opposed to the initial suggestion of Ritzer. When asked about what being “standardized” meant to him and would he seek similar products every now and then, another shop owner states:

What you call standardization can be understood in two ways. You ask me "Is standardization important to you, what does it mean to you?". Here, it is necessary to explain both meanings of this word. First, it is desirable for us to offer the same product to the customer consistently. In order for the man to be a regular customer, he must be able to find the same product with the same quality and at similar prices all the time. We determine our suppliers to ensure this. We always buy goods from the same people. For example, the person from whom I bought Turkish delight is clear, it has been 10 years since I bought it from anyone else. However, apart from the main items such as Turkish delight, paprika and so on, I am constantly chasing innovations. I try to put a different product on the counter. If I find a

product that is not on any other artisan's counter, it is the lottery. I'm after a bit of that. I wish I could make a name for it with that product (Ahmet, 56).

With respect to McDonaldization, the shop owners have been affected by the business choices that their business rivals had taken. Especially the effects of mass production and the easement of import businesses, they have started to seek for cheaper products that would maximize their profit margins. When being asked about how their consumer preferences have changed, they usually emphasize the change within the consumer *profile* as well as the preferences. All 20 of the shop owners have emphasized the “touristicization” of the site. It goes in line with the number of the tourists Turkey have attracted since decades. According to the Culture and Tourism Ministry of Turkey stats, the number of foreign tourists that have come to İstanbul in 2009 was some 7.5 million. The same number for the year 2021 is 24.7 million (KTB, 2022).

The only decrease in the yearly tourist numbers—except for the pandemic—in İstanbul occurred in 2016 when bombs and terror attacks were widespread in most of the touristic sites such as Sultanahmet in January, Beyoğlu in March, Vezneciler in June, and Bebek on New Year's Eve in 2017. Another significant event to cite in 2016 was the attempted coup d'état in 16th of July when violence took over almost every corner in the country, mostly affecting İstanbul and Ankara. Through these times, the shop owners were pretty sure that they would eventually get back the tourists after things settled down. So, they have deliberately taken steps to make their stores “tourist-friendly.”

The sharp decrease in 2016, along with the pandemic years when they had virtually no tourist to sell products to have emphasized a significant turning point in the shop owners' minds. Although one may think that they would eventually step back from touristic products and try to shape their stores in accordance with the local

customers, they were inclined to think they would eventually get over these times.

These are the details this research could get from the shop owners when questioning their relations with the (foreign) tourists. One shop owner, who had been dealing with dairy industry for decades, have stated their late awareness of the importance of tourists:

Brother, let alone 15-20 years, even 5 years ago we were not aware of the importance of tourists. In fact, our industry is something that only appeals to a few tourists, and it never was. So, 5 years ago, there were mostly Western tourists. Our system seemed authentic to them. Such hippie-type children were coming, they were trying to taste this and ask about that, stalling the counter for 15 minutes. Then he would take 100 grams and leave because he was ashamed. We dined out of a bit of international relations; you know? So, look, research this. You know the "One Minute"⁹ thing, right? When that event happened, the Arabs' view of Turkey changed. All of a sudden, these men stopped seeing Turkey as a godless western state. They started to come and go more often. The Arabs, who are also divided among themselves, leave us much money. [How do they differ among themselves?] So, a Qatari, a Saudi, and an Algerian are not the same? Our business is with the people of Qatar and Dubai. We have nothing to do with Algerians and Tunisians. They come, ask the price of everything, bargain, leave 100 liras and leave. A Qatari, for example, does not ask for the price of anything, he takes 15-20 for each purchase. For example, look at this customer [pointing to the Arab customer inside.] He bought 8 of these jars of pistachio paste. This is how they shop. When he goes, he will distribute them to 8 houses in his country, do you understand? Now, why should I mess with an Algerian, Tunisian customer, -heck, why would I even bother dealing with a Turkish customer- when I can please this man's heart? He is already giving me money for more than 20 Turkish customers do (Emin, 52).

Consumer profile changes have had a tremendous effect on how shop owners shape their stores. Emin was proud to claim that he, among the dairy business, was *the* first to understand the importance of touristic forces and the potential tourists, especially Arabs, had carried in terms of business profits. He has regular Arab customers who visit his store in every 4-5 months, buy a great amount of product, and take them back to their home countries.

⁹ The incident when Erdoğan stormed out of the World Economic Forum in Davos. He was harshly criticizing the attitude of Israel against Palestinians, and angrily talking to the then-Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres. The incident caused a regional outcry and caused the Arab people's sympathy towards Erdoğan and Turkey.

5.2.2 The effect of outside forces

Another factor that the shop owners have been citing throughout almost every interview was the significance of outside forces. Outside forces is a term that this paper uses to refer to a number of factors that the shop owners talk about.

Firstly, with the lenses of profit maximization, the shop owners have emphasized their ambition to find cheaper products within the market. They almost always stress out the growing competition in İstanbul, especially with the emergence of supermarkets after 1980s. Secondly, they emphasize the importance of product sustainability, reminding of the McDonaldization processes. They are aware that they need regular customers, and they argue that the best way to do that is to fulfill at least the minimum requirements of quality. Finally and importantly, they cite the changing dynamics of the customer preferences, which they think of as a product of globalized culture.

The Spice Bazaar site is important within the discussion of supermarkets' rise in Turkey, as it had welcomed the very first modern supermarket "Migros" in back in the 1950s. The story of the formation of Migros Turk is quite fascinating. Ferruh İltir, who was the chief economic inspector in İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, wrote a letter to Duttweiler, the founder of Migros, and stated:

After I was appointed to the Istanbul Municipality Economy Directorate, I started to think that the application of the principles that dominate the supermarket and Migros organizations would constitute a great service to my country. It is known that such organizations provide great benefits in preventing unjustified price increases and help local sellers to sell with normal profit. (...) Istanbul Deputy Nedim Göknil, whom I understand to be in contact with you, mentioned that you can visit Istanbul. (...) I want to inform you that I would be very pleased to meet with you and exchange views on some economic issues of our country, and I would like you to inform me about your departure date.¹⁰

As the letter supposes, the decision makers in Turkey were optimistic that the coming of Migros in Turkey would benefit the public as it would bring about some

¹⁰ Oluç, M. (1954). Migros-Türk. İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, 16(1-4). Pp. 219.

price stability. Price stability has been an important issue for decades in İstanbul as the newly emerging market economy of Turkey tried to prevent the oligopolist manners of local stores to feed the public with cheaper products. For this purpose, many steps had been taken such as incentivized formation of producers' cooperation and the state's direct intervention to the market through what is called "Tanzim satış noktaları."¹¹ Public's access to healthy and proper food was an important thing for the newly founded Turkish Republic through the first decades, especially within the Second World War atmosphere, and the politicians have thought to bring big supermarket chains to the country to fulfill that purpose. Migros was the best option out of the potential candidates, as the decision makers in Turkey had organic ties to the board of the supermarket. So, the deliberate action was taken by the state to bring Migros into the Turkish market to better open the economy and provide competition through which they thought to ensure the public's access to healthy and proper food products.

Migros was followed by other chain supermarkets as they have discovered the newly emerging market in Turkey. In 70 years, the industry has been growing sharply with the help of both multinational companies such as Carrefour, Metro, and local market chains such as BİM, Şok. In 2021, the total number of branches of those market chains have exceeded 10,000 (Bakan, 2021). They were expected to reach 44,000 branches in 2024 (Cumhuriyet, 2020). This growing industry had an enormous effect on how the shop owners in the Spice Bazaar behave. They used to enjoy the monopolized power in İstanbul. One shop owner stated when he was asked about how their behavior toward Turkish customers have changed:

"The customer is always right." We used to say that all the time, but let me be honest with you, that used to be bullshit. Nowadays we take all the whims of customers. Because we can't

¹¹ An important sale site through which the state itself buys products from the producers and sells it to the public in İstanbul.

afford to lose them, can I explain? 40 years ago, I was opening a cherry counter here. Let's say the man came and asked for half a kilo of cherries. Just as I was filling it up, let's say the man dropped it to 250 grams. I was throwing the paper bag on his head. What would the man do? He would come and pick it up again the next day. There used to be no other place than here. Let's say you live in Üsküdar then. Would you get fish? You would come here. Would you buy cheese? You would come here. You couldn't find these products in your own neighborhood, in your own area, understand? Now that is not the case. Now the people are going to the market. They fill the car with what they want. He takes whatever he needs and leaves at once. Why would this man buy from us? We will sell it cheap so that he can do it. (Hasan, 72)

Markets may have favored the public as the salesmen's attitude toward the customers have positively transformed because of the risk these supermarkets pose on them. However, in terms of product type, they have—although unwillingly—directed the shop owners to the suppliers that usually deal with mass scale production that the supermarkets buy product from because of the cheap and proper products they offer. As Hasan continued, he was unaware that he was explaining the market forces' effect on standardization of the Spice Bazaar, as he stated:

How do you find cheap goods? Those who produce a lot sell something cheap, never forget that. So, now you're doing research on standardization, product uniformity, selling the same thing everywhere. You have to take that into consideration too. Why do we all buy from the same supplier here? Because he gives them cheap. Of course, price is one of many criteria. When you give a return, he takes it back and brings the goods on the day you want. All these factors push us a little towards him. Of course, as we trust him, he expands his business. So, there's a loop here. As he grows his business, we do not buy from the peasant or from the smaller producer. Now, take a look at that herbed cheese. Why am I getting this from this guy? I can also buy this directly from the villager in Siirt who produces it. But that villager can't afford this at this price. Oh, his cheese may be a thousand times better than what I currently sell, but people in İstanbul don't like that product either. Therefore, we feed each other like this, involuntarily. The cheese made by the peasant is salty. You have to soak it in water first in order to eat it. People of İstanbul don't do that. They want to put it on the table and eat it directly. They don't even want to collect their tables anymore. They make us prepare small packages and eat them at once and throw them away when their breakfast is over.

5.2.3 The survival case of Kuyumcukent: geographical (non)transformation of the site

Another cause of the standardization of the site that the shop owners have emphasized was regarding the forced geographic dislocation of Eminönü by state's deliberate actions. Kuyumcukent ("Jewelry City") is a critical case that all the

jeweler-shop owners have cited in the interviews. In 1996, Kuyumcukent started to be built with the incentives from then-Mayor of İstanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The project aimed to push the workshops around Grand Bazaar to Yenibosna. In 2005, AKP's then-Mayor of İstanbul, Kadir Topbaş, stated that the workshops around the Grand Bazaar had to be pushed out to the suburb areas of İstanbul, claiming, "It is a fact that these workshops pose serious problems in terms of both the employees and the environment. We also have difficulties in eliminating the negative effects of these enterprises, which do not have treatment, on the infrastructure. It is stated that there are currently around 1,125 registered producers affiliated with Eminönü Municipality. Equivalently, more modern and comfortable environments have been established here. The targeted capacity of these facilities is 750 tons/year. This is a very important number."¹²

Newly built Kuyumcukent was thought to be a new urban center for both production and the sale of jewelry. However, after some 17 years since the site was built in Yenibosna, it is tough to argue that this has attracted the masters and apprentices of Grand Bazaar. A jewelry master, who has been dealing with what he'd call "the art of jewelry" for some 40 years have said:

I come to my workshop first by taking the ferry and then walking on a pleasant route. During the day, I sometimes drink tea, eat dinner, meet my friends in Sultanahmet, and stop by the antique shops on my way back. I love this city and live it to the fullest. The Grand Bazaar and its surroundings have a soul. However, we too had to take part in the [decentralization process] from Kuyumcukent. If we have to move one day, we will take our antiques and hang our pictures of the Grand Bazaar on our walls. We will deceive ourselves; you see. The designer has no significant space. We think about design anytime, anywhere and get inspired. But for good design we must be free, design is not done in a closed box. I worked in Kuyumcukent for a year. It's like a semi-open prison! Especially in winter, it is not possible to see the sun. You enter the building in the dark in the morning, you work indoors all day, and when you leave in the evening, it is dark. Such an environment was killing my creativity. I couldn't stand it and left the company I was working there just because of that.

¹² Köker, A. (2005, December 27). Kapalıçarşı'da bir devrin sonu. CNN Türk. Retrieved from <https://www.cnnturk.com/2005/ekonomi/genel/12/27/kapalicarsida.bir.devrin.sonu/148696.0/index.html>

In 2005, when the municipality had incentivized the shop owners to move both their workshops and stores to Kuyumcukent, the shop owners were divided. While one group emphasized the advantages of moving to Kuyumcukent, citing in particular the unhealthy conditions caused by the traditional workshops in Eminönü, others have claimed that they could not afford the rents and subscription fees in Kuyumcukent. Sebahattin Yılmaz, owner of Esgold Jewellery, one of the Vezirhan tradesmen, said in 2004 that a part of the shop owners is seeking unearned income so harsh that they are after bringing the state into action to develop Kuyumcukent. Yılmaz said, "We say that Kuyumcukent management has a hand in this business. We definitely do not want to go; we will resist. They want a thousand TRY rent for a 50 square meter shop. In Eminönü, the rent is 400 TRY. Only 20 out of 100 workshops here can cover that cost."¹³

However, the decision was kept and Kuyumcukent had started activity in 2005. Since then, many of the jewelry in both the Spice Bazaar and the Grand Bazaar were dislocated and moved to the outer city in Yenibosna. Although there are many shops remaining in the area, and the newly built Kuyumcukent has become a secondary (rather than an alternative) jewelry store for the people of İstanbul, jewelry shop owners still emphasize the importance of that new site in terms of their transformation.

Look, you made the list, very nice. You may have seen how much the number of jewelers has dropped here. It used to be a center for weddings, you know? You would buy your dowry, gold, everything from here. Now almost all of them have been taken from here. Actually, I think that the municipality of that period wanted to spread the Historic Peninsula to Istanbul a little bit. So, they wanted to move Sultanhamam to Tekstilcent. For example, they wanted to move Mahmutpaşa to Giyimkent. For me, Kuyumcukent was also a part of this process. But that didn't happen unfortunately. I mean I say unfortunately, but of course it was good for us. There is only one thing, there is still such a fear among the tradesmen, can I tell? In other words, the fear that tomorrow the municipality will make a decision and ban the jewelry workshops directly. Therefore, when a new shop takes over, people do not want to open a jewelry store. The textile manufacturer does not want to open a clothing store. They turn to other industries. In other words, this fear, swinging like the Sword of Damocles, actually

¹³ Sabah (2006, December 10). Kuyumcukent, Eminönü esnafını ikiye böldü. Retrieved from <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2006/12/10/eko123.html>

directs people from one sector to another. Maybe the municipality will realize the desired transformation not with direct bans, but only with the fear of this ban. [Have you ever thought of changing industries?] I can't. I learned this from my father, I have to do this. I don't mean that in fact. I mean, let's say you took over the business from your father today. A new shop opportunity arose tomorrow, your father said, come in, son, run this place. If you come and say to me, "Uncle Hayati, should I open a jewelry store here?", I would say don't open it, I'd say go sell Turkish delight, can I explain? (Hayati, 63)

So, the dislocation of the shops in the critical areas of the Historical Peninsula such as Spice Bazaar, Mahmutpaşa, Grand Bazaar, and so on have not transformed as smoothly as the state had expected. However, the state's collaboration with the industry cooperation organizations has caused outcry, as well as fear within the shop owners there. This, willingly or unwillingly, has been feeding the transformation and touristification of these sites throughout the years.

5.2.4 Survival cases within the Spice Bazaar: dowry shops and aktars

Although the spice shops within the Spice Bazaar have either transformed in a touristified way or wiped out of the business, there are still some survivors who use similar methods to the traditional spice shops. A good example of it is Nil Baharat, which is located outside of (but near) the Bazaar. Almost all "traditional" customers of Bazaar know about the place. Nil Baharat is a family-run business which has been running since the 1950s. It specializes in selling freshly grounded spices, herbs, and even some extraordinary products like saffron, sumac, and dried fruits. The owner of the shop, Ali Bey, comes from a heritage of spice merchants, and he follows the traditional methods to run the business. He purchases the spices from the traders in the bazaar and grinds them for the customers. He also takes great pride in the quality of his products and is happy to provide samples to customers. His unique way of running business is widely appreciated even through interviews with other shop owners:

(Upon being asked 'There are many spice artifacts left in the bazaar from the past to the present. There are still 44 spice shops. What do you think about this?'): There is no spice

shop¹⁴ in the Bazaar! You mean these spice sellers? I don't call them "aktars." Look, let me tell you something. There is "Nil Baharat," and then there's "Güven Baharat." If you are buying from them, fine, yes, you can say that you bought spice from the aktars. There is no difference between buying spices from others and from BİM. An aktar used to mix the spice. He knew which spice was good for what. He even knew which tea was to mix with which other. Look, they used to make us drink a mixture of some teas, for example, and it would instantly put us to sleep. There is a mystical side to this as well, do you see? So, something like magic, do you understand? The present ones, as I said, take the spice and arrange it on the shelf. They will give you whatever you want. They do not understand anything else. Already, spices and teas have changed a lot. So, look at there, [shows a shelf of the store inside the Bazaar] the man wrote "love tea", all he did was to mix rose tea and cinnamon. You and I won't buy this, you understand? Who will get this? If there is a tourist who walks past the Bazaar, who sees it and is surprised, she will buy it. So, he (the seller) will do one or two shows and say "yes, yes this magic" [these are the actual English words that the interviewee used] or something. The Bazaar is not as original as it used to be, it only looks original now. Nowadays, these charlatans make use of the authentic image that the Bazaar carries because of its past (İhsan, 56).

Neoliberal transformation of the Spice Bazaar through commodification and touristification has deeply changed the sectoral variant of the Bazaar as well. For instance, dowry shops were wiped away out of the Spice Bazaar; however, they found a similar mechanism to what the jewelry shops have used. They moved out of the Bazaar but stayed within Eminönü site. This relocation of the dowry shops has enabled them to continue their practices in a similar context, albeit in a different location.

(Upon being asked "So where did the dowry shops go? Toy shops, okay, disappeared due to the situation in the industry, or they moved to another industry. What about dowry shops?"): The dowry makers did not go anywhere; they are here and well! Only, the Spice Bazaar is too touristic for them now, got it? So, I remember it was here. There were fabric shops, there were dowry shops, and there were all of them. People would come and buy fabric from here. On the basis of meters, they would go and have clothes made by a tailor. There were even button makers to buy the button inside the Bazaar, do you understand? There is nothing in Istanbul. You could only come and buy whatever you need from here. Now, if you search for what I said, will you still find them in Eminönü? You will, of course find them. But not in the Spice Bazaar. Get out to Mahmutpaşa. You can find fabric shops, dowry shops, and baby supplies. Even go to "Asri Han" [an inn in Sirkeci that's occupied with lots of watch stores], inside the inn it is full of watch repairers. So, these guys used to be in the Bazaar too, got it? In a way, they were exiled from the market. If these changes you keep talking about destroyed the toy shops, this change drove dowry shops [geographically] upwards to the market. (İhsan, 56)

¹⁴ The question was framed via the use of Turkish Word "aktar" to refer to the spice shops. "Aktars" used to sell and operate spices and teas; however, they carried another important characteristic within the İstanbul society. They used to know what spice/tea is good for what disease and they knew how to mix them without any dangerous side.

5.3 Causes of transformation: producers' stories

The other facet of the standardization of Spice Bazaar discussion lays within the producers' stories. After carefully examining what the shop owners have said about the standardization process of Spice Bazaar, the research has shifted toward what the producers have emphasized about the root cause of the standardization. Naturally, the standardization process that the producers have talked about was mostly regarding the product-based standardization, i.e., the standardization of what the similar stores have been selling instead of sectoral standardization, which means the consolidation of the sectors that the different stores have operated. To do a properly designed research, snowball sampling was used when identifying the respondents. Firstly, some 52 producers have been listed. The contact information of these 52 people were gathered by the shop owners. Then came the classification of these producers. 20 of the producers have been separated from the respondents' list as they are relatively new in the Bazaar. The 32 respondents left have been producing goods for the Bazaar for at least 20 years. As the list in the appendix demonstrates, four of them have stopped production operations, 10 of them have shifted the sector they are operating in, and 18 of them still produce within the similar sector and sell their products to the stores in or around the Spice Bazaar. At least one respondent from every category has been interviewed. Two of the relatively new producers have also been interviewed as they could also offer insights, especially with the changing dynamics of Spice Bazaar in recent years.

One of the most important factors the producers pointed out was the customers that led them to change their production principles. Almost all the respondents have pointed out the significance of big-scale buyers such as supermarkets and chain hotels. Through their personal stories, it is easy to trace the

dynamics of the political economy of Turkey as they indicate the growing significance of the rising number of big-scale supermarkets and chain hotels. Meta data on the number of—some internationally owned—chain hotels and big-scale supermarkets also match up with the stories they tell. Another important feature of why they claim to be standardizing their production capacity and overall goods was the transforming consumer preferences. Through this aspect, they claim to have altered their products with the changing tastes of the ultimate consumer. Most of the respondents have emphasized the importance of recently popularizing new dietary habits. Finally, the market forces have been stressed out by the majority of respondents as they claim they have always tried to maximize benefits and cut costs, the best way of which is thought to concentrate on a single product type and operate in mass-scale production sites. All these forces would be analyzed deeply in the following subtitles. It is important to understand that every factor that the producers have pointed out goes along with the theoretical explanation of globalization literature. Their struggle and compliance with the growing supermarkets, hotel chains, consumer preferences, and market forces have either emerged or accelerated as the globalization forces dominated the political economic landscape of Turkey.

5.3.1 Effect of supermarkets

When it comes to the effects of supermarkets, it should be noted that not *every* producer that was interviewed had big chain markets as their customers. They all, however, expect or had expected to have supermarkets within their customer portfolios. It is rather absurd that the producers that sell goods to the supermarkets are actually complainers of supermarket employee's attitudes toward them while the producers that do not yet have the supermarkets as their customers are dreaming of

them as they believe the commercial reputation and know-how of dealing with these big-scale buyers would highly benefit them.

One of the most significant aspects of supermarkets' power of standardizing their suppliers is the inspections they make:

If you say market now, you need to know this inspection thing well. For example, the year we first started selling products to Migros, we were almost like a fish out of water. They said that we need to get a certificate called BRC, if we do not get it, they would not buy goods from us. We said, "How will we get this certificate?", "An inspection will be made, if you are found suitable, you will receive it. If there is a nonconformity, a re-inspection will be made after 15 days." they said. Of course, back then we had just moved to our new and bigger factory, we said that they were welcome anytime they want. Whenever you want, we trust ourselves. Because we have cleared our facility of anything that could traditionally be considered 'dangerous' or 'inappropriate'. Of course, we were to find out that was not the case. I suggest you research this BRC thing well. They asked us many questions, especially about tracking the history of the product, documenting it, and we got stuck. I will never forget that 8 critical and 42 major non-compliances were detected back then. So, we hardly meet any criteria. At that time, we realized that it was not easy to supply products to these markets. We spent about \$3,000 in that time's money to pass this inspection. Then, of course, we realized that these inspections are only sometimes pre-informed and planned. So, they can come to your factory anytime they want without noticing you beforehand. We had to employ 2 staff members to follow up on this job. Because this job continues beyond just producing the product cleanly and controlling the production personnel. The documentation part is the hardest part, which requires a serious workforce. (Sabahattin, 72)

The inspections may happen both regularly and at a moment's notice.

Supermarkets usually outsource these inspections and collaborate with investigation companies. For instance, "DQS Holding GmbH" which have made national-scale inspections for the supermarket giant Migros Turkey, has 80 offices in 60 countries around the world, and they make some 105,000 inspections every day. These organizations usually follow a codebook that is globally accepted and implemented in their inspections. They evaluate the producers over more than 200 criteria, and grade them accordingly. These criteria were classified into three parts: major, minor, and critical. If a producer falls short of a critical procedure, even if it fulfills every other procedure, it wouldn't get the BRC certificate.

Following Migros Turkey as a critical case, these globally-implemented procedures are highly important. Most would not keep their suppliers or buy any products from their producers without this certificate in certain (mostly food) sectors.

However, the tradeoff here is no different from the tradeoff within the globalization literature. Once you comply with these procedures and start to make your production site in line with these inspections, your product starts to lose its authenticity. As

Sabahattin continues:

So, frankly, I have to say that after this point, I got a little depressed. Why? When we started this job, there was a nice fruit scent coming from the jam we produced, can I tell you? Our first workshop smelled sweet; I still remember that smell. Now we are making healthier, more convenient products. But we do it with aroma, we do it untouched by hand, so we are mostly mechanized. Now, if you put this product together with the one I produced 25-30 years ago, you would naturally prefer the old one. But unfortunately, my old product is not enough to enter the shelves in these big markets.

Another important feature of the inspections is the gatekeeping role of them over the newly developing producers or traditional small-scale producers because of the high costs that were emphasized also by Sabahattin. These high costs have wiped away many ex-producers from either their sector or excluded them totally out of the market. As one respondent emphasized when asked why he closed his small workshop near Eminonu and started to work as a shop assistant:

Of course, no one would prefer to work under someone to do their own work. Here, I used to buy herbal teas from the manufacturer, dry them, apply a process to them, mix them and sell them. But over time, people started to give prices to my customers that are much cheaper than my prices. At that time, we concentrated production only on rosehip tea. Rosehip, I don't know if you remember, used to be much more popular. It was in every coffee shop. We said, let's give our focus to such a popular product. Over time, we saw that the more you produce, the cheaper your costs become. We made a mistake there. A region of BİM called and asked us for a price. Of course, we were excited. You will give goods to BİM, so you will have thousands of branches at once. But we realized too late that the truth of the matter was not like that, which in a way cost us our downfall. When I look at it from today, maybe we spent \$1,000 to make a turnover of \$5,000 in today's money for BİM. Of course, we had to raise prices for BİMs to cover this cost. They found a new producer as soon as we made the hike. There is such a cycle, actually supermarkets go bigger and bigger by crushing small producers. In my opinion, only the big manufacturers that can become brands can continue to supply the markets and survive (Halil, 42).

Therefore, supermarkets have both direct and indirect effects on how producers standardize their products. Their choices have not only made the producers get along with what the supermarkets demand from them on a quality or health-based manner, but they also need to align their method of production with the demands from supermarkets.

Their direct effect is that once they make the business choice of whom they want to buy products from, they require that producer to align with their principles. Those principles are usually internationally determined by multinational companies. One of the most popular principles within the food sector in Turkey is the BRC certificate that is yielded by mostly multinational consultancy firms. So, even in their direct effects, supermarkets make use of other mediatory organizations as they usually outsource the inspection mechanisms instead of employing a branch for that within their organizational schemes.

The indirect effect of supermarkets is the opportunity cost structure of their business choices. As a producer, once a big supermarket chooses you as one of their suppliers, the first thing you need to do is align your production site with the supermarkets' demands. Once you do this, you are path-dependent, meaning there is no turning back from that path. As you "modernize" and enlarge your production site, the costs of production rise alongside. Therefore, more than small buyers—such as mediatory wholesalers and neighborhood stores—would be required to pay for those costs. Thus, you'd need to keep providing for those supermarkets to survive in the market. Knowing that, supermarkets then start to come up with new ways of cutting prices, such as shelf prices, regularly issued price penalties, discount costs, etc.

Whether supermarkets require the principles from their suppliers solely on health, public relations, and legal purposes, or they use that as a business choice to reinforce their domination and monopoly over the suppliers is up to debate. However, once you prove yourself as a brand and your product somehow becomes desired for the supermarkets, the tension of these inspections starts to tighten.

5.3.2 Effect of chain hotels

The case of chain hotels gets as unpleasant as it gets with the story of the supermarkets from the producers' point of view. Although it had brought about a brand-new market source within which the existing producers of food in Turkey could operate rather freely and profitably, the chain hotels have shaped the businesses of Turkish producers arguably as much as the supermarkets did. They make use of similar business models and procedures. The effects of chain hotels on the production types and capacities were two things that the initial argument of this thesis had yet to include originally. However, with the excessive emphasis of the respondents as to how their business models have changed with respect to the newly penetrating chain hotels in the Turkish political economy, it had to be addressed with the globalization discussion.

The chain hotels' effects, much like the supermarkets' effects, are significant in the globalization discussion in both ways. First, there were some outputs of the globalization process in Turkey, which was caused by the neo-liberalization of beaches, especially in the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts of Turkey. They became much more popular and prevalent within these coasts after the globalization and overall liberalization of the Turkish economy, especially after the 1980s. Although an important and visible indicator of how globalization shaped Turkish political economy, the diffusiveness of (mainly multinational) chain hotels are not a sole indicator or a product of globalization per se. They are also an operating actor within this framework which has pushed the pace of this globalization process.

When asked, "What other global forces would you describe as an important indicator of the changes of your production capacity, and/or production methods?" almost 50% (five out of eleven respondents) talked about the significance of chain

hotels. Out of the six respondents that have not brought about the effects of chain hotels, none of them had ever been operating businesses with them. In other words, every tradesman that has ever dealt businesses with the chain hotels brings them to the table when they were vaguely asked what global forces have made them change their production methods and/or production capacities.

As there is a wide literature on how global chain hotels have acted as a product within both Turkish and the global political economic landscape, as well as how they were often disregarded by the respondents, the dialogues have naturally tended to focus on the effects of chain hotels as actors. Hotels were an actor within this framework, referring to them shaping the producers via their demands, procedures, and overall business choices (for instance, the decision to include certain producer types as their suppliers and exclude certain others).

Just like the supermarkets, hotels have certain standardized procedures and requirements out of the products they buy from the producers. “Thinking global” has been one of the main slogans of these chain hotels, which refers to serving local products but at a global scale. This slogan begs for a standardized type of service. However, the standardization naturally continues with the services and personnel behaving similarly throughout the different branches of hotels. It also requires a standardized product to be served. This need for standardization puts pressure on the producers, as Rıdvan, an old fruit and vegetable supplier for the formerly Eminönü-based groceries argue:

Don't just write my story for your thesis, let's write a book at a suitable time. I was bringing and selling fruits and vegetables to Uncle Hilmi, I don't know Ahmet Manav, and Mehmet Grocery here. We had a good job at that time, we came with the truck and distributed the products we bought from the fruit and vegetable market every morning. We were giving out the products, putting the money in our pockets and leaving. We used to go to the market at 4 or 5 am in the night and buy the best of the goods at the best price. Later on, I said, why do we buy this product from the market? Let's buy it directly from the manufacturer. I went to the Aegean with an empty truck. I was sure to leave no village, field, or garden in Çanakkale, Aydın, Manisa unvisited. Even if I go now, I will find them as if I put them with my hand. I can show you where the most beautiful grapes are, which village's figs are of good quality. I

could count them all one by one with the names, structures, and features of them to you. After a while, people started to see, I'm by-passing the fruit and vegetable market. I bring and sell better goods at cheap prices. Of course, I was on the road 2-3 days a week, it was a very tiring process. At this point, of course, with the influence of Özal, there was a serious commercialization of the coasts in Turkey, but mainly in the Aegean coasts where I happened to operate business in. The integration process has begun. The beaches began to be built. During that period, many builders and hoteliers flocked here. Of course, the Hiltons, the Intercontinentals saw this opportunity, too. They also started to open branches one by one. I think I have read this process humbly well and acted properly on time with the proper resources and trading maneuvers. I established good relations with all the hotel managers and buyers of the chain hotels there. All of them are still my friends. I started selling them all products. They had a serious consumption. Now it had come to such a point that wherever a hotel was opened, I would receive a phone call (Rıdvan, 53).

Rıdvan was one of the few tradesmen that I talked to who had addressed the importance of global processes affecting the local. Although he takes a great pride in it, it is unclear that he was fully unaware of the multinational chain hotels coming to Turkey to operate businesses in such a pace with the help of both global and Turkish political economic structure. However, his social integrability, along with his being in the right place at the right time made him benefit those changes. As is always the case, when there are winners, there are also losers. And Rıdvan was, although being reluctant to bring them into the table at first, pretty harsh in terms of evaluating their integration processes. When he was asked if there were certain criteria for the hotels to buy products and if they had regularly controlled their suppliers in terms of compatibility with those criteria, he answered:

In order to explain this event properly, it is necessary to think properly on behalf of all sides of the event. There is control at every point of trade, it is universal. Everyone wants to sell good goods, everyone wants to sell cheap, and everyone wants their competitors to not have access to them. The point here should not be to demonize one actor or another. Have hotels tried to increase their own profits after entering the market? Of course, they did. I do this every day. Your father does this every day, can I tell you? In other words, Mehmet Efendi in the village is actually trying to increase his profit while plowing his field, he does nothing else. [Speaking of the villager, how was your relationship with the villager?] Actually, the villager loved me very much. How can you not love? Thanks to me, the man's product is served in all 5-star hotels in Antalya. So, they made good money off of me. Thus, the villagers in general liked me. Of course, I also eat bread first by Allah and then by them, and thus I love them too. [Were there any points where you were angry with the villager?] Of course, there were. Our villager is a little oriental sly ("*şark kurnazı*", a frame in Turkish that refers to people who think they are crafty, but the other people could in fact easily see their intentions). Now I don't like it so much because everyone loves to say it, but it's a fact. In other words, when he increases its production and starts supplying goods to hotels, he immediately starts acting differently. They get into the mood that they know everything best. We go and research, we learn, look, we say, throw that fertilizer, your yield will increase, your product will improve, but it they do not follow. They are stubborn that it harms the soil and harms the water. However, the man who says this is not doing it to harm you. The man is

teaching you that, actually in order to tidy up your own field. Then, of course, the products of those who do not do this start to come out more crooked, more shapeless, and less common. And we don't take them to hotels either. Then they cry to me. Because I bought goods from them, they stopped planting tobacco and started planting figs, now they lost money when I didn't buy and so on. Did I tell you to do this? No. Did I tell you not to follow these standards? No. Everyone pays for their mistake. Those who do not even have the courage to do so are asking someone else to account for their own mistakes. (Rıdvan, 53)

5.3.3 Transformation of consumer preferences: McDonaldization of production?

Another significant aspect as to how the producers changed their production methods was the overall changes within the consumer preferences. Just like the chain hotel case, the transformation of consumer preferences also suggests a cyclical relationship with the standardizing forces of globalization. In this case, the term cyclical is used in a way that it refers to the consumers' behavioral change being both an actor and an output of the transformation that had been brought about by the rapid globalization. Once again, both the Turkish political economy and global political economic landscape have been affected by the changes of consumer preferences. It was also one of the most significant aspects that were brought about by the Spice Bazaar shop owners when they were asked what global trends have led them to change the types and size of their stores. When a similar question was asked to the producers that deal business with the Spice Bazaar, they have also pointed out the same thing.

Firstly, the consumer preferences change because of the rapid globalization. As previously discussed, the McDonaldization of society refers to the consumers shaping their behavior with respect to the multinational companies acting uniformly and consistently through time and place. It is not only the advertisements and little nudges that the companies use to lead the consumers through their services and/or products per se, but the globalization of certain lifestyles have also resulted in a standardizing consumer taste. These lifestyles include some marginal groups within

the society getting larger, such as veganism and vegetarianism. But it also addresses the bigger societal behaviors such as the initial acceptance of smoking as a normal habit being changed to a condemned bad habit. However, this first aspect of consumer preferences, just as it is the case with the chain hotels, could not be traced via the semi-structured interviews with the producers. Because they were either reluctant to bring it about as an outcome of globalization process, or they were just unaware of it as it is. The producers have not talked about it as a product of globalization. As the field offered no such in-depth analysis of that, it would be properly researched within literature. Literature on the other hand offers a wide and satisfying explanation of it.

Instead, it has been popular among the respondents to bring the topic about as an actor of globalization process. The consumer tastes have been one of the most significant indicators of why the changes within the production types and scales occurred. In fact, it was brought about as the sole most important factor dictating them by more than half of the producers. As Rıza puts it

Let me tell you one reason why these product types have changed so much: customer preference. You have to give what customers ask of you. In the past, in the shop of the artisans, "the customer is always right." used to write, maybe you remember that sign. The same goes for the manufacturer. Does the customer ask you for a salt-free product? You will produce without salt. The customer gave up and asked for salty? You will produce salty. In that sense, you cannot fight with the customer. You have to do whatever he wants. He who is stubborn with the customer loses this battle. Let me be frank, for example, I would not eat these fresh cheeses produced today. I don't think they're even cheese. It's not a substitute for a leather jumpsuit. But people are demanding it now. What are we doing too? We give them what they demand. The secret of success in business is actually that simple. Mind you, these habits change all the time. The important thing is to catch it (Rıza, 58).

Rıza seemed to understand the importance of giving the customers what they want instead of what he personally wants. He puts that understanding into such a high standard that he claims that it is the secret of success in trading. Although it is important to signify the personal awareness and overall consciousness of the customer market of Rıza's, this alone would not have offered such an insight in terms

of globalization and standardization discussion. However, what was striking while this semi-structured interview is the awareness of Rıza's in terms of how these consumer preferences shaped. When he was given a simple nudge by the question: "What do you think changed this important transformation of the customer preferences within the recent years?" He follows:

Technological developments are of great importance. For example, they say that the science of medicine has developed a lot. I'm a little skeptical of that. Personally, I prefer to say it has changed instead of saying it has improved. Modern medicine that said butter is bad and margarine is good many years ago says the opposite today. You were a kid; I don't know if you remember. Doctors came out and apologized to the egg on live broadcast. Because they used to exaggerate its effect on cholesterol. Such things, of course, are of great importance in the transformation of societies. Besides, of course, there is westernization socially. So today people are producing dairy-free cheese. Vegan cheese. There are so many vegetarians in Turkey today that you have to make production with them in mind, for example. There was no such thing before. Vegetarianism was a marginal thing for us that we joked about. So, we were seeing it from the hippies coming to Sultanahmet. Now they are on the streets, right next to us. That's why we have to prioritize them as well (Rıza, 58).

Although Rıza is on the track as to explain how the usually western-oriented social movements have been imported by Turkish society, he seems to miss the roots of the process. When he was asked why he thinks the formerly marginal groups like vegetarians and others have started to become visible within the borders of Turkey, he answers in a rather progenitor point of view:

One word: temptation. They want to be like them. To be like them, they have to live like them. They do it as much as they can, that's all. Don't get me wrong, I respect that and act accordingly commercially. But that doesn't mean I'm happy with it. I personally reject it; I don't want it in my family. My respect is purely for my trade (Rıza, 58).

5.3.4 Effect of outside forces

Finally, the outside forces have led the producers into a way through which they would have to standardize production methods and try to expand their production sites as much as possible. Outside forces, as a vague concept, could be used as a replacement to all the other forces such as supermarkets, chain hotels, and consumer preferences. Although it includes every other force within itself for the sake of this

paper's integrity and order, only the other dynamics that lay outside of the scheme described above would be counted within this sub chapter. As they were not given specific boundaries to talk about, the respondents have brought about a number of causes as to why they had to shape their production methods. They could be categorized only into three common sub-categories, but these three alone would exclude other causes they point out.

For instance, one respondent emphasizes the relationship with the state as one of the most significant factors as to why they had to change their production methods:

We certainly cannot ignore the influence of the state. Look, I would ask you to sit down, follow the changes within the state's regulations in order to understand how production has changed. Firstly, it had to be 2010 or 2011, the Food Regulation was changed in the parliament. After that, the olive communiqué changed many times. We can no longer follow the label notification. The state is constantly interfering, you will clean this and that. For example, this substance is prohibited, hop is free now, it is prohibited again after 1 year. Of course, we are obliged to follow them. If I go back to the first question, I should definitely mention our relationship with the state on top of all the things I have mentioned. "Why aren't the products sold 40 years ago the same as today's products?" It's not the same because the products we sold 40 years ago are now banned once. Go to the Kadınlar Pazarı, you are from Siirt, you know what is sold there. It's definitely not a healthy environment, but it's an authentic environment. Now you can't bring that market and carry it here. Eminönü is once a tourist attraction and a very prominent place. Therefore, the shopkeepers of this place want products that will not cause a headache from us, in order not to have problems with the state (Ömer, 48).

The rapid changes in the food regulations have affected these producers that do business with the Spice Bazaar maybe much more than the other producers throughout the country. For instance, Kadınlar Pazarı, which is a local marketplace in Fatih (only some two to three kilometers away from Eminönü) was pointed out by Ömer to emphasize the unwillingness of other producers/sellers to go in line with state regulations. Businesspeople dealing in and around Eminönü always complain they lack the "opportunity" to not abide by the rules while most of their competitors outside have that opportunity. States have historically put special attention toward the area, as it is widely touristic and too popular to ignore.

Talking about the touristic influence of the area, it is significant to point out the locational transformation that the Historical Peninsula have undergone. And that is one of the most surprising things brought about by the elderly habitants of the area. As far as transformation discussion goes, the spatial changes within Eminönü have utterly fueled this economic, social, and political transformation toward a neoliberalized globalized structure. As a former shop owner in an old inn near the Spice Bazaar talks through how this spatial transformation has pushed his business out of the Eminönü area and ultimately out of the market without any direct interference of the state.

Has there been a spatial transformation? You are asking this to the right person. I don't know if you did it on purpose, but the spatial transformation you asked about actually made me quit my job. We were doing business in an old inn on Cicek Pazari Street. A stone inn consisting of many small offices. There used to be a handicraft in almost every office here. For example, artisans used to make trinkets here and sell them to their own shop downstairs and to other shops here and there. Here, that is actually being a part of the product. The product isn't something you push the button to over-manufacture and then ship. As if it were a child of yours, you see every stage of its development, you struggle, you work hard. You're raising it, so to speak. But this is not the case in mass production. What's in mass production? You receive a call, saying "Brother, please prepare us two boxes of this." You say, "Okay." And then you call the factory, ordering "Make two boxes out of this." You do not even see the goods you produce if it is not quite necessary. You just get it to go from place to place with the phone. You say "I am a producer" to those who ask. But this is not the case. Now our inn became a hotel. When the hotel was to be built, we had a serious struggle. "You're destroying a culture here, not just a business." we said. However, thanks to the tradesmen, they found the money sweet at that time. They sold their shops one by one. It has now been renovated. Let me give it to you, it's nice that they made renovations and did not spoil its historical texture. However, the historical structure of that inn is not only in high ceilings and stone walls. That inn has functional significance. I can only say it used to have now. Unfortunately! (Erol, 68).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

When the James Bond movie "Skyfall" was filmed in İstanbul's historic places in 2012, government agencies and local shop owners welcomed this as a touristification booster. The government saw the filming of Skyfall as an opportunity to boost its tourism industry, as the movie was expected to draw much international attention. The local shop owners welcomed the film crew to their city and were eager to have their shops featured in the movie. They hoped that being a part of the movie would be smoother and more enjoyable. However, as the movie was set, it was deemed a fiasco because of the unexpected and unprecedented harm it caused on the historical rooftops of Grand Bazaar. Even from a marketing point of view, the movie came out to be an Orientalist view of İstanbul. This was one of the earliest marks of how commodification and touristification of delicate objects, such as the historical Grand Bazaar, can harm them. These two key concepts, namely touristification and commodification, are among the most significant themes that explain the unexpected transformation of Spice Bazaar. Through this research, this transformation was investigated with interviews with producers that serve to the Spice Bazaar, and the shop owners in the Bazaar.

The first chapter is an introduction to the discussion and to the research. Second chapter deals with the global political economy of food. Global political economy of food had an enormous effect on the local farmers and the productions. Through examining the changes within the global political economy of agrifood, Food Regime Theory, a Marxist approach, was utilized. It was utilized because of the pragmatic advantage of historicizing the issue.

Third chapter is a deep examination of Turkish political economy within the Third Food Regime. As it was stated, Turkish political economy of agrifood was analyzed with a special significance put in the post-1980s period, because it demonstrates the period in which Turkish economy started to open. Fourth chapter gives a brief history of Spice Bazaar and Eminönü in general to contextualize geographic, historical, social and political remarks of the Spice Bazaar. Fifth chapter is a deep analysis of interviews that were addressed before.

It was clear through the research that the neo-liberalization forces helped standardize the Spice Bazaar both regarding the types of stores and the products sold in it. The commodification of the Spice Bazaar is mainly seen through its transformation from being a place where people can buy spices, herbs, and other food items to where tourists can buy souvenirs. The touristification of the Spice Bazaar is mainly seen through the stores selling souvenirs and souvenir shops catering to tourists. The process of touristification of the Spice Bazaar has resulted in the decline of the original food stores and the decline in the quality of the products being sold. The influx of tourists and the changing market demands have caused this.

Furthermore, the decline of the food stores has led to the rise of souvenir shops, which have become increasingly popular for tourists to get a piece of the Spice Bazaar. The commodification and touristification of the Spice Bazaar have also impacted the prices of the products sold. The prices of souvenirs are drastically higher than those of spices, herbs, and other food items. This is mainly due to the demand for souvenirs, as tourists are willing to pay more for a souvenir they can take back home. Overall, the commodification and touristification of the Spice Bazaar have harmed the area and its original purpose. It has caused the decline of traditional food stores, as well as the rise of souvenir shops that cater to tourists. As a result, the

Spice Bazaar is no longer the same place it once was, and its transformation has harmed its culture and heritage.

The production side of the story is yet to be adequately investigated, especially concerning the nationwide effects of supermarkets and hotel chains. Only former and current producers conducting business at the Spice Bazaar were interviewed through this research. Although they clarified the effects of investigations, hygiene standards, and state regulations on the standardization of their final product, they seem a somewhat clustered group, and further research could widen the picture of the other producers and their stories. Furthermore, it could be interesting to explore the effect the increasing demands for organic and sustainable production have on the Spice Bazaar and whether the producers in the market have been able to adjust to these demands. Additionally, it could be helpful to investigate how the producers adapt to changing consumer tastes and preferences, especially in light of the increasing demand for health and wellness products. Finally, a further investigation into the effects of digitalization on Spice Bazaar and its producers in terms of marketing, customer relations, and product distribution could be beneficial.

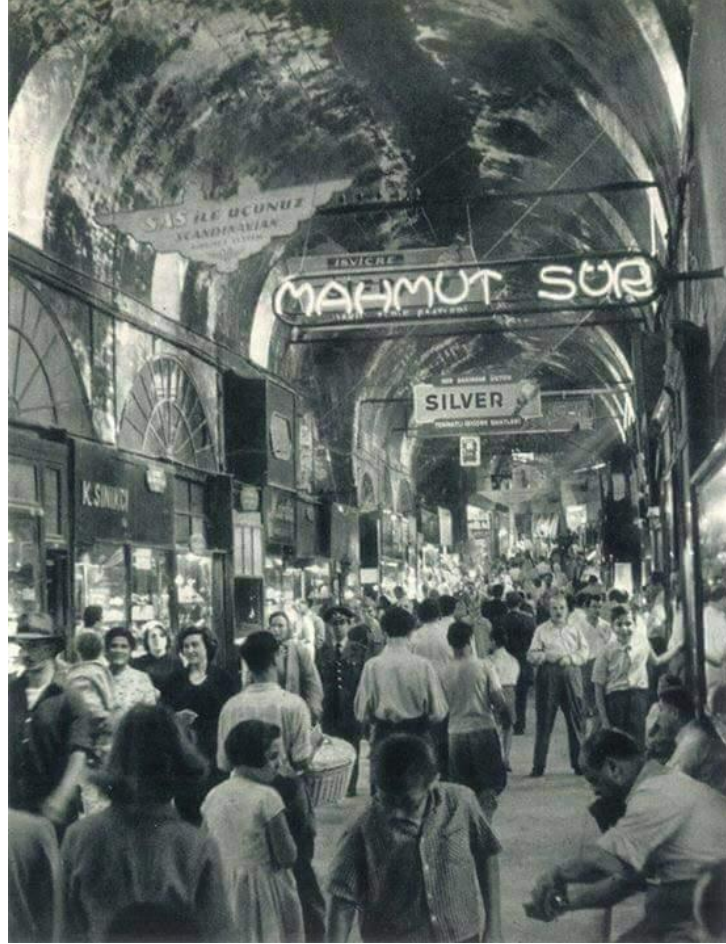
As was stated before, the study resembled some local struggles and resistance against this assumed "organic" process. Although the neoliberal point of view would deem the transformation in such places as a bulldozer effect, i.e., it assumes that little to no one could resist such a coherent and widened process, there were some resistance stories lying on the local side of the story. In other words, although meta-theory would claim that the eagerness to maximize profits, combined with the global trends, would make rational actors such as the Spice Bazaar shop owners transform their stores in a certain way, there is some resistant in the microdata such as dowry

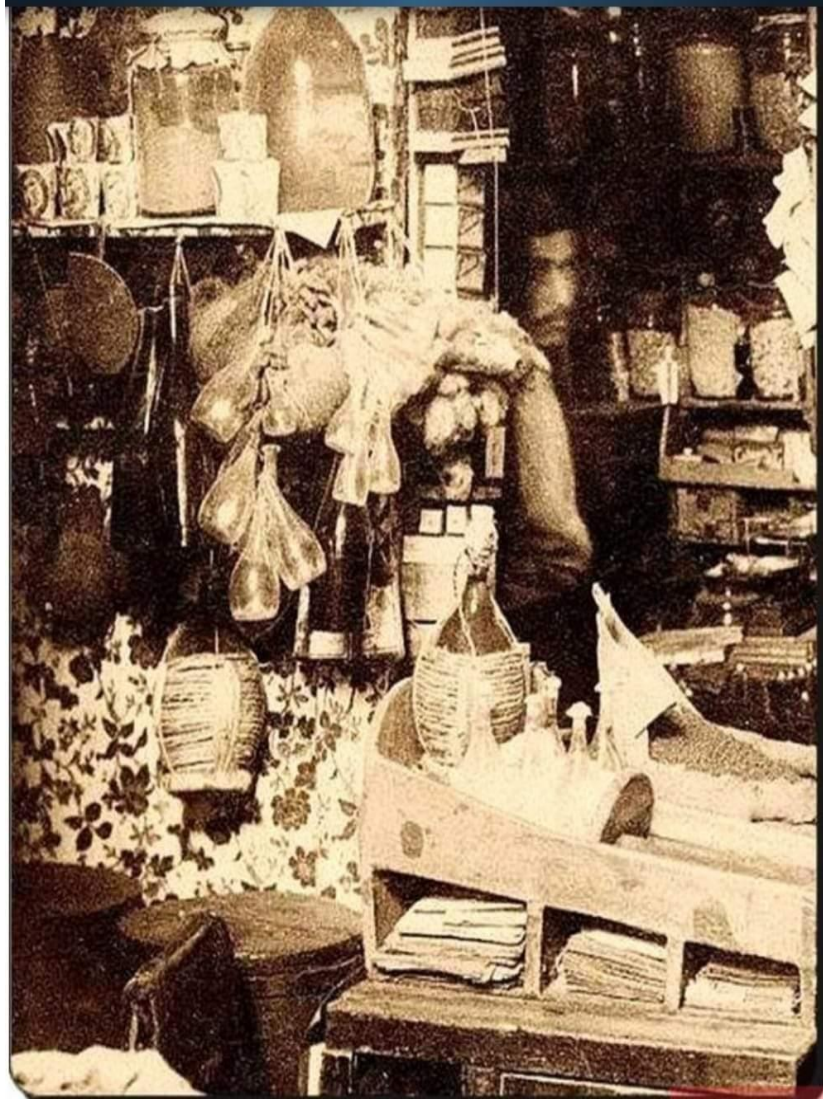
shops or the gold dealers. These outliers resemble the importance of conducting local research.

APPENDIX A

PHOTOS TAKEN BY EMINONU MUNICIPALITY

ARCHIVE





APPENDIX B

TABLE OF STORES AND
SECTORS OF SPICE BAZAAR

Store	Former Sector	Recent Sector	Number
Hazer Baba	n/a	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	2
Akalın	Jeweler	Jeweler	3
Bosphorus	Spice	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	4
Feyzan	Jeweler	Jeweler	5
Aladdin	Jeweler	Souvenirs	6
Ayfer Kaur	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	7
Hayat	Spice	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	8
Borsa	Souvenirs	Souvenirs	9
Zen	Jeweler	Jeweler	10
Anatolia	Souvenirs	Souvenirs	11
Menekşe	Jeweler	Jeweler	12
Topkapı	Spice	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	13
Hazer Baba	Dairies	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	14
İstanbul	Souvenirs	Souvenirs	15
Karam	Dairies	Souvenirs	16

Çikita	Dairies	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	18
1947 Kanaat	Wedding Dress	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	19
Mişmiş	Spice	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	19
Doğu Pazarı	Wooden Toys	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	21
Azur	n/a	Souvenirs	22
Gözde	Spice	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	23
Best	Jeweler	Jeweler	24
Kısmet	Souvenirs	Souvenirs	25
Marmara	Bakkaliye (Small Supermarket)	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	26
İtimat	Jeweler	Jeweler	27
Hira	Dairies	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	28
Define	Dairies	Jeweler	29
Bataş	Dairies	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	30
Arifoğlu	Spice	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	31
Güven	Dairies	Jeweler	32
Cankurtaran	Dairies	Dairies	33
Sultani	Jeweler	Jeweler	34
Kocaoğlu	Souvenirs	Souvenirs	35

Hazer Baba	Turkish Delight	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	36
Haremsaray	Dried Vegetables	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	37
Elmas	Jewelers	Jeweler	38
Arslan	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	39
Malatya Pazarı	Nuts	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	40
Gallery Mevlana	Souvenirs	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	41
Acar	Dairies	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	42
Temiz	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	43
Malatya Pazarı	Nuts	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	44
Sufi	Spices	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	45
Özdeveli	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	46
Masala	Wedding Dress	Souvenirs	49
Antep Pazarı	Wooden Toy	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	50
Hayfene	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	51
Çınar	Dowry	Jeweler	52
Mick	Dairies	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	53
Alaturka	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	54

Nuri	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	55
Bereketli Tekstil	Wedding Dress	Souvenirs	56
Mutlu eyiz	Dowry	Souvenirs	57
Bereket	Souvenirs	Souvenirs	60
Sultan	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	61
Bahadır	Dowry	Jeweler	62
Ramazan Canbaz	Spices	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	64
Mahal İstikan	Jewelers	Souvenirs	65
Edit Gallery	Nuts	Souvenirs	66
Papatya	Wooden Toy	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	67
Ebcin	Wedding Dress	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	68
Tuğra	Dowry	Souvenirs	70
Narin	Souvenirs	Souvenirs	71
Şah Sultan	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	72
Develi	Nuts	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	73
Shamim	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	74
Öztaş	Wooden Toy	Souvenirs	75
Helal Spice	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	76

Galata	Dairies	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	77
Hamd-ü Sena	Spices	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	79
Merve	Dowry	Souvenirs	81
İpekyolu	Jewelers	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	81
Özer	Spices	Etiquette	82
Bentonville	Souvenirs	Souvenirs	83
Shoar	Jewelers	Souvenirs	84
İlke	Dowry	Jeweler	85
Güllüoğlu	Dowry	Dessert Shop	88
Barış	Wedding Dress	Souvenirs	90
Attar	Wooden Toy	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	40/B
Karma	Dowry	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	41/1
Hazer Baba	Nuts	Turkish Delight/Nuts/Spice	46/1
Çantacı Mehmet	Dowry	Souvenirs	55/A

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The supposed-to-ask interview questions are provided below. The interviews are expected to be open-ended; therefore, there may be follow-up questions asked to the respondents; or some questions might be skipped with respect to the answers of interviews to the preceding questions.

QUESTIONS

1. 10 yıl öncesine göre üretim teknikleriniz nasıl değişti?
(*How did your methods of production change in the last decade?*)
2. -Eğer üretici üretim hacminin yükseldiğini belirtirse- Üretim hacminizin yükselmesi için ne gibi adımlar attınız?
(*-If the respondent claims that his/her production capacity have increased- What kind of steps have you taken in order to increase your production capacity?*)
3. -Eğer üretici, ürün çeşitliliğinin değiştiğini belirtirse- Ürün çeşitliliğinizde ne gibi farklılıklar meydana geldi? 10 yıl öncesinde üretimini sağladığınız ürünlerle şu anda üretimini sağladığınız ürünler arasında fark var mı? Bu farklılıkları nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
(*-If the respondent claims the diversity of the products (s)he operates have changed- What kind of differences happened with respect to the diversity of the products you produce? Are there any differences regarding the “nature” of the products you operated 10 years ago vs. you do now? How would you evaluate these differences?*)
4. Üretim süreçlerinde insan faktörü bu değişimden etkilendi mi? 2010 yılında fabrikanızda çalıştırdığınız işçilerle şimdi çalıştırdığınız işçileri sayısı, işçinin gördüğü iş bağlamında değerlendirebilir misiniz?
(*Did the human factor within the production processes get affected by this change? Would you compare the employees working in your factory now to the ones that have worked in 2010 with respect to the number of employees and the work they do?*)
5. Bu süreçte devletle olan ilişkinizden söz edebilir misiniz? Yönetmelikler, teşvikler ve diğer düzenlemeler üretim süreçlerinizi nasıl etkiledi?
(*Would you comment on your relationship with the state through this process? How did regulations and incentives, as well as other arrangements affect your production processes?*)

APPENDIX D

RESPONDENT INFORMATION

AND CONSENT FORM

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi University
Araştırmanın adı: Küreselleşme ve Tektiplendirici Etkisi: Mısır Çarşısı Örneği
Proje Yürütücüsü: Prof. Dr. Mine Eder
E-mail adresi: eder@boun.edu.tr
Telefonu:
Araştırmacının adı: Osman Zinnur Aksu
E-mail adresi: o.zinnuraksu@gmail.com
Telefonu:

Proje konusu: Küreselleşmenin ürünleri tek tiplendirdiği yönündeki iddialara yönelik bir araştırma gerçekleştirilecektir. Bu araştırma bağlamında sözü edilen sürecin sosyo-kültürel sonuçları siyasi, iktisadi sebepleri bağlamında değerlendirilecektir. Projenin temelini İstanbul'daki Mısır Çarşısı ve burada iş gören, buraya ürün satan üreticiler oluşturmaktadır.

Onam: Küreselleşme üzerine yaptığımız bu araştırmaya sizleri davet ediyoruz.

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde sizlerle araştırmacı bir görüşme gerçekleştirecek, bu görüşmeler ses kayıt cihazı yardımıyla kaydedilecektir. İsmi ve bu bilgiler tamamen gizli tutulacaktır. Bu bilgiler daha sonra çözümlenip düzenlenecektir.

Çalışmaya katılmanız tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Sizden ücret talep etmiyoruz ve size herhangi bir ödeme yapmayacağız.

Sizlerle yapılan görüşmeler daha sonra başka araştırmalarda da kullanılabilir. İstedığınız zaman çalışmaya katılmaktan vazgeçebilirsiniz. Bu durumda başlatılmış olan ses kaydı da silinecektir.

Yapmak istediğimiz araştırmanın size risk getirmesi beklenmemektedir.

Bu formu imzalamadan önce, çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız varsa lütfen sorun. Daha sonra sorunuz olursa, proje yürütücüsüne (Ofis Telefonu: xxxxxxxxx) sorabilirsiniz. Araştırmayla ilgili haklarınız konusunda yerel etik kurullarına da danışabilirsiniz.

Adres ve telefon numaranız değişirse, bize haber vermenizi rica ederiz.

Bana anlatılanları ve yukarıda yazılanları anladım. Bu formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum (bu durumda araştırmacı bu kopyayı saklar).

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcı Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

APPENDIX E

LIST OF THE RESPONDENTS AND INTERVIEW DATES

Interview ID	Respondent Name (and Age)	Format	Date	Length	Sector of Respondent
Interview 1	Hasan (72)	In-Person	12.11.2022	30 minutes	Packaging
Interview 2	Ramazan (56)	In-Person	14.11.2022	35 minutes	Spice
Interview 3	Fatih (48)	In-Person	15.11.2022	15 minutes	Dairies
Interview 4	İbrahim (54)	In-Person	15.11.2022	20 minutes	Dairies
Interview 5	Ruşen (55)	In-Person	16.11.2022	45 minutes	Jewelry
Interview 6	Elvan (63)	In-Person	20.11.2022	15 minutes	Cheese Producer
Interview 7	Mehmet (49)	In-Person	20.11.2022	15 minutes	Spice
Interview 8	Recep (60)	In-Person	20.11.2022	10 minutes	Spice
Interview 9	Emin (48)	In-Person	22.11.2022	30 minutes	Dairies
Interview 10	Emre (53)	In-Person	22.11.2022	20 minutes	Dowry Shop
Interview 11	Alaattin (72)	In-Person	22.11.2022	30 minutes	Jam Producer
Interview 12	Halil (42)	In-Person	25.11.2022	35 minutes	Olive Producer
Interview 13	Rıdvan (53)	In-Person	25.11.2022	30 minutes	Fruit Producer
Interview 14	Rıza (58)	In-Person	25.11.2022	35 minutes	Cheese Producer
Interview 15	Ömer (48)	In-Person	26.11.2022	40 minutes	Former Producer
Interview 16	Erol (68)	In-Person	26.11.2022	20 minutes	Former Jewelry
Interview 17	İhsan (67)	In-Person	27.11.2022	90 minutes	Dairies
Interview 18	Ahmet (52)	In-Person	28.11.2022	70 minutes	Turkish Delight
Interview 19	İrfan (56)	In-Person	30.11.2022	30 minutes	Spice
Interview 20	Hayati (63)	In-Person	30.11.2022	25 minutes	Jewelry

Interview 21	Mahmut (68)	In-Person	30.11.2022	25 minutes	Jewelry
Interview 22	Kemal (49)	In-Person	01.12.2022	40 minutes	Spice
Interview 23	Yusuf (49)	In-Person	01.12.2022	15 minutes	Turkish Delight

APPENDIX F

APPROVAL OF ETHICAL COMMITTEE

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 10.11.2022-97039

T.C.
BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER YÜKSEK LİSANS VE DOKTORA TEZLERİ ETİK İNCELEME
KOMİSYONU
TOPLANTI KARAR TUTANAĞI

Toplantı Sayısı : 36
Toplantı Tarihi : 09.11.2022
Toplantı Saati : 16:00
Toplantı Yeri : Zoom Sanal Toplantı
Bulunanlar : Doç. Dr. Arhan S. Ertan, Doç. Dr. Senem Yıldız, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen, Dr.
Öğr. Üyesi Ayşegül Metindoğan
Bulunmayanlar : Prof. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Harun Muratoğulları

Osman Zinnur Aksu
Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler

Sayın Araştırmacı,

"Küreselleşme ve Yerel Tatların Tek Tipleşmesi: Mısır Çarşısı Örneği" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığımız SBB-EAK 2022/67 sayılı başvuru komisyonumuz tarafından 9 Kasım 2022 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Bu karar üyelerin toplantıya çevrimiçi olarak katılımı ve oy birliği ile alınmıştır. Onay mektubu üye ve raportör olarak Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen tarafından toplantıya katılan bütün üyeler adına e-imzalanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla, bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin
SOHTORİK İLKMEN
ÜYE

e-İmzalıdır
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik
İlkmen
Öğretim Üyesi
Raporör

SOBETİK 36 09.11.2022

Bu belge, güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

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