Istanbul's Weekly Periodic Markets: Narratives of Access, Provisioning, and
Governance

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral
Affairs in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Geography with Specialization in Political Economy

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

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Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
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ISBN: 978-0-494-93676-4

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-93676-4

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Abstract

This dissertation examines Istanbul's municipally displaced weekly periodic markets (PMs) to investigate the complexity of the neoliberal re-configuring of urban subjects and their social and material access to key livelihood resources in the city. Drawing on the food-biographies of forty provisioning women about their individual and collective experiences of food provisioning in Istanbul's transformed PM scene, the study argues that urban-led re-organizing of key reproductory settings such as the relocation of weekly markets introduces a new hierarchy of urban priorities and leads to stigmatized spaces and excluded subjects. The analysis relies primarily on a gender-informed, biographical livelihood approach to the multiple challenges experienced by residents who are core providers of food-related care in their household.

Findings from this study indicate that the peripheral displacement of PM settings reflects a municipally-led re-regulation of access to, and control over food and urban land. The changes in formerly available resources such as central PM locations impose physical and social restrictions on subjects' capacities and strategies to optimize individual, social, and material resources for livelihood provision. The findings show that space has a key role in influencing how inequalities and exclusions related to (in)accessibility of food and other livelihood resources are redistributed; and that, critical and policy oriented planning are potentially key fields to problematize these issues. The research also produces human-scale information for nuanced, responsive, democratic, and gender-sensitive urban planning and governance.

Acknowledgements

This research was financially supported by a Doctoral Research Award from the International Development Research Centre, and a Ina Hutchison Award in Geography from Carleton University.

I would like to thank all of the participants of this research for their time and willingness to share their stories.

I am indebted to my supervisor, Fran Klodawsky for her guidance, assistance, and patience in taking me through the doctoral experience. Her insightful feedbacks and sustained encouragement during my study made it possible for me to complete this project.

I'm grateful for the contributions I received from my committee members, Jill Wigle, Peter Andree, and Alan Hunt. Their timely advice and constructive criticism improved my work. I wish to thank Rianne Mahon and Fiona Mackenzie for their stimulating comments and discussions during planning and conceptualization of my research. I'm also grateful to geography Graduate Administrator, Natalie Pressburger, for her timely assistance with many of my administrative requests.

Finally, I would like to thank all the beautiful people on islands and hills and plains, near and far, who provided me with support, shelter, and advice when I was in need.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Food, People, and the City

Introduction

In Istanbul, food is an essential category of connectivity and interaction. Everyday food settings in the city are historically rich and diverse, ranging from open-air periodic markets and street vendors, to transnational super/hyper markets, and from imported food in high scale restaurants to boutique grocery shops and foodstuffs transferred individually or collectively from the country (Kaldjian, 2000). More than just a component linking individual cycles of nutrition with built form and political economy in Istanbul and elsewhere (Heynen, Kaika, & Swyngedouw, 2006; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003), food joins individual bodies with places and temporal cycles at diverse regional, national and international scales. Within the assemblage of pre-existing social and economic forms, competing with and transformed by global patterns such as mass retailing, franchising, standardization, and imported food and styles, Istanbul's residents rank among those who pay the highest proportion of their income to meet nutritional needs (Mougeot, 1994). Reiterating the strong links between food and livelihood, the ratio of resources spent on food rises with poverty (Gardner, 2005; Karpas, 1976; Akbay, Boz, & Chern, 2007). Still (and not only in metropolitan Istanbul), there is no local or national policy framework that specifically targets sustainable access to food in cities or elsewhere in Turkey.

Despite sharp differences in consumption patterns, food insufficiency is not a major source of vulnerability even for the growing number of limited income residents in Istanbul. The rate of calorie deficiency per day per person in Turkey is quite low along both rural/urban and east/west axes. The most straightforward explanation for this relates

to the collective advantages of Turkey being a major agricultural producer (Burrell & Oskam, 2005). Soil variety and climate conditions make agricultural production possible throughout the country in spite of socio-ecological negativities such as the uncontrolled use of biochemicals, soil erosion, seed diversity loss, inadequate rainfall and irrigation, and most substantially, overall changes in the social composition of agro-productive forces.

Since the 1950s, millions of families have migrated from rural areas into cities, primarily Istanbul, due to structural changes in the politics and economy of the country. These migrations were initiated by excess rural labour as a result of the mechanization of agricultural work. Shifts to export-oriented crop production in the 1980s led to a further rural downturn, a growing urban population, and rapid but unplanned urbanization shaped to a significant extent by the immediate needs and longer term quasi-legal arrangements among newcomers and urban rent seekers. Beginning in the 1950s, Istanbul's population has continuously expanded, quadrupling since the early 1980s. This population boom has combined with mounting concerns and conflicts around the socio-ecological effects of massive urban sprawl, the most widely recognized of which are: informal housing, poverty, the cash (both unregistered and illegal) economy, and environmental degradation (Acma & Isbir, 2005; Karpat, 1976; Pinarcioglu & Isik, 2001a; 2001b; Sengul, 2002). Yet, in a city of 13.6 million (TÜİK, 2011) people with minimal agricultural lands, food is a critical parameter of political, economic and environmental sustainability with significant implications for livelihoods and social and urban inclusion.

Considering food as a priority for urban social and material reproduction, and the close relationship between urbanization and agricultural change in Turkey, the urban dimensions and deeply gendered processes of food provisioning, including its spatial dimensions on urban livelihoods has not been investigated. In the context of material, social, and spatial adjustments in Istanbul's key livelihood resources, this research project explores the neglected relationship between urban governance and reproduction through a biographical approach to food provisioning in municipally displaced weekly markets. My main argument is that the neoliberal colonization of the actual, possible, sense-based qualities and settings of provisioning work, universalizes provisioning subjects within homo-economicus subjectivity. In this sense, transformed accessibility of urban resources not only creates and deepens peripheral places, subjects, and livelihoods; the changes also involve a broader political meaning that is produced through gendered performance in the reproductive realm. To date, food accessibility has generally lacked a socially-informed understanding of its political, gender, and other implications as resulting from specific configurations of space and social relations (Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006). I explore these issues by focusing on Istanbul's municipally dislocated weekly periodic markets (PMs) to enter the complexity of urban subjects and social and material access to key livelihood resources in the city.

Urban food settings are politically dominated places of social and material reproduction. As part of the wider transformation of politics in Istanbul, PM governance provides a venue to scrutinize the context-specific unfolding of "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 349). My reference to neoliberalism addresses the scalar dynamism of capital, formal regulation, flows of people and goods,

and the transmitting of cultures of globalization as a historical and contextual political (and economic) process that generally unfolds as marketization and commodification of formal and informal social services and resources. This scheme is substantially characterized by an urban dimension due to the intensity of processes in cities and emergent forms of entrepreneurial urban governance (Harvey 1989) by pro-growth urban governments. Considering the postwar spatial strategy of ad-hoc urbanization in Istanbul as a means to foster state developmental targets (i.e. progress through industrial growth), I also argue that, current modes of entrepreneurial governance at the same time represents a shift where the emphasis is no longer on the lifeworlds of present subjects but rather on the not-yet-accomplished potentialities of subjects and spaces in progress. As such, the reorganization of livelihood resources such as the PMs also refers to transformations in the relationship between the state and individual bodies; and influences ideas and practices of rights and inclusion.

PMs are an essential resource for most households' access primarily to fresh produce but also to clothing, shoes, and other goods. The changes in their organization above all refer to displacement and “downsizing” (Oz and Eder, 2012: 298) of current PMs by municipal governments to remote and less accessible locations within their municipal boundaries. Peripheral displacement of PMs reflects asymmetries in experiences of access to, and control over food and urban land which are key material and social resources for urban livelihoods. Given that there has been no significant decrease in demand within core urban areas, where spatial commodification is most intense, municipal relocation of markets suggest profit driven re-organization of urban

resources i.e. food and land, together with a transformed performance of urban subjects and their multiple priorities as care givers.

Through in depth exploration of the changing sites, patterns, and perceptions of access to the periodic market network, the study aims to provide a subject-centred representation of the multiple challenges experienced by residents who are core providers of food-related care in their household. A gender-informed, biographical livelihood perspective guides the research in order to explore the unfoldings of neoliberal governance in care providing women's perceptions, practices, and self-conception as subjects in relation to changing food settings. By traversing analytical categories based on individual accounts of shared and distinct patterns of family food provisioning, the analysis seeks to delineate key factors, life course transitions, and relationships with place where the provisioning subject is constituted as “livelihood maximizer” in the context of a commercialized urban resource base. The subject-centred stance is expected to provide a previously under-explored analysis of “actually existing neoliberalism” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002: 349) from an everyday vantage point. The food-centred biographical perspective is applied to explore the factors contributing to transformed interactions in places of reproduction, based on subjects' own engagement with place, chronology, and provisioning in the form of life stories centred on food provisioning and place.

I view my work as situated within critical scholarship on gender, space, and relational political economy. My take on the concept of relationality aims to draw attention to the dynamics in which social, political, and economic forms evolve rather than referring to these forms as attributes of individuals, groups; social and political institutions, systems etc. The project presents a context within which individuals are not

only acknowledged as subjects of power but empowered through an understanding of their ideas on actual and possible ways of acting (agency) in differing material and social contexts. As such, the analysis seeks to produce human-scale information in order to link the “right to the city” framework to the micro settings of women's everyday reproductive practices, such as grocery shopping and meal preparation, as well as broader longer-term engagement in places with regard to individual empowerment, wellbeing, and social (and spatial) inclusion.

Growing up in Istanbul, I was a regular visitor of different PMs both with adult family members (mostly my mother or grandmother), and later on my own in order to follow a healthy and versatile diet on a limited student budget. My initial interest in developing this project grew out of observations on the underdevelopment of food provisioning as a theme in thinking about urban governance and the constitution of subjects through the material and social accessibility of spaces of reproduction. This is relatively new and particularly so in contexts where food is not scarce but circulates visibly and extensively. The overall objective of my analysis is to disclose a particular gendered configuration of food provisioning which is unfolding in the changing spaces, practices, routines and modes of interacting in periodic markets. I argue that urban-led re-organizing of key reproductory settings such as the relocation and/or closing of weekly markets introduces a new hierarchy of urban priorities and leads to stigmatized spaces, tasks, and excluded subjects. In the case of Istanbul, this is so because the peripheralization of formerly available resources such as central PM locations imposes physical and social restrictions on subjects' capacities and strategies to optimize individual, social, and material resources for livelihood provision. This and the following

chapters explore these challenges and their meanings in terms of a reversed, bottom up and subject oriented representation of neoliberal urban governance by representing spatial and economic processes through subjects' experience. Thus, my focus is on the provisioners' use and perception of reproductive settings so as to "see" and make sense of how governmental measures materialize in subjects' practices and perceptions of place. Such an approach to political economic transition is relational, prioritizes subjects and relies on the thick information gained by people's told stories – their language and narratives. I expect this exploration to provide insights into the place-specific constitution of intersectional subjects as material and social entities, with respect to state re-organization of the reproductive realm, in this case, access to food and urban land. The analysis is in-depth and relies primarily on food-biographies of forty provisioning women on individual and collective experiences of food provisioning in Istanbul's transformed periodic market scene.

Map 1: Map of Turkey and Region

Source: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/maps/maptemplate_tu.html

Research Questions

Despite the dominance and self-actualizing effect (Gibson-Graham, 2006) of neoliberalism to continually and actively regulate spaces and subjects of social and economic interaction, the manifestations of these political economic and cultural forms are partial, fragmented and contested (Peck & Tickell, 2002). A relational political economic perspective suggests that processes of pro-growth urban governance take on diverse contextual forms and do not materialize in a consistent manner (Rose, 1996b; Lerner 2000). In this study my interest lies broadly in processes through which gendered subjects connect to broader narratives of political economic change through the physically, socially, and economically re-regulated places of reproduction in weekly PMs.

PMs are gendered spaces of social and material reproduction which “reconnect time . . . with place” (Hendrickson & Heffernan 2002: 363). Studying the municipal re-regulation (merging, relocating, closing) of selected PMs offer an opportunity to focus on this linkage based on subjects’ life-long provisioning experiences and subjective interactions in space. Hence, provisioning women’s narratives present a ground for tracing strategies and responses that seek to reclaim key urban resources (in this case, food and land) and control over livelihoods. This kind of knowledge is critically important in that, on a broader analytical level, it provides insights into the repositioning of the state in relation to subjects, with crucial implications for reconsidering the nature and extent of urban rights for gendered subjects and sustainable livelihoods. This in turn enables an understanding of Turkey’s contemporary developmental momentum and continuing urban challenges. I engage questions related to these themes by examining

PMs' influence on the physical accessibility of livelihood resources and on how their transformation connects to the political reconstitution of provisioning subjects in Istanbul. The analysis, then, will seek to address the following specific research questions:

- How can the everyday settings of social and material reproduction be opened up and conceptually situated within the complex politics that are shaping and re-shaping livelihoods in Istanbul?
- How are changes in the spatial reorganization of PMs inscribed in individual foodscapes, particularly in terms of subjects' use of spaces of reproduction in former and emergent provisioning settings?
- How does a relational accessibility approach link to the social, emotional, material, and other factors influencing subjects' use of spaces of reproduction?
- On what specific grounds do changes in perceptions and use of PMs broaden the perspective on the intersectional patterns of political, socio-economic, spatial and other forms of exclusion in the city?

Placing the Research Questions in Context

In this section, I review the key concepts which will guide this research on the dynamic relationship between provisioning, people and spaces of reproduction.

Subjects and Subject Formation

“Thinking through food” (Phillips, 2006) opens up views on urban food networks' significance as socially embedded political creations. These patterns are governmental forms which intensify and become concrete livelihood measures at the household and

individual levels. Therefore, reading the contraction of livelihood resources necessitates subject-centred examinations of power in the context of everyday reproductive settings and cycles. This is a neglected yet critical approach to the dynamics which shape the (neoliberal) urban assemblage including subjectivities and forms of participating in the urban realm. Such an inquiry derives from Henri Lefebvre's views on capitalist social relations as they are manifested in "the quality of access and participation in the urban milieu" (Shields, 1999: 143-6). Following from Lefebvre, Shields explains that urban conflicts are "immediately state-people conflicts" due to the pivotal role of the state as a multi-scalar assemblage in the social production of urban space (ibid.: 147). An empirical focus on PMs as an urban resource base is expected to ground the role of the state through a mapping and re-mapping of provisioning practices and the perceptions of urban subjects. In other words, I expect this exploration to provide insights into the place-specific constitution of subjects as material and social entities, with respect to state re-organization of the reproductive realm, in this case, access to food and urban land. The research, then, at the same time presents "an extended analysis of state" (ibid.: 141) based on and with a concern to privilege the often neglected voice and stories of gendered provisioning subjects.

Investigating access to food, as it is re-formed spatially and temporally, enables a revised understanding of our relationship to our bodies as culturally embedded, political, economic and performative citizen-subjects. In Foucauldian terms, governance implies distinct forms of conduct of the relations between the state and subjects in accordance with a political rationality and the order of individual conduct it prescribes for its subjects (Dean, 1999). This formulation of regulatory power is extensively evaluated in terms of

the disciplinary forms in which the state-subject relations manifest (Brembeck & Johansson, 2010). I base my analysis on a construct of the relative status of the state and subjects as a continuum experienced, validated and re-constructed in space and through long and short term interests, strategies and negotiations of agents. Agents, here, refer to both formal and informal, institutions, collectives and people who do not represent either the structure or the individual but rather, manifest a dynamic and partial identification with both, depending on context. Therefore, the study's approach to subject formation is based on a conceptualization of individuals' self-conceptions across the continuum of their multiple and transient positions in life. Underlying this is a concern to situate individual subjects across intersectional and relative social and physical conditions of becoming so as to converge on a relational articulation of the "actually existing" (political, economic, spatial) constraints shaping their experience.

There are several issues that need to be highlighted in order to better clarify my take on state as an analytical category in the assessment of subject formation. To begin, there exist uneven levels of emphasis in the literature when it comes to "seeing like the state" relative to explorations of the "messy actualities" (Larner, 2000: 247) of "seeing the state". Harris (2009) further identifies seeing the state "at a distance" (Rose, 1999: 49) as the present analytical drawback in critical inquiries on neoliberalism. My own perceptions parallel these evaluations and I believe there is a crucial epistemological dimension to the issue that highlights complex questions on how to articulate social change in its own sites, scales, and contingencies of unfolding. A further key issue in addressing subject formation is the very category of state. A focus on "seeing the state" may result in very different snapshots of formal regulation depending on scale (of formal

organizing, spatializations, and mobilizations) and range (of forms and apparatuses). Murdoch and Ward (1997: 310-311) note that “in as much as the state has any kind of existence at all, it is through the assemblage of practices, techniques, programs and so forth that facilitate intervention” in subjects' lifeworlds. A parallel view of the state is articulated by Corbridge et al. (2005: 8) where “seeing the state” necessitates “close attention to how and where [their] performances take place if we want to come to a more nuanced understanding of how people inhabit and encounter the state, and how they react to its everydayness and their senses of what it is to be a citizen, client, and/or subject”. My understanding of state and its diverse unfoldings are also influenced by Migdal's (2001) “state in society” approach which is based on a process-oriented exploration of formal regulation through the struggles over everyday life. These views, therefore, enable the representation of the state as a multi-scalar, fragmented, and non-linear assemblage, continuously re-constituted in place and at levels of policy, individuals, and institutions through subjects' everyday encounters and negotiation of its terms (Allen & Cochrane, 2010).

Accessibility

Issues over access to and regulation of urban space and food resources are increasingly pushed to the foreground, especially in the rapidly growing metropolises of the non-western world (Lien & Nerlich, 2004; McMichael, 1994; Smith, 1998). In the context of Istanbul, it is not possible to specify the urban food realm by identifying its distinct components. Food networks are fragmented and multiple, representing the socio-economic complexity of provisioning in the city. I refer to livelihood provisioning as a combined realm of activities and intentions involving planning, practicing, and

negotiating strategies to maintain and/or improve levels of wellbeing and reduce (social, economic and spatial) vulnerability. Vulnerability and wellbeing are evaluated on the basis of differential, long and short term access to and control over resources including labour (income generating and/or substituting), services (i.e. health, education), household relations and social networks (Moser, 1996). Access in relation to food is a multi-layered concept referring simultaneously to the “economic, nutritional, cultural, and geographical” dimensions contributing to diverse patterns in the order of eating in the city. In this study, I define accessibility as consisting of availability, affordability, acceptability (Penchansky & Thomas, 1981) and the agency of the individual in diverse food locales and networks. The emergent nature of knowledge gleaned from the components of availability, acceptability, and affordability is primarily linked to physical accessibility of food and food settings. In contrast, agency draws attention to the constitution of provisioners' self-conceptions through differential capacities to act and to think in terms of care provision and other life transitions such as mothering, ageing, experiencing sickness, class, migration etc. I refer to these experiences as intersectional constituents of self-conception in order to reiterate the view that socially and culturally constructed categories interact at multiple scales and manifest in complex patterns of inequality in individual lives and in society (Knudsen, 2006). Self-conception, in other words, is subject to change with respect to intersectional patterns of class, gender, and age in a woman's life-course. It is so since potential and existing constituents of agency during subjects' engagement with re-spatialized, individual and collective access to food are transitional depending on one's changing status within the household and wider society. I use the term “limited-access” throughout the analysis to address all situations

and forms where there are varying-extent accessibility constraints at one or more of these levels. My emphasis on the experiences of those with limited-access does not address a pre-identified group of residents in terms of a categorical evaluation of income levels and/or other identifiers such as neighbourhood affluence, level of education etc. Neither does it refer to it solely in terms of limited material and physical accessibility of livelihood resources. I recognize and interrogate these as significant markers of the complex realm of wellbeing and livelihood provisioning in the city. Yet, I base my analysis on a dynamic relational understanding of accessibility (and, therefore, of limited accessibility) which investigates it as a subjective experiential realm re-configured by multiple limitations in individual and collective resources. I, then, intend to relate evaluations of these social and physical boundaries with broader patterns of governance and state - subject relations.

In the multidisciplinary field of food studies, access is widely problematized with reference to its object: that is material availability and affordability of acceptable food or various inputs necessary for its production. In these discussions, the emphasis is mostly on cultural, environmental and economic evaluations of exchange which result in uneven consequences with regard to food security. In this study, my emphasis is on the spatial re-organization of food as a crucial urban resource with differential social and material implications on urban livelihoods. Subjects incorporate space as a critical determinant of provisioning decisions. At the individual level, places in which food circulates comprise provisioning subjects' everyday and longer term foodscapes. Therefore, space and place are key to my approach. In the light of these views, I conceptualize accessibility with reference to its subjects: that is, by articulating food as a vital reproductive resource

whose availability, acceptability, and affordability (Penchansky & Thomas, 1981) reveals in-depth information on subjects' lives as individuals, households and urban residents. The analysis is centred on subjects' provisioning acts and perceptions which involve a diverse geography of scales and places that shape and at the same time are shaped by their distinct accessibility patterns. Istanbul's PM network is one example where material, social, and economic circulation of food in the reproductive cycles of urban livelihoods manifests a unique urban spatiality that is being transformed by municipal measures for competitive growth. What these changes imply requires an examination of the socio-spatial distribution of PMs with respect to the re-organization of accessibility based on subjects' relational views about the availability, acceptability, and affordability of food in transformed settings and locations of exchange.

Interventions in the spaces, regulation and temporal cycles through which nutritional needs are met are critical for understanding the changing norms and practices of provisioning in the city. Within this, the circulation of fresh produce (fruit and vegetables) and of bread (wheat and other grains) are of particular importance since these are the two main nutrient groups consumed by the population as a whole, regardless of income or rural-urban differentiation (Ulusal Gıda ve Beslenme Stratejisi Çalışma Grubu Raporu, 2001)¹. In the context of Istanbul, where there is limited and decreasing agricultural production, the sustainable availability of fresh produce to disparate socio-economic segments is a result of the availability of a variety of settings and economies maintaining (differential) means of access to this resource. For a wide range of the population, access is strongly related to the availability of municipally regulated weekly

¹ (Working Group on National Food and Nutrition Strategy Report, 2001)

neighbourhood markets. Other major food retail settings include various size supermarkets, and small to medium corner shops.

Urban Governance

Cities are where all kinds of cultural, political economic and metabolic (Heynen et al., 2006) interaction are most rapid and intense. Food settings are politically mediated by the fragmented, contingent and complex patterns of formal and informal governance. Food provisioning is a key aspect in terms of evaluating the impacts of neoliberal urbanism on residents' broader access to urban resources and civic participation in cities. The discursive and material emphasis on production (Smith, 2002b) as the primary frame of reference to think about cities today, means that the category of reproduction is strategically undermined and confined to a "private" realm within urban policy discourses. Processes of urban governance re-shape the material and social boundaries of subjects' individual foodscapes and unfold in their provisioning maneuvers and overall material and social being in the city. Subjective accounts of individual foodscapes inform the diverse ways in which the macro-dynamics of governance are articulated in the micro settings of provisioning. My use of the term "governance" implicates the status and forms of change that develop in the direction and quality of subjects' and objects' mutually constituted "interactive" existences and meanings (Kooiman, 2003: 7). Such an approach to the term is less related to the formal decision-making instruments to achieve societal goals than to the constitution of the rationale for issues to be addressed, together with the political legitimacy of remedies (Dikec 2007).

Contemporary urban dynamics that are "constituted by and through the medium of food" (Lien & Nerlich, 2004: 9) provide critical openings for a more sensitive

approach to changes in the spatiality of eating and livelihood provisioning. In this case in particular, failure to recognize the spatial organization of food circulation as part of the physical and social constraints on urban livelihoods reflects the dearth of sufficient emphasis by urban governments to problematize social and material reproduction within policy agendas. In this sense, I suggest that a relational conception of accessibility and an understanding of the “politics of food” in the city are integral to the simultaneously “human and physical, cultural and organic” (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003: 899) discussions on urban governance.

Urban Foodscapes

Throughout my analysis, I refer to urban food settings as “foodscapes” so as to address both the abstract (discursive, cultural, representational) and material (economic, geographical, metabolic) dimensions in relating subjects, places, and provisioning practices. The term, with its connotations of both physical and abstract space, allows for a relational interrogation of the “places” and levels (social, personal) where food relations take place (including the metabolic and social acts of eating). Although a relatively new term and mostly familiar in food related research (Dolphijn, 2005; Burgoine et. al., 2009; Sobal & Wansink, 2007), “foodscape” is a key concept to address the mental (emotional, representational), social and physical “scapes” of producing, regulating, exchanging, processing, and consuming food both on collective and individual bases. These and other themes, concepts and factors that have shaped the contextual and analytical framework of the study will be further discussed in detail in Chapter 2 and 3, following the remainder of this chapter on organization of the dissertation.

Organization of the Text

The text is organized in four thematic parts preceded by the introductory Chapter 1 which has now come to an end, and encapsulates my argument and explanations for the links between the key concepts and phenomena that comprise the organization of the next chapters and my overall analysis. Chapter 2 provides a critical geographical review of the modern, developmental and post-developmental manifestations of urbanism in Istanbul in the context of the transformation of the Turkish state and its urban projections, with a specific emphasis on the actors and processes shaping the changing political economy of PMs. The following Chapter 3 elaborates on the theories that have contributed to the multiple analytical trajectories of this research. Chapters 2 and 3 comprise the first part, *Positionings*, and provide an in-depth layout of my engagement with the multiple links between theory, history and geography in order to make sense of the transformed relations between people, place and provisioning in everyday and lifelong processes of social and material reproduction.

The second part, *Storytelling*, begins with Chapter 4 which details research design and methodological concerns that have shaped the biographical strategy applied in the study. Issues relating to the actual research encounter and some of the limitations linked to the overall research experience are also discussed in this chapter. Chapter 5 focuses on individual provisioners and presents first-person excerpts from food biographies where women talk about individual foodscapes in the context of practices and perceptions relating to broader life experiences, transitions, and turning points.

The third part, *Understandings*, consists of two empirical chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) that present an experience-based analysis of the transformations that have

influenced Istanbul's complex and patchy urban foodscape with a focus on the relative importance of the PM network for diverse provisioners. Chapter 6 overviews different elements of individual foodscapes to make sense of the place-specific experiential realm where provisioning subjects create, use, and value reproductive places. The chapter specifically centres on PMs to answer what meaning and use subjects attribute to PMs; and how these patterns are influenced by the reorganization of PMs within the relational geographies of individual foodscapes. The analysis also problematizes the dominant paradigm that tends to classify provisioning status based on external/physical formulations of resource accessibility, rather than on subjects' use of these resources. How these individual interactions with places of reproduction relate to broader social factors which shape gendered subjects' exclusion as provisioners, residents, and citizens will be discussed in Chapter 7. As the final empirical chapter, Chapter 7 addresses how transformed provisioning places unfold as a ground to trace patterns of exclusion. In doing so, the chapter also voices women's conception of accessible and empowering food environments through their critique of the current transformations in the PM network. The aim, here, is to get a subject-centred evaluation of urban inclusion by situating the concept in subjects' emergent and existent terms of using and re-allocating PMs as a key element of the urban reproductive realm.

(Dis)Closure will be the fourth and the last part comprising of a single concluding chapter. Chapter 8 presents discussions about several emergent themes on relational economic geography, geographies and biographies of reproduction; and how these trajectories might be productive for further work on “different” politics of empowerment and counter-subjectivities that mark a rupture from the trends and transformations that

were discussed in the preceding chapters (Chapters 5, 6 and 7 in particular). While each chapter comprising the text is designed to offer particular possible ways of thinking about these notions in relation to current transformations in cities by drawing empirically from the Istanbul case, the focus in this last chapter is more on the empirically-driven debates on theorizing and studying lives, (urban) politics, and inclusion/exclusion.

Part I: Positionings

Chapter 2

Context: Politics, Economy, and Society in Istanbul

Introduction

I began Chapter 1 with the premise that urban food settings are politically dominated places of social and material reproduction and that the spatial organization of food accessibility produces differential consequences for different parties. I identified accessibility as a simultaneously social and material process which takes place in space and is permeated by the operations of formal regulation. I described my case study of the spatial and social re-organization of PMs as part of the ongoing changes now taking place in urban development practices of local and municipal governments in Istanbul. I noted that Istanbul's weekly PMs comprise a key ground for examining state re-organization of the reproductive realm since space and food are integral to the daily and long-term organization of social and material reproduction. The role of state as an extended political realm is rarely addressed with respect to the constitution of political space and subjects as material and social entities especially from a human-scale focus on the mundane places and practices of reproduction.

In response to this lack of analysis, the objective of this chapter is to present a historical and geographical review of urbanization in Istanbul by providing a detailed exploration of the role of the Turkish state in mediating the city as the core of the country's social and political life. I articulate food provisioning as a critical opening to address these macro urban/political trends with a specific concern to bring out what they

might mean with respect to the everyday sites, practices, and perceptions of making a life in Istanbul both now and in the past. Istanbul's expanding role in the production, consumption and distribution not only of food, but also all kinds of social and metabolic resources for its approximately fourteen million residents presents an underdeveloped yet critical perspective linking individual bodies to the processes of political and physical transformation in the city.

In the chapter, I contextualize the cultivation and parameters of political processes that have shaped the city, first from establishment to early developmental growth, and then towards the Istanbul-oriented global integration that has been taking place since the 1990s (Tsukamoto 2011). I address “developmentalism” as a continuum marked by specific moments at which certain scales, subjectivities, and spaces are politically re-instrumentalized. The objective of the chapter, then, is to provide an overview of the discursive and operational moments and tools that have shaped state formation and capitalist transformation with a specific focus on ideas of development and their articulation in Istanbul. Such a review contributes to the assessment of the present configuration and multiple effects of neoliberal urban governance in the context of Istanbul's transformation from a national techno-industrial core to a globally marketed urban hub.

The analysis provides a contextual framework of competitive urban governance and contributes to grounding the actual ways these processes materialize in everyday livelihood provisioning environments of the city's residents. Drawing insights from various critical perspectives, I identify and discuss the variety of macro and micro ways in which Istanbul has been a key site of state functioning to pursue developmental

“targets” that have resulted in real life consequences for subjects during the republican period. I specifically emphasize Istanbul’s unique role and construction - both as territory and ideal - in Turkey’s neoliberal restructuring. In demonstrating the variety of ways in which geography (specifically of urban spaces of social and material reproduction) has become a key site of state formation and development in Turkey, this chapter engages perspectives and arguments from the fields of political economy and critical geography as well as a number of post-developmental critiques.

Developmentalism and the Turkish Developmental State

Development is an inherently spatial concept referring to continuous envisioning of improving the quality of life across diverse scales, led by “policy-informed” (Robinson, 2006: 4) transformations in the combined realms of politics, economy, science and culture. It is simultaneously “an intellectual and material project” (Apter 1987: 7 cited in Power 2003:1) that is closely intertwined with modernity and its “cultural valorization and celebration of novelty and innovation” (Robinson, 2006: 4). Despite the diverse articulations of modernity especially in the many histories and geographies of capitalist transformation, I wish to retain a sense of the concept as a “collection of interlocking institutional cultural and philosophical strands which emerge and develop at different times and which are often only defined as ‘modern’ retrospectively” (Felski, 1995: 12). Due to modernism’s shared emphasis with development on the “new” and on “novelty” as the evolutionary way to “progress”, state modernism is associated with “a political investment in development and the institutional promotion of development as a way of improving life” at diverse geographical scales (Robinson, 2006: 4). By state modernism, I mean a historically and geographically specific and institutionalized rationality

comprised of dimensions such as “capitalism, industrialism, surveillance and the control of the means of violence” (Giddens, 1990). “Developmentalism” refers to such a political articulation of development simultaneously as ideology and material processes, based on “facts” that are “out there” and derived from certain (Eurocentric) mental and geographical mappings of the world. Thinking spatially about developmentalism suggests a reading of the state problematization of its territory to achieve certain predefined targets as the “rational” and evolutionary way to progress. It represents an analytical undertaking:

through which to investigate how the territorial spaces inherited from earlier rounds of state regulation, capital accumulation and political contestation are continually appropriated, rewoven, and transformed through diverse strategies, both institutional and extra-institutional, across a range of geographical sites and scales (Brenner & Elden, 2009, 368).

Throughout the twentieth century, the urban as geographical scale and cities as spatial units have been a central focus of state strategies for economic development, as well as key sites of political and social domination (Lefebvre, 1991). Developmental strategies mobilized at the urban level have since aimed to achieve and perpetuate “the construction, deployment and political management” of cities “as productive forces” of the nation (Brenner & Elden, 2009: 369). Following Lefebvre’s analysis of state rationality of mobilizing space and scale from a certain territorial logic, Brenner and Elden (ibid.) clarify that developmental strategies do not rely on any pre-given spatial category or unit but rather on categories, including the urban, that are “made”, mapped, and consolidated through processes of state strategies. That is to say, analyzing the

articulation and implications of developmental state strategies does not only mean a scalar reading of the political-economy of cities but, rather, refers to a state-spatial logic operating according to the contextual variables in the production of capitalist space (Lefebvre, 1991). Transformation of developmental strategies at the urban level therefore reveals manifestations of altered state strategies in order to pursue growth priorities by reordering space and regulation.

Drawing from these closely related analytical levels, I refer to Turkish developmentalism simultaneously as a political economic narrative of capitalist transformation, a story of nation building and subject formation, and as a contextual assemblage (Allan & Cochrane, 2010) of state spatialization. The urban is foundational to all of these levels and my intent is to provide a broad historical and geographical sketch of the diverse connections and tensions between various phases and readings of developmentalism in the Turkish context. To this end, I highlight four historical markers which help to make sense of the dynamic and contested interplay between processes of state, city and development: 1) early republican state formation in the 1930s; 2) political transition to a market economy beginning in the 1950s; and, 3) the post-1980 period which, from a specifically urban perspective, can be further subdivided to allow for the intense commodification of urban space since the 1990s.

Early State Formation and Istanbul's Ambivalence

In 1923, following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the nascent Turkish Republic was established as a decidedly modernist nation state project rooted in the ideals and interventions of national founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The “nation” forged under the Kemalist revolution was based on a Turkishness that was in turn based on an association

with the modern ideals of advancement and improvement prescribed, above all, by an affinity with the West. Rather than emanating from a shared past, language, or territory (Kirisci, 1998), Turkey and Turkishness were defined as the territorial and cultural basis for bringing together and reconstituting the multiple ethnic, religious and linguistic identities that had coexisted under imperial rule. Turkish identity was thus not formulated on the basis of ethno-religious or linguistic identification with an already existing category of “Turk”.² Rather, it was invented as a category designed to include all residents of the nation’s established territorial boundaries with the aim of creating a formal unity that could resist the intensified presence of European powers in the region following World War I. The Turkish identity was thus cast as the basis of formal citizenship in order to define the nation’s future and mark its disengagement with the Ottoman past in which differential privileges were accorded on an ethno-religious basis. The ideal of working towards a unified, secular and prosperous future as a modern nation did, however, create its own patterns of (un)privileged identities and geographies.³

² Usage of “Turk” as a category is diverse and contested. Even though the term existed prior to the establishment of the Republic, its ethnic and linguistic associations with specific peoples within or beyond the imperial boundaries were loose. The term mainly referred to the Muslim subjects (reaya) of the Ottoman Empire. It is also noted that the term was used by Europeans to refer to Ottomans in general (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). Research on the etymology and concerns on the “true meaning” of the term intensified in line with the rise of diverse nationalisms across Europe and within the territories of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries. Establishment of Turcology departments in European universities as a result of institutionalization of Orientalism within Western scientific disciplines together with accomplishments of prominent Turcologists, linguists and archaeologists also contributed to the associations of the term with Central Asian roots. Geographical remoteness of Central Asia and cultural “purity” of its peoples compared to corrupt and war-torn geographies of both the Empire and Europe were suitable as ancestral roots for the imaginary geographies of early ideologues of Turkish nationalism to provide the basis of a nascent Turkish state.

³ According to Yegen (1996), constitution of a Kurdish identity did develop in the political context of Turkish nation state formation, through intense political and cultural restructuring to build and consolidate the Turkish national identity.

Bold reforms were implemented in order to strengthen the foundations and modern ideals of the new republic. Mandatory universal education, restrictions on dress, the scientific search for a Turkish historiography and language, and the adoption of roman script all highlighted Turkey's self-association with the West and Western ideas of progress and development. In the two decades following its establishment, the Turkish state attentively and decidedly launched mechanisms intended to redefine every aspect of everyday life so as to foster the constitution of its citizen-subjects.

If we accept the adoption of a distinct "Turkish" language as critical to the formation of a distinctly "Turkish" citizen-subject (Anderson, 1983), then the creation of Ankara as the national capital denotes the spatial demarcation of Turkey's boundaries from its Ottoman past, that is from Istanbul, the seat of empire. A small provincial town strategically located in the Anatolian heartland with a predominantly Turkish-speaking Muslim population, Ankara was appropriate in terms of the urban projection of both modern statehood and the formation of a citizenry unified in its Turkishness that embraced the republican ideals of development as westernization and modernization.

The development of Ankara from a small town to the national capital manifests various spatializations of the development strategy of the Turkish state. Istanbul, on the other hand, represented the unplanned, anti-secular, imperial geographies of corruption, fragmentation and "backwardness". Ankara, as Istanbul's modern "other," was envisaged as a secular state-space that would eradicate all associations with Istanbul's imperial space in terms of both urban form and processes. As such, Western, namely German and Austrian, planners and architects were commissioned to carry out the planning of the new capital (Payne, 1984) and left in their wake distinct urban patterns and monumental

forms. Here it is interesting to note that the 1834 transfer of the Greek capital to Athens was likewise a step towards the formation of a Greek national identity as part of the process of making the Greek nation state, however, through a different interpretation of the foundations of a modern Greek state. Greek national identity was to a large extent influenced by the European fascination with the ancient Greek “origins” of western modernity and civilization (Bastea, 2000). Athens was the territorial symbol of these origins and thus not only the imminent capital of the modern Greek state, but also the honorary capital of a uniform western civilization. Consequently, the making of Athens as the national capital from a town of 12,000, reveals a different interpretation of modernization based on a specific historiography of the West and was carried out by re-establishing ties with the past. This contrasts with the making of Ankara which relied on a denial of associations with the past and a strictly future-oriented understanding of modernization.

The establishment of modern Turkey translated into an intense period of technocratic social engineering aimed primarily at cultural modernization, so as to accomplish the creation of the social basis perceived as vital to development and eventually “catching up with the West”.⁴ With respect to the urban implications of these processes, the creation of Ankara and the othering of Istanbul exemplify the ways that national boundaries are contested and remapped in the space of the urban.

⁴ In fact, “reform” and ideas of overcoming a perceived temporal lag with the West were not new and had roots in modernizing reforms of Selim III and Mahmud II beginning in the late 18th century and continued intermittently throughout the 19th century until the dissolution of the Empire.

Political Transition and Impetus for Change

As I will discuss in detail in the remaining part of this chapter, a nuanced view of state social and territorial organization redirects focus onto the “indirect and relational” (Brand, 2007: 623) operations of state spatiality in regulating pre-existent spatial units and governance structures. Turkey’s transition to multi-party democracy in 1950 marks, in a variety of inter-related ways, a major turning point in understanding the country’s impetus for change and its developmental challenges. Following almost three decades of intense technocratic reform by the establishment bureaucracy, 1950 ushered in the introduction and success of political populism which has since been a definitive characteristic of Turkish politics.⁵ The economic conditions of, and following, World War II helped in part to foster the necessary political mobilization of economically deprived and impoverished social strata at all levels. The factors contributing to this mobilization are widely identified as the breakup of the alliance between state and agricultural bourgeoisie due to falling export rates, the deprivation of urban small producers due to the black market, and the alienation and impoverishment of a large rural peasantry from the ideals of a productive agrarian nation (Keyder, 1979). In this sense, 1950 marks a significant reconfiguration of the political basis of Turkey’s capitalist transformation from state capitalism to a more liberal framing of the state’s role in the economy.

⁵ Navio and Walker (2008: 7) define populism broadly as political “leaders’ tendency to reduce the number of veto players in a political system”. Divergent in political goals and disguise the term has strong associations with Latin American democracies and with transitional societies in general. Still, populist dynamics are widely instrumentalized both in developed and developmental worlds to suppress reactionism towards persistent effects of economic, political and environmental inequalities and rights abuse.

I refer to state capitalism in the Turkish case as the political context of capitalist accumulation shaped by the interventions of powerful nationalist state elites in political and economic resources so as to (re)structure society and economy. According to Bugra (1994: 121), one major implication of the “selective morality” applied by these state elites to the later restructuring of the political basis of economic transformation has been the premature “organizational capacities and social status of the bourgeoisie” which led to the underdevelopment of the legal and social basis on which the bourgeoisie could express itself independently of state patronage. Together with the impoverishment of the peasantry, this weakness of the nascent Turkish bourgeoisie can also be considered a factor in the populism-sensitive character of Turkish electoral politics. This aside, the developmental outlook of the 1950s represented a shift towards a more economized understanding of development compared to the cultural modernization priorities of the preceding era. Increased relations with the US in the post-war period,⁶ along with the rise of Western welfarism and development economics, provided the framework for interpreting development as wealth creation through industrialization. According to Western capitalist “models” this meant mass production, consumption and employment channeled, above all, by state provision of infrastructure and trade policy adjustment. In the Turkish context this translated into import substitute industrialization aimed at controlling domestic demand and increasing productivity in non-agricultural sectors. An accelerated integration of the political sphere in industrial economic improvement defined one of Turkey’s most unique moments of transition in terms of developmental hegemony. Still, as a contextual feature of the capitalist transformation of the state in

⁶ This initially refers to the US-sponsored Marshall Plan in Turkey between 1948 and 1952 to modernize the Turkish economy by “transforming the state agencies into regulatory bodies” (Kozat, 2006).

Turkey, it should be noted that despite the ideological emphasis on liberal ideals of entrepreneurship and free market, state hegemony over the developing national bourgeoisie and the impacts of its selective morality in terms of favouring or disqualifying the access of certain actors to state resources persisted, resulting in a distinct “liberal interventionism” (Bugra, 1994: 121).

One major consequence of this selective post-war liberal interventionism was the state-led transfer of large landowners from the agricultural to the industrial sector. These businesses, which constituted Turkey’s traditional basis for a capitalist class, were owned by Turkish speaking Muslim families from the Anatolian core. This profile coincided with the national projection of the “Turkish” capitalist class and, as such, they were encouraged through a variety of incentives to become industrial entrepreneurs and to establish their investment in Istanbul. An interesting feature of this intervention is the shift in the territorial axis of the “modernizing the nation” paradigm which previously envisioned the national geography of development as defined by the national boundaries with Ankara as its core. It is possible to interpret this shift in terms of a specific moment in the changing spatiality of post-war techno-industrial hegemony, where wealth created from agriculture was to be transferred to the industrial sector in a state-led re-mapping of the developmental agenda. Here, Anatolia is positioned as the agricultural heartland provisioning resources for and being pulled by an industrial core – Istanbul – invoking a type of “internal colonialism” (Wald, 1987: 22).

In terms of Turkey’s pursuit of modernist, and later of industrial development ideals, Harris (2008) underlines that “developmentalism and colonialism both rely on key sets of dichotomies that serve ‘intervention’: West and non-West, Colonizer and

Colonized, developed and undeveloped, modern and amodern,” that are produced through a certain (formal, in this case) self-awareness of “temporal lag and spatial marginality” (Gupta, 1998: 11 cited in Harris, 2004: 33). Thus, the transfer of wealth “extracted” from Anatolia and the centralization of Istanbul represent the developmental goal of lapsing from a primary to a secondary economic sector. At the same time, this transfer references an historical accomplishment via a condensed transition from feudal to capitalist modes of production based on a transcended history of western capitalist transformation, namely the industrial revolution, transposed onto a rural-urban axis of practicality, and geographically inscribed in the continued deepening rural (East) - urban (West) divide of the country. Harris sets out to explain the “markers of the post-colonial condition”⁷ (2004: 34) created within the boundaries of a single nation in the context of Turkey’s engagement with the Kurdish question and the long national history of articulating South-eastern Anatolia as the geography of “underdevelopment”. In doing so, she, at the same time, provides a creative basis for evaluating Istanbul’s reconfiguration within the socio-spatial reordering of state developmental goals in the following decades which constitute the subject of the following section.

Istanbul and Anchoring the National Bourgeoisie

Since the 1950s, developmental strategies of the nation materialized in both the built environment and the ideological constitution of Istanbul in particular and of major Turkish cities more generally. The impacts of the shift towards industrialisation in

⁷ Postcolonial critiques are primarily derived from various analyses of former colonial societies with respect to the cultural and political presence and domination of a colonizing power. The territory that is now Turkey was never colonized in this sense. As Harris (2004: 31) notes “the history of Kemalism, with defining characteristics of replicating Europe and the West, Turkey fits in the “postcolonial condition” in certain insightful ways such as the pursuit of modern ideals and development to “catch up with the West”.

Istanbul's demographic and urban transformation have been shaped considerably by waves of internal migration resulting from both the state's pro-industrial pro-urban growth agenda and severe changes in terms of agriculture. These migrant masses were not only a source of cheap labour for emerging industry, but also the basis of Turkey's urbanized middle classes that were vital to the consumption aspect of the industrial growth formula of western welfarism. I argue that a closer focus on the dynamics of entrenching Istanbul's privileged economic, and subsequently, political and cultural status among the national spatial hierarchy is necessary in order to grasp the multiplicity and interrelatedness of these goals together with the subject positions and inequalities produced and perpetuated through the diverse applications of (various) developmentalism(s).

Istanbul's ambivalent ties to the nation, that is, being within national boundaries but also a former seat of empire financially dominated by a fragmented community of local non-Muslims rendered it a challenge for the uniform political geography of the Turkish nation state. The city was a contested representation of the national identity which was increasingly overtly pronounced as "Muslim and Turkish-speaking" in line with populism's rise from the 1950s onwards. In the early republican era, such complexity, or Istanbul's cosmopolitan ambivalence, was dealt with through the neglect of the city, except for major infrastructural interventions such as the Haydarpasa Port development in the 1930s (Ekinci, 1994). The violent events of 6-7 September 1955 offer a poignant example of the complexity of the territorial strategies of the post-war shift towards industrial developmentalism and state maneuvers to embed an urban Turkish capitalist class in Istanbul. The incident, mobilized around the conflict with Greece over

Cyprus, was a series of violent riots that targeted non-Muslim citizens in Istanbul. The violence was triggered by the press-issued rumour that Ataturk's house in Salonika⁸ had been bombed. These riots, which first revolved around the personification of "Greek enemies" in fellow Rum⁹ citizens, soon turned into attacks on generalized ethno-religious "others" whose presence and wealth were a threat "against" the nation. For several days, property belonging to non-Muslims was attacked and looted with minimal intervention from authorities. This was followed by the eventual exodus of remaining non-Muslim citizens from Istanbul. The organizational dynamics of these events, along with much critical analysis of nationalism in Turkey, are today acknowledged and reveal state involvement in the orchestration of the violence against these communities (Kuyucu, 2005; Dosdogru, 1993 among others). The later Turkification of Istanbul's commercial/industrial resources, including abandoned properties, points to the multiple means of identifying and remapping the spaces and identities of threat in order to foster the capitalist economic basis of national homogeneity. In other words, the economic terms of development in Turkey's post-war context were defined by the vocabulary of the market and were conditioned upon the Turkification of urban capital. As such, 6-7 September events depict a unique manifestation of a state-business elite alliance mobilized through nationalism in and for urban space and resources. Equally important from a state spatial strategies perspective, these incidents mark a historically specific re-inscription of the nation's boundaries in Istanbul's urban space so as to contain and to redefine Istanbul through an ethno-religious mobilization of economically defined developmental ideals.

⁸ His hometown in Greece which was an Ottoman territory until the late 19th century.

⁹ Anatolian and Istanbulite Greek population.

Over the following decades Istanbul's population and share in national production increased substantially making it a sprawling center in the surrounding Region of Marmara. After the Soviet dissolution, Istanbul's attractiveness as a dynamic commercial market gained a cross-border character and appeal, especially given the widespread informality and diversity of its illegal and quasi-legal informal sectors. Disparities in the redistribution of urban land and other resources were inscribed in the emergent spaces of poverty and environmental deprivation. Informal housing, namely the *gecekondu* phenomenon,¹⁰ had become a major mechanism of urban land profiteering. The state lacked the institutional infrastructure or the political will to deal with the pressures brought about by sustained growth and the immediate needs of migrants for housing and employment. In fact, this period was one in which the urban problematique was framed by a formal perspective that considered these processes the "natural" consequences of industrial transition. To some extent urban rent creation and informal social networks of redistribution were formally favoured as promoting (market) "dynamism" (Sonmez, 1996: 46), while preventing the public sector from bearing the "burden" of adequate welfare mechanisms. This perspective also enabled the housing sector to be instrumentalized as a tool for the populist mobilization of local electoral politics. The next hegemonic rupture in Turkey's shift from domestic-oriented strategies of industrial development to economic integration is marked by a certain construction of (above all economic) globality. The contextual dynamics that characterized this process will be discussed next.

¹⁰ "Built overnight" in literal translation from Turkish.

Re-structuring of the Turkish State and Re-urbanization of Istanbul

The military coup of 1980 is widely acknowledged as a major turning point, marking massive political, economic and cultural transformations in Turkey and the reconfiguration of the political-institutional assemblage of the Turkish state. The post-1980 Turkish state unfolds as partial and dispersed mobilizations of past and future-associated ideological representations of development and integration through state spatial strategies which manifest as distinct urban and regional forms. Beginning in the 1980s, articulation of the country's south-east region both as territory and ideological space has been intense and represents a good example to make sense of altered state spatial strategies that pursue multiple governmental priorities by simultaneously and divergently reconfiguring space, subjects and regulatory dynamics. In both the imperial and early republican era, south-eastern Turkey manifested a geography of contestation of central state ideals and authority. Following the establishment of the republic, this pattern consolidated in a particular form of state spatialization at the regional level with unique discursive, institutional, and planning tools inscribing the region with a geography of intervention, as backward, rural and ambivalent¹¹ space. Conversely, Istanbul and the surrounding region of Marmara comprised a scale where state intervention to pursue a programmatic growth agenda was conflictual with politics of market integration. A review of geographical works on various aspects of the post-1980 era, with a focus on the urban dimensions of change, reveals that the urban question has largely been explored around issues like demographic change, migration, land market transformation and

¹¹ The region is ethno-culturally complex with Turkish and/or Kurdish and Arabic speaking ethnic-Kurds, Turks and Arabs of both Sunni and Alavi faiths together with smaller Christian minorities such as Armenians and Syrians.

squatter housing, social policy (Karpat, 1976; Pinarcioglu and Isik, 2001a, 2001b; Bugra, 1998; Keyder, 2005) and to a relatively lesser extent, the environmental impacts of rapid urbanisation (Acma & Isbir, 2005).

According to Sengul (2002, 2003), the interdisciplinary field of urban studies in Turkey is dominated by a political economic analytical framework that leads to “the lack of understanding of urban processes” by which he refers to the compartmental growth of urban studies literature in Turkey. This aspect is highlighted as an important drawback against developing a framework for an integrated problematization of diversely inter-related urban phenomena in a manner that allows for a “macro-level view of urban processes”. Alternatively, Sengul (2003) formulates a multilevel periodisation of the Turkish urban experience as: (1) the urbanization of the state: 1923-50; (2) the urbanization of labour: 1950-80; and (3) the urbanization of capital: 1980-onwards. I agree with Sengul’s criticism on the overall insufficiency of critical engagement with both the geography and political economy of capitalist transformation in Turkey, particularly with an integrated analytical framing of its urban dimensions. This is vital since, as the Turkish case shows, categories such as the state, urban and capitalism are dynamically reconstituted and operationalized by differing actors and through diverse strategies producing distinct forms of governance and spaces/subjects of inequality. I argue that understanding urban transitory processes should be analytically sensitive to, and critically trace, the dynamics which function in the reordering of the categories that characterize a particular form and moment of state spatiality in a particular context. Post-1980s urban processes, in this sense, represent a re-configuration of state induced by globally defined (economic) growth strategies, primarily through financialization and

market expansion. At the ideological level these processes involve the redefinition of “development” by gradually dismantling “integration-ism” towards discourses of competition in the global arena. In concrete terms, transition in this period refers to the introduction of structural adjustment programs in combination with an initial phase of trade and export promotion that lasted until the late 1980s and was followed by a second phase of capital inflow in the 1990s.

Consecutive economic crises that resulted in severe deprivation of both the urban and rural classes were the result of intense macroeconomic restructuring of a “reform fatigue[d] and exhaust[ed]” system throughout the 1990s (Boratav et al, 2000: 8). One immediate household and urban manifestation of economic instability was increased child and female involvement in informal sectors in Istanbul and in cities in general. A second strategy adopted by impoverished urban households was the reinforcement of hometown ties to promote the circulation of livelihood resources from towns and villages to major cities. The extent of this adjustment strategy is investigated by Kaldjian (2000), who notes that this circulation included foodstuffs, produced through the seasonal (summer) allocation of female and child labour in rural villages and towns, needed for consumption in the city where and when food expenditure is higher. Rural households, on the other hand, responded to a deterioration in economic circumstances by moving to cities temporarily or permanently to seek compensation within informal wage networks resulting in urban expansion through sustained migratory flows and distinct forms of informal over-exploitation (Boratav et al, 2000: 24). Pinarcioglu and Isik (2001b) investigate the complex rent-seeking strategies of squatter settlers during this period by gathering household capital through low-wage informal jobs to construct new floors to

their “gecekondus” in order to rent out these new housing units to socio-economically worse off newcomers. The study is important in presenting how informality is reproduced at the household level and transferred through intra-communal networks which are underrepresented by a “formalized” analytical framing of the concept's dynamic scales and dimensions. My take on urban informality in relation to everyday food practices and social and material interaction in PMs is mostly represented by the notion of “non-observed economy” which emphasizes those actions “undertaken by households for their own use, and, not covered due to the deficiencies in the data collection process” (Savio, 2006).

Post-developmental Politics in Istanbul

The idea of anachronistic space (mainly associated with McClintock 1995) provides further links for making sense of the ways that the shift in Turkey's developmental paradigm intensely since the 1990s, collided with Istanbul's strategic role in the country's post-developmental geography. Anachronistic space refers to certain spatializations of power relations where space is temporally detached from the present and (politically, economically, and culturally) reconstructed as fixed at a moment in a specific past that is associated with dichotomous (colonial) partitions of a-modern and backward. Postwar developmentalisms are characterized by diverse geographies and subjects of backwardness that are targeted by interventions so as to overcome the temporal lag with the West. The major impact of globalization on modernist developmental contexts has been re-orienting the “un-underdeveloping” (Escobar, 1995) project from its roots in the past towards a future projected by the global reconfiguration of Western capitalism. That is, the temporal lag is no longer between a certain past moment and the Western present,

but between today and a globally cast future where “catching up” is within reach depending on the level of taking “place” in processes of maximizing opportunity. The global rescaling of capitalism has, in this way, contextualized into new mappings of the notions of a-modern, under-developed, backward and of past and future. The focus of political governance with respect to this future-oriented turn is no longer on the present geographies and subjects of improvement, but those spaces and subjects that are conceived as potent and capable of enabling opportunities. It is possible to relate this to the contextual spectrum along which manifestations of inequality and deprivation are seen as markers of impotence and stagnancy.

In specific terms of urbanization in Istanbul, post-developmental politics is characterized by the shift away from an industrial definition of economic growth and productivity (factory state/city) towards market efficiency characterized by an entrepreneur state and urban governance strategies in order to compete within a global league of urban centres. As such, Istanbul’s urban space has been intensely re-ordered and granted greater administrative autonomy to attract and to organize capital flow. In specific terms of the social and economic accessibility of food, the food retail sector changed radically as a result of the proliferation of super- and hyper- markets independently or through joint ventures with European partners beginning in the 1990s. The first impact of this change in the organization of the urban foodscape was the decline in neighbourhood corner stores, green grocers, and butchers. As “supermarkets . . . became the price- and trend-setters in the marketplace” the individual food settings, routines, and mobilities were adjusted accordingly (Koc & Koc, 1997: 118). Thus, the 1990s were a period of accelerated cultural and spatial condensation of the urban middle

classes based on consumption patterns brought about by global tastes and lifestyles and catalyzed by the rapid inflow of foreign goods, brands and forms of consumption (Keyder 2005).

The post-industrial subversion of the terms of developmental economics and the composition of its inputs have led to the de-emphasis of labour which directly relates to the reconstituting of Istanbul and its surrounding region away from their previous conceptions as industrial cores designed (in the Turkish case “assigned”) for maintaining an urban work force. National responses to economic globalism, instead, have led cities to be rescaled as the focus and individual unit of maximizing competitive advantage. Istanbul, as Turkey’s leading player in this game, has been launched as a “strategic target for a broad range of policy experiments, institutional innovations, and politico-ideological projects” (Brenner & Theodore 2002: 375). Yet, Istanbul is more a politically strategic site for the neoliberal configuration of post-developmental politics than the global claims that the state have assigned to it (Tsukamoto, 2012; Hill & Kim, 2000 cited in Tsukamoto, 2012:74).

Neoliberalization implicates a regulatory framework that is increasingly less sensitive to the sustainable maintenance of the material and social realm of existing subjects (Swyngedouw et al, 2006). Likewise, legitimacy of this political process is no longer rooted in its capacity to respond to subjects' present needs and vulnerabilities; but in its ability to reframe the material and social realm in such a way so as to reduce its liability to do so by re-constituting its subjects. In fact, this proactive involvement with the future is where neoliberalism diverges from liberal developmentalism. The latter with its rootedness in modernism and commitment to the present geographies of utility

maximization differs from neoliberal rationality which is excessively sensitive to the future-oriented regulation of material and social reproduction through the formation and management of subjects.

In the Turkish context, one combined effect of the post-1980 redefinition of both politics and economy has been the ideological rearrangement of developmental roots in the future instead of in a backward past. As such, post-developmental politics in Istanbul has, intensely since the 1990s, unfolded as a geography of future-oriented intervention, politically to the ongoing inequalities and increasing deprivation for some in the social and ecological environment.

Reading Istanbul through the Lens of Food

There are certain historical and sociological analyses of Istanbul (primarily) in the republican period along with a few studies on the late-Ottoman era, where food and food markets do constitute subjects of analysis. Food is often investigated as a mediator of memory and identity; and spaces and practices of culinary production and consumption are explored as everyday manifestations of various social hierarchies and inequalities (see, e.g. Yenal, 1996). Together with references to broader changes in food markets or other socio-economic determinants of food relations, explorations of the role of cuisine and culinary practice in developing and deepening social narratives and identities, aim to uncover more implicit articulations of national, ethnic and gender hierarchies. A combination of cookbook and memoir and not an academic publication, Takuhi Tovmasyan's *Sofranız Şen Olsun* (May Your Table Be Jolly, 2004) is a good example of this thread. By linking memoirs with recipes from the Istanbul-Armenian cuisine,

Tovmasyan both reflects on the “bitter, sweet, salty, sour, and spicy moments”¹² of experiencing Armenian identity, and also explores memory, gender dynamics and cultural change in the Armenian community and more broadly of Istanbul. Another example of the way in which food is explored as “capable of connecting individual bodies to abstract communities” (Lien & Nerlich, 2004: 1) is a study examining the links between cuisine and constructions of the past through an analysis of various representations of Ottoman identity in culinary discourses both today and in Istanbul's Ottoman era restaurants (Karaosmanoglu, 2009). Yenal (2000) also looks at food consumption patterns and how they shape and are shaped through the broader transformations in the political economic and cultural context in contemporary Turkey. Through qualitative analysis of diverse archival resources and case studies, Yenal identifies the postwar dynamics of change in the discursive articulation and materiality of dietary concerns, cooking and eating-out habits in Turkey across gender and regional hierarchies. Yenal's study critically evaluates the links between culinary culture and identity from a political economy perspective and in the context of the everyday practicalities of food consumption. From a specifically geographical point of view, the study critically acknowledges the role of space and place in the experiencing of macro change, and includes an emphasis on the transformed spatiality of food related activities. It does so by drawing examples from diverse instances of everyday food patterns such as changes in the typology of kitchen-space and restaurants as cultural signs and places of

¹² Writer's words, my translation: Ebru Project. (n.d.). Retrieved May 25, 2010, from http://www.ebruproject.com/tr/Yazarlar/ayse_gul_altinay.asp

negotiating state power, and mediating subjective position between tradition and change, and local-hybrid/metropolitan values.

In the field of urban and socio-economic change in Istanbul, another exception to the general under-emphasis on the materiality of food and the household-level organization of social hierarchies in cities, is a study by Paul Kaldjian (2000) in which food security risks are examined by exploring Istanbul's central food networks from a food-system perspective. In contrast to its starting hypothesis, which suggests an increase in urban farming (a widespread practice of economically marginalised populations in most other metropolises), Kaldjian's research in Istanbul proves the opposite – a rapid decrease in agro-production in the city. Farm lands and city gardens, which used to be Istanbul's traditional supply networks for fresh produce, have been overtaken by corporate and individual rent-seeking in the built environment. Unlike Latin American and African cities, urban subsistence agriculture is not a viable strategy even for the urban poor who would rather maximize profit by renting out available land, usually to socio-economically worse off newcomers (Pinarcioglu & Isik, 2001a, 2001b). Kaldjian's findings show that despite the quantitative decrease in rural population, ties (owning land and/or relatives) to the countryside are as vital as before. The main indicator of this is the intense flow of food from the countryside as a strategy to minimize food expenses in the city when and where it is more expensive. These findings also highlight the significance of land transportation for livelihood provisioning in the city, since most transfers are done by train and inter-city bus network. By drawing attention to the changes in Istanbul's conventional food supply channels in the form of food transferred from the countryside, Kaldjian also exposes the extent of rent profitability in Istanbul and how this is effective

in the livelihood decision-making of residents. Kaldjian's research addresses issues important to further investigations of patterns of food access and resources in Istanbul. First, the complexity of the ways in which the rural and urban are interrelated underline the need to reconsider their conceptualization as distinct analytical and territorial categories. The second issue emphasized is the temporal as well as the spatial dimension in livelihood provisioning arrangements. Food transferred from the countryside is cultivated and sometimes preserved in summer to be consumed in winter. Since these temporal and spatial patterns of food provisioning necessitate further re-arrangement in the family division of labour (e.g. women and children to carry out production in the countryside in summer) a gender lens of analysis is crucial in multiplying the means and impacts of the changing dynamics of livelihood provisioning (Harcourt & Escobar, 2005; Oberhauser & Hanson, 2007).

PMs

The market has been a broad term suggesting a rich composition of routes, formal and informal institutions and forms of exchange taking place in diverse temporal cycles to meet the long and short term needs of Istanbul's population. Following the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1453, as Istanbul grew in population and area, the areas surrounding the city walls established periodic markets, some of which continue until the present day (such as the Wednesday Market in Fatih) (Goktas, 1997). Despite the changes in their location and organization over time, periodic markets have remained important centers of social interaction and access to food and other resources. Most central PMs reached their present form (in size and location) and significance in the 1970s following

the massive waves of migration (ibid.). Weekly open air markets are the most widespread network contributing to the urban food supply from among the variety of markets¹³ in Istanbul (Oz & Eder, 2011). As a specific type of retailing facility, they are operational throughout the city on a weekly basis. Typically, a market is held on a certain day of the week in a certain neighbourhood and is most commonly referred to by the name of the day on which it is held, such as the Tuesday Market (Sali Pazari in Kadikoy) or the famous Wednesday Market (Carsamba Pazari in Fatih). Although diverse kinds of goods sold are more or less the same in most PMs, the price range and quality of products vary depending on population density and the socio-economic level of the neighbourhood (Dokmeci, Yazgi, & Ozus, 2006). These geographical variations enable critical price flexibility and product diversity that are vital for livelihood provision, especially among limited access consumers. Nonetheless, it is difficult to quantitatively represent PMs' present share within the urban food supply or how it has evolved over the long course of market activity in Istanbul (Uzuncarsili & Ersun, 2004).

Markets are usually set up in a network of designated streets and/or lots where stalls are grouped according to the kind of goods sold. Although it is the responsibility of district municipalities to organize and regulate PMs, the public lands on which the PMs are held may actually belong to a district or metropolitan municipality, or the Treasury. The primary criterion in the establishment of a PM is demand density (Dokmeci et al., 2006; Tuncel, 2009). PMs are co-organized and administered by district municipalities and city-based vendor associations (Chamber of Periodic Market Vendors, CPMVs)¹⁴.

¹³ The seasonal or cyclical markets in the city are mostly weekly, although there are some yearly markets, such as the cattle and sheep market organized annually a few weeks before the Muslim Festival of Sacrifice.

¹⁴ e.g. "Istanbul Chamber of Bazaaris" in Oz and Eder (2012, 6)

According to the Istanbul CPMV data, there are currently 358 PMs operating in Istanbul (243 in the European and 115 in the Anatolian part of the city) on a weekly basis.

Neighbourhood PMs are a flux of formal arrangement and informality. The formal organization of the spaces and terms of activity, together with unregistered vendors and bargaining, make the market a uniquely flexible atmosphere of commercial activity. This aspect is also highlighted in terms of the recreational nature of attending PMs (Smith, 1978). Informality in PMs benefits sellers since these “small and labour intensive trade units” (Dokmeci et al., 2006: 46) can often set up in a different market each day of the week. As such, they make up for losses in a less profitable market by also selling in a better off neighbourhood.

In the context of Istanbul's intense political, economic, and physical transformations, PMs comprise a ground for examining what these changes signify in terms of the spatial and temporal livelihood arrangements of an increasing majority of residents. So far, research on PMs in Turkey is scant compared to the rich literature on markets in rural and urban Latin America, South Asia and Africa, or farmers markets in North America (Holloway et al., 2000; McCormack et al., 2010; Lamb, 2010; brown, 2002). Tuncel (2009) investigated spatial and temporal changes in the types, establishment and operations of different kinds of markets with a specific focus on rural PMs in Turkey between 1930 and 2005. In Istanbul, PMs are mostly referred to as part of the wider retail network undergoing rapid transformation as a result of global trends and the inclusion of new retail forms as well as the spread of new taste and consumer profiles. Dokmeci et al. (2006) address these in relation to the distribution of commercial space in Istanbul in the period 1980 to 2002. The findings indicate that while the number of newly

established markets increased in the periphery, established markets have been displaced from core areas. Increased population density in Istanbul's newly developing urban areas explains the establishment of new markets. But, given that there has been no significant change in demand density within central locations, where spatial and social redevelopment is most intense, these processes suggest the need to investigate links with the wider re-organization of urban resources, together with a critical understanding of the political content of urban concerns and priorities.

Modernizing infrastructure, which is the common discourse for most market redevelopment projects, means a heavy financial burden that adds to the operating costs of vendors who are small-scale traders organized through kinship and other social ties. Although better infrastructure is supported by both vendors and customers, municipal discourses against sub-standard market environments mostly works to override vendor and customer interests in central areas. Peripheral market locations prevent vendors from being able to take advantage of the locational flexibility provided by their ability to move between neighbourhoods. Availability of PMs in both wealthy central and poorer peripheral neighbourhoods allows vendors to have access to customers with more disposable income. Municipal decisions that relocate PMs follow a renewal agenda in which central areas are commodified by allocating space for supermarkets, parking lots, and shopping centres. Oz and Eder (2012) point to this dimension by examining market relocation as gentrification of potential retail land to attract private investment and to promote real estate rent in former market areas. Present actions reinforce distrust and dissatisfaction mostly among vendors, and vendor organizations express strong

opposition to these processes. Most times lawsuits are filed by CPMVs against municipalities for relocated or merged markets.

Markets with greater infrastructure apply only to a few locations in well off neighbourhoods. Infrastructural development of the market setting is favoured by sellers primarily for reasons of customer satisfaction. Camera surveillance, availability of air conditioning, cooling, non-cash payment options, and parking for both customers and sellers seem to represent understandings of a modern and developed market experience. These are also considered the means to protect the terms of competition among the market sellers (i.e. against informally rented stalls, non-registered sellers, bribing officials to rent a better location, etc.).

Politics in the Marketplace

Regulating and locating PMs are under municipal jurisdiction and the changes in their organization imply both material and social consequences in the form of commodification and control of space, changed social and material reproductive processes, and more generally changed approaches to urban livelihoods. The role of the central state in PM regulation is also recently redefined by an official document titled the “By-law on Market Places” issued by the Ministry of Customs and Trade in a continuation of a recent law on wholesale of fresh produce, effective since January 2012 . The organization and regulation of PMs comprised an important part of the new law and the by-law which was designed and publicized in 2011 and aimed to encapsulate and introduce standards to the divergent applications of individual municipalities in re-organizing the PMs within their administrative boundaries (March 13 2012) . It is

claimed by the ministry that the current situation, that is lack of standards in municipal implementation, led to dissatisfaction on the part of both market traders and consumers. In order to incorporate stakeholder inputs, the draft by-law was made publicly available before it was put into effect as of July 2012. The ministry had reported that negotiations were ongoing and nationwide meetings were being carried out with numerous trade organizations – primarily wholesalers. From the vendors' perspectives, the actual preparation of the new regulation concerning PMs was a seemingly open process in the sense that the ministry was not equally responsive to all stakeholders. This means that both the new law and the by-law were produced by the ministry itself and that “public” discussion of the changes was limited to the interests of large scale agricultural traders. They argued that the regulatory framework of the newly introduced legal norms was driven to a large extent by centralized and officialized ongoing municipal downsizing of PMs (Pazarci – Istanbul CPMV publication, informal conversations with PM vendor/activists; Eder & Oz 2012).

PM governance is part of the wider transformation of politics in Istanbul and represents a ground to explore the contextual manifestations of “actually existing neoliberalism” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002: 349). A key feature of neoliberal governance is integrating economic efficiency as a parameter in politicizing municipal governments and their actions. The motives behind the PM relocations link to this premise in two ways, both of which reflect corresponding dimensions of pro-growth regulation of space as an urban resource. PMs in central lots/streets are economically informal, aesthetically unappealing and ultimately reflect an “inefficient” use of valuable space. Thus the first level of explanation has to do with the urge to establish a new social geography of central

areas where the economic potential of these locations are emphasized for future/potential commodification, often by private investment. The second and complementary level to approach relocations is the resulting removal of informality and poverty from central areas (Oz & Eder, 2012). In both perspectives, PM relocations reveal a process in which the municipal authority, in its efforts to design and allocate the use of public space, promotes spatial and social disparities and exclusion, which translate into different everyday and longer term experiences of livelihood provisioning by diverse residents.

PMs are set up along streets, in a municipal market area or a combination of the two, meaning informal stalls extending out from the designated market area towards and along the nearby streets. Relocations involve either setting and often follow a pattern where the new market is allocated a less accessible area and often with the same (lack of) infrastructure. This is to say relocations are far from successful in satisfying the expectations of both residents and vendors to achieve accessible, hygienic, and formally regulated markets. There are various examples of legal cases where vendors and/or residents articulate their demands concerning the conditions in various markets. “Resident complaints” about traffic blockage, noise, dirt, and general security are a known fact which the general public considers to be behind most PM relocations. But a closer look at some of the court cases in which residents oppose municipalities reveals the complexity and place specific demands of “residents” as an actor in the changes. The diverse examples also reflect the way resident perspectives are integrated into the broader municipal discourse and practice on space, exclusion, and commodification.

One specific example concerned residents’ complaints about the illegal use of several streets by unregistered vendors as an extension of the main marketplace. The

legal process involved multiple cases (and several years) during which the municipality was mostly unresponsive to residents' concerns. In their account of the process, residents explicitly underlined that their claim concerned the illegal extension of stalls and their adverse effects, including pollution and chaos, and not the main market – although its status as PM space was also framed as being ambivalent. Finally, due to persistent indifference to their demands residents brought this dimension to court and the case ended as a result of a court decision to remove both the main market and extending stalls.

Oz and Eder (2012, 299) address similar connections between spatial “commodification” and neoliberalization in Istanbul through their analysis of another relocated PM that raised much public attention due to its central location and importance within the cultural and social geography of the city. Their research explores the process based primarily on vendor perspectives in relation to a major redevelopment project linked to the relocation of Istanbul's famous Tuesday Market in Kadikoy. In a rough summary of the more than a decade-long story of its relocation, the confirmed project includes the construction of an upscale shopping centre in the central location where the PM had previously been located. There are several dimensions in the Tuesday Market case that are worth highlighting in order to situate the multitude of actors and the scalar politics shaping urban transformation and competition over space (Harvey, 1989) in Istanbul. The relocation of the PM was a long and periodically debated issue within the district municipal agenda, mainly for reasons of traffic blockage and pollution. But the idea led to much reaction from the Market's versatile clientele and vendors as well as by local businesses who also benefited from the lucrative environment brought about by the market's existence.

Despite the municipal claims of traffic and general disorder, public reaction – especially vendor organizations – clearly voiced the underlying motive as regaining control of the market place which was too central, accessible, and potentially profitable to leave as a PM (Oz & Eder, 2012). Planning alternatives which re-organized traffic flow and market infrastructure were also disputed during the periodic debates about removal. Until 2008 when the Tuesday Market was finally removed to its current location in Hasanpasa (a smaller market area with limited pedestrian and public access from the centre), electoral politics prevented the district municipality from taking the risk of acting against popular demand. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) continued from where the municipal government left off.

In its final and defining stage IMM got involved in the debate on the ground that it owned the land on which the market operated. Bidding for the ex-market land was eventually executed by IMM. It also took over the responsibility to designate a new market area, collect vending fees, and organize the new market. These tasks were eventually downloaded to ISPARK – which is a municipal enterprise operating car parks (which in Istanbul refers to any regular – planned – and other lots, lands, spaces available for parking). As Oz and Eder (ibid.) too mention ISPARK is a profitable municipal enterprise with no know-how to regulate a PM (for that matter no such IMM unit exists) and contracts the regulation of the new Tuesday Market to the Istanbul Anatolian Side CPMV. The organization now has to deal with fee collection, registering, and allocating the excess number of stalls, spots and vendors. Due to limitations of space in the new location, many stalls and stall owners from the old market are either “left out” or “lost spots” while transferring to the new PM. Struggle for a good spot and equal number of

stalls (as in the previous location) is a major source of conflict and corruption within the CPMV and between vendors and the municipal officials (ibid.). In the meantime, to date – since the market's removal, the original location has also been operated by ISPARK as one of Kadikoy's largest parking areas.

The tension between Tuesday Market's place in Istanbul's cultural and social history together with the economic importance of the PM for both residents and vendors, and the extent of rent-potential in the original location, identifies the multitude of actors and scales in the ongoing struggle over space in Istanbul. Backed up by the central government, the IMM won the struggle over the use of the original PM space against the district municipality which had long been pacified by electoral politics. The scalar politics in the market's commodification reflect dispersed state spatial practices – in this case, spatial commodification and exploitation of urban rent by different level municipalities. IMM through ISPARK's partnership with CPMV in organizing the new market also rendered the organization responsible for the (ongoing and emergent) (micro-) spatial injustices (e.g. spot and stall allocation), and exclusion (i.e. ex-, registered, regular fee paying vendors versus "others" etc.). In this way, CPMV's power and role to represent vendor interests have disintegrated, leading the organization to internal conflict. (Oz and Eder, 2012). As such, discourses of administrative efficiency realized as governmental techniques reworked and redefined CPMV's political content, relevancy (problems, priorities, targets), functioning, and subjects. Finally, this and other stories of PM relocation also confirm that the struggle over space is contested and that state spatial strategies are transitional and dispersed among political actors, and scales become rivals in competing for space and potential urban rent (Brenner 2003).

State-led commercialization of public space and re-appropriation of urban land, in many ways, represent a banal strategy of promoting commodification in line with neoliberally inspired logics. Yet, in the case of PMs, examining its manifestation provides information on Turkey's developmental context where real estate value is historically manipulated as the driving impetus of urban expansion. Displacement represents crucial implications on certain livelihoods and a closer look at the implications of change suggests that the present conditions are the reason why PMs are a strategic alternative to other forms of retail which are designed to meet expectations for a modern, formal and hygienic food resource. This is especially important for residents whose livelihood strategies and access to food rely more on the marginal affordability of fresh produce driven by relative conditions in the market and in the supermarket. Residents with various socio-economic backgrounds are attracted to PMs for different reasons. Yet, availability is essential for provisioners (and households) who are less mobile and more dependent on price and product diversity as well as those who find more appealing, the semi-formal setting in which the social interactions between sellers and buyers are more empowering and enabling participation (Williams, 2002).

Conclusion

State spatiality and theories of subject formation constitute two integral levels in order to historically situate the shifting geography and republican objectives in the molding of Istanbul. In the period since the 1980s, state spatial strategies have on the one hand relied on promoting the potential of major cities to enable postindustrial market integration, while on the other hand, depended on its capacity to selectively reproduce and regulate

ambivalent spaces of contestation, which in the Turkish case are associated with rurality and spaces of ethno-cultural diversity. As the formal engagement with the “south-eastern question” reveals, the state – as an assemblage of diverse ideological and institutional formations and regulatory tools – has pursued geographically-specific strategies both in the east and the west, in cities and the rural periphery, resulting in uneven spaces, scales and unfolding of citizenship, rights and, of gender, ethnicity and culture. Along similar lines, it can be argued that the strategic inscription of spaces of poverty and poor subjects as peripheral reveals a contemporary example of the geographically-specific spatialization of regulatory priorities that characterize the post-1980 restructuring of the state. Turkey’s geography is ideologically inscribed by developmental markers based on multiple associations with the past and future. In the period since the 1980s, Istanbul has remained central to the operationalization of the hegemonic shift from industrial underdevelopment to neoliberalization. Deepening both the ideological and material divide between urban and rural throughout the republican period, the corollary of macroeconomic restructuring in Istanbul has been severe and multi-level as have the processes’ diverse everyday manifestations on individual livelihoods. A geographical perspective reveals that Turkey’s post-1980 transition period represents a suspending of the industrial terms of the national development paradigm in favour of a rescaling of global integration strategies at the urban level. This at the same time implies a remapping of the post-developmental “national good” within the geographical projection of globally competing cities and above all in terms of the “social production of capitalist space” (Lefebvre, 1991) in Istanbul. In the context of Turkey’s global integration, Istanbul’s urban space has been marked by the discourses and priorities of the market both to attract

and to organize capital flow. On a discursive level, this is evident in the association of spaces and subjects of poverty with multiple concerns for security (Dikec, 2007). On a spatial level, rent-oriented place making and gentrification of core areas inscribe the cityscape with the priorities of the new growth paradigm. On a governmental level, the social base of urban politics is characterized more in terms of future interests of private investment and middle class consumerism, while at the same time mobilizing political populism via strategies such as zoning and census management so as to target/maximize electoral masses in working class neighbourhoods. The transformed social base of urban governance results in inequitable spaces and forms of livelihoods that are simultaneously material, distributional and political.

Food as a primary metabolic component of urban reproduction is central to these changes and provides a critical entry for examining both micro and macro processes in the making and re-making of the urban scale in Istanbul. In this sense, changes in access to and circulation of food are likewise crucial to a comprehensive examination of urban manifestations of state – subject relations to the extent that these processes entail the reorganization of everyday provisioning sites and practices. My interest in questions about specific and bottom-up analysis of food provisioning networks, livelihood transformation and neoliberal restructuring in Istanbul is grounded in the multiple internal and dynamic linkages between critical contextual, theoretical and methodological contributions that I will discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Analytical Trajectories: Food, Space, Subjects, and Power

Introduction

Food is central to the physical and social formation and functioning of bodies, communities, and legal, ethical and economic norms as well as the creation and circulation of risk and vulnerability. Places where food is accessed provide a crucial gateway to the social and spatial organization of livelihoods within specific political economic contexts (Sen, 1981). The previous chapter provided a geographical and historical review of the modes and moments that have characterized Istanbul's urban transformation in line with its evolution as (post)developmental space throughout the republican period. That review contributed to a better contextualization of Istanbul's current configuration and the multiple effects of its reorganized landscape for spaces of reproduction, livelihood provisioning and subject formation. This chapter addresses the first research question of opening up and conceptually situating the places of social and material reproduction within the political and economic processes that are shaping livelihoods in Istanbul.

Places of everyday social and material interaction are critical objects of analysis in that this realm is layered by a dynamic topography of existent and emergent spatial and habitual patterns. This collective realm presents a rich ground to explore political economic restructuring with a focus on subjects and their intersectional realities. Since place is important in the functioning of (capitalist) economic relations, social and cultural geographies of these relations are vital in order to understand what they “actually”

translate into in terms of the everyday life practices and perceptions of subjects. Such a view also requires a revised conceptual framework that is sensitive to and can overcome the shortcomings of approaches where the dynamics of supply and consumption, and broader conceptions of urban production and social reproduction, are treated as separate realms. The urban foodscape rather is a spatialized assemblage of commodities and social and material relations that is produced through the complex intersections of multiple locations, seasons, climates, exchange regimes and formal regulations.

Due to the dynamics of pro-growth state performance at the level of urban governance, the socio-spatial composition of Istanbul's urban foodscape is changing substantially in ways that re-shape the accessibility of various social and material resources for residents. In this chapter, I will ground this discussion along conceptual and theoretical trajectories from which my particular understanding of the connections between politics, place, and provisioning subjects in Istanbul are derived.

Food as a Lens

Over the last two decades, growing concerns about food security, standards, and technology have emerged as a field of public and political contestation (Lien & Nerlich, 2004; Phillips, 2006). The global transformation of food networks, resulting in the disintegration of local agricultural production and exchange markets in most developing countries, has had a profound influence on issues of access, governance and control at all sites of social and political economic interaction. Especially in recent years, broad interest in “food politics,” revolving largely around the status of genetically modified organisms (GMOs), alternative food markets (organic and fair trade markets) (Allen &

Kovach, 2000; Klonsky, 2000), local food provisioning (Jarosz, 2008), and the global restructuring of food networks by international agricultural trade agreements and structural adjustment program (SAP) frameworks (Harrison, Flynn, & Marsden, 1997; McMichael, 1994; Winter & Samers, 2006), have increasingly placed food on both theoretical and applied policy agendas.

The analytical trajectory of the shift in the study of food relations from its early cultural-anthropological origins to a broader political field of interest has been marked by transformations in the production and circulation of agro-products, as a result of an enhanced global trading system driven by private and international regulatory actors (Higgins & Lawrence, 2005; Morgan, Marsden, & Murdoch, 2006). Food riots, food related diseases, and the increasing power of transnational chain retailers to determine the food regime for both producers and consumers, has significantly altered the situating of people's relationships with food within a global imaginary of risk and contestation (Ilcan & Phillips, 2003; Konefal, Mascarenhas, & Hatanaka, 2005; McMichael, 1994, 2000; Temel, 2006; Smith, 1998). In this sense, the recent interest in food politics has largely developed within the analytical framework of globalization.

Undeniably, there is an ongoing restructuring of food production, quality standardization, and retailing as well as flows of consumer taste and preference, all of which imply intense interactions with and drastic effects on, localities around the world. Yet, despite the growing number of directions in which food politics is pulled, much more investigation is needed in terms of a politics of food that examines the multi-scalar political, social and ecological implications of the production, consumption, and regulation of food. This includes, in particular, its vital links to the socio-spatial remaking

of cities and urban livelihoods which are being shaped by forces that are local and global, organized and spontaneous, centralized and scattered.

Politics of Food in the City

Examining the post-socialist transformation of food relations in Poland and the Czech Republic, Smith and Jehlicka (2007) attend to the query “why food?” as the central question in an emerging food studies research agenda. They emphasize that the articulation of food relations “not only takes different technical and discursive forms, but also takes place within particular political economic and regulatory contexts” referring to a research agenda that is “simultaneously molecular, bodily, social, economic, cultural, global, political, environmental, physical and human geography” (Cook et al, 2006: 348; Freidberg, 2004: 516). The place of food provisioning as a focus for thinking about urban governance is relatively new and calls for attention in order to ground “food politics” (Phillips, 2006) within contemporary urban/spatial dynamics that are “constituted by and through the medium of food” (Lien & Nerlich, 2004: 9). Among the multiple spatial configurations of food regimes, the urban has a substantial role in shaping the social and material processes by which individual bodies are linked to multi-scalar operations of power (Heynen, 2006). In other words, the emphasis on food as a basic need in urban production and reproduction is based on the assumption that food relations are power relations and therefore should be examined by articulating their significance as socially embedded political creations. In this sense, the contribution of food-related research in promoting awareness, political action and analytical mobilization around food issues is incomplete. Much more is needed by way of more nuanced

analyses of food relations and their diverse place-based (social, natural and political) influences on livelihoods. Crucial to such analyses is a focus on cities, where all kinds of cultural, political economic and metabolic (Heynen et al., 2006) interactions are particularly rapid and intense. It is expected that an understanding of the “politics of food” will enable the articulation of food relations as integral to the simultaneously “human and physical, cultural and organic” (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003: 899) political re-appropriation of urban land. Such an approach furthermore, will provide critical openings for a more sensitive approach to urban governance, changes in the spatial order of eating, livelihood provisioning, and urban configurations of state-subject relations.

The Urban as a Social and Material Process

Spatial configuration of food accessibility, as the emphasis of my project, is a fundamental entry point into the complexity of urban livelihoods and reproductive processes. As Swyngedouw and Heynen (2003: 911) express “it is this nexus of power and the social actors carrying it that ultimately decide who will have access to or control over and who will be excluded from access to or control over resources or other components of the environment”, which “in turn, . . . shape the social and political configurations and the urban environments in which we live”. These processes play out in space and result in new maps of livelihood decision-making where “food emerges as an area of struggle as well as a realm of connectivity” (Goodman and Dupuis, 2002: 17). Food processes, as they function in urban social and physical production, suggest critical openings in terms of the wider processes of political change in cities based on indicators

of food availability and modes of access to it. The fields of political ecology and, more specifically, Marxist urban political ecology are important venues for exploring theoretical tools and concepts that lend themselves to deeper understandings of the complexity of power-laden relations between people, nature and space.

Political ecology grew out of a political as well as a theoretical shift in understanding the interrelation between nature and society. Beginning in the 1970s, the field emerged as a critical analytical domain for bringing together issues and concerns about the environment and political economy perspectives (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987). Early on, the focus was the social context of land use and degradation, and the social production of vulnerability, especially “in the underdeveloped world, the tropical, colonial world and areas that appear to be too hot, too cold, too dry, or too high for most people” (Porter, 1978 cited in Kaldjian, 2000: 28). Additional extensions in the study of political ecology were brought about by transferring its insights and tools to the examination of urban environments. Since the 1990s, political ecology’s initially strong association with the geographies of development has shifted to a growing interest in the changing social, cultural and political economic processes and structures shaping environmental change and conflict in general (McCarthy & Prudham, 2004; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003; Wainwright, 2005). As the early focus on exploring “rural” and “natural” settings shifted towards the political economic analysis of urban environments, political ecology has become a field challenging dominant ontological binaries of nature-society, physical-social and urban-rural.

The emergent literature on urban political ecology is largely a reaction to the limitations of global environmental research and the neglect of the “urban origin of many

of the problems” (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003: 899). The urban is understood as constituted by multi-scalar operations of complex political ecological processes that shape the production of urban natures (ibid.). Within this view, nature and society are in a dialectical relationship realized through and resulting in specific historical-geographic forms (Castree, 1995). For Swyngedouw and Heynen, “a just socio-environmental perspective” refers to an emphasis on “the need to consider the question of who gains and who pays and to ask serious questions about the multiple power relations – and the scalar geometry of these relations” (ibid.: 901). Thus, the essence of this research is to explore and expose specific cultural, economic and political forms and processes that bring about uneven urban environments.

The emphasis on the material and social production of urban environments is most explicitly problematized in the historical-geographical materialist perspective of Marxist urban political ecology. Capitalist urbanization is a historically and geographically particular form of “mobilization and transformation of nature” (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003: 902). For Marx, labour “is the universal condition for the metabolic interaction between man and nature” (1978: 177-86) and capitalism refers to a specific arrangement of social relations that give this social and material interaction its particular (partial and provisional) shape through mechanisms of ownership, commodification and control. Historical-geographical materialism is based on the mutually transformative relations between living and nonliving elements of nature (Marx, 1978; Swyngedouw, 2006). Humans, as living organisms and as the primary external transforming agents of nature, are socially and physically (organically) bound by the effects of their exercise of nature. In other words, all material, cultural, and social forms

result from this mutually transformative relationship between nature and humans. Thus, uneven urban natures are “produced through the particular capitalist forms of social organization of nature’s metabolism” (ibid: 910).

The concept of metabolism is critical in expressing the socio-environmental appropriation of space and food in cities and addressing the cityscape as an “assemblage” of human and nonhuman factors constituted through “socio-metabolic processes” (Swyngedouw, 2006: 22). Capitalist urbanization appropriates resources in the “social form of commodities” (ibid.). In other words, commodities are embedded in relations of domination and instances of contestation, within the urban metabolism. Together, flow, circulation and the metaphor of metabolism are “mobilized as guiding vehicles that permit casting urbanization as a dynamic socio-ecological transformation process that fuses together the social and natural in the production of distinct and specific urban environments” (Heynen et al., 2006: 13). The works of Marxist urban political ecology question capitalist organization of social relations and the scalar geometry of its cultural, political, and social forms that shape the reproduction of urban metabolism in ways that benefit some at the expense of others. The perspective also stands for a new research agenda that combines tools and concepts of critical urban theory for a more “integrated and relational” (ibid: 37) understanding of the social and material relations that comprise urban complexity. In the context of the continuous spatial, legal and social reorganization of public and private good under capitalist urbanization, food accessibility, as a power-led articulation of an essential metabolic commodity, is part of this research agenda and requires deeper analysis of its urban configurations.

An empirical investigation of the uneven geographies of food accessibility in the urban context is Heynen's (2006) study of childhood hunger in Milwaukee, WI. Heynen (ibid.: 157) grounds urban hunger as "a natural condition created through complex biochemical processes, as well as a social process produced through power relations dictating who eats what and how much, and who goes hungry". His findings show that low-income African-American children from inner-city areas are likely to suffer from diet deficiency-related health problems (ibid: 166-69). As in many other cities, low income is concentrated in the city's core and the spatial re-organization of these areas, with fewer supermarkets and more fast-food restaurants, limits low-income groups' access to affordable and healthy food. This research demonstrates that the socio-spatial restructuring of the built environment results in malnutrition, which is simultaneously a material (physiological) and a social condition. Likewise, the concentration of diet-related health problems among African-American children exposes the way in which changes in the social appropriation of urban natures transform livelihoods differentially and may take on intersectional dimensions that incorporate identities shaped by ethnicity, age, class, gender, and/or disability.

Neoliberalisms

In my attempt to situate the spatial and temporal re-organization of access to food within the urban realm more generally, neoliberalism comprises a major conceptual tool and analytical framework, particularly in relation to analyses of urban governance. The term neoliberalism is a key element in the critical geographical literature. It addresses a wide range of ecological and social justice issues in the context of the political economic and

regulatory transformations of cities. Although the rise of the term dates back to a reactionary movement of thought against the failures of western welfare states, neoliberalism has come to be understood as a wide-ranging policy framework both in industrialized and developmental contexts. Centred on individual liberty, the tenets of neoliberal ideology (i.e. deregulation, market and entrepreneurial freedoms, private property rights) (Brenner & Theodore, 2002: 350) comprise the core of IMF and World Bank-led development programs, as well as the political economic and social remaking of key capitalist nations (Boyle, McWilliams, & Rice, 2008) At this stage, “neoliberal reform” broadly refers to the extensive social and political economic re-organization of the state. Yet, even in this historiographical (Harvey, 2006a) construction, neoliberal policy frameworks have taken on different political forms and followed various hegemonic paths based on differences in political culture, and the existence and relative dominance of multiple hegemonic elements in different national and regional contexts. According to Harvey (2005: 2), neoliberalism refers to “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade”. Given its discursive claims to universality and to being a series of constantly unfinished projects, always in the process of self-production (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Lerner, 2003; Peck, 2004; Peck & Tickell, 2002), neoliberalism is perpetuated through its self-referential quality.

In other words, the discourse and materiality of neoliberalism as a political project is problematic above all due to its “self-actualizing” (Peck & Tickell, 2002: 382) nature. In terms of individual livelihoods, this perspective is sustained by the critical

fixation of “well-being” as a derivative of proper market functioning together with an extensive modeling of market at all scales of social and private life. Particularly in critical human geography, challenging neoliberalism’s multi-level (policy, ideology, theory) construction as a universal order that is beyond (and above) historical and social context, has led to a burgeoning literature. On both theoretical and empirical grounds, the project has been deconstructed and anchored to historico-geographical parameters in order to enable opportunities for more progressive treatments and a possible reversing of the power relations that are naturalized by neoliberal hegemony. A major analytical step in the critical conceptualization of the term is the shift towards “neoliberalization,” interpreted as continual and actively regulated processes (Peck & Tickell, 2002) by which a specific “social analysis” (Brown, 2003: 7) is imposed and articulated to result in particular social, political, and economic forms, spaces, and subjectivities. This process-based understanding has, above all, challenged the “homogenization” of neoliberalism’s various-level manifestations within any fixed definition (Peck, 2004). Related to this, thinking of neoliberalization as ongoing processes producing and produced upon political, economic and material forms and subjectivities implies a differential, path dependent actualization of these forms in ways that are partial, fragmented and contested (ibid.).

This insight marks an important turn in the conceptual trajectory of the term largely because it proposes an understanding of neoliberalism as operating at various geographical scales (through rescaling); and as a specific political rationality embedded in the “legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002: 349). If a critical

dimension of such an interpretation is the theoretical enabling of “hybrid neoliberalisms” (Dikec, 2007: 27), a further dimension is the critical interweaving of neoliberalism as historical form and conceptual category. These views on neoliberalization and their path dependent manifestations have drawn considerable attention in the geographical literature. However as Dikec maintains, this acknowledgment is not reflected in the uneven geographies of research, “inspired by UK, US and to some extent, Canadian cities and states” (ibid.).

While there are historically and contextually diverse neoliberalisms articulated at various levels of abstraction, all involve scalar re-configurations of capitalism towards global flows and networks bringing cities into the vanguard of global competition. In the mutual re-production of urban scale and neoliberalization, Brenner and Theodore (2002: 375) underscore the role of cities as “strategic targets for a broad range of neoliberal policy experiments, institutional innovations, and politico-ideological projects”. It is now widely accepted that the critical undoing of hegemonic constructions of the neoliberal metanarrative necessitates the analysis of these diverse socio-spatial manifestations (Harvey, 2000; Smith, 2002b). Still, despite the emphasis on variations in social, political and ecological consequences of path dependent neoliberal urbanization, this research agenda lacks investigations into the mutual constitution of urban space and symbolic and practical neoliberalism(s) in diverse contexts where state-society relations are based on varying institutional topographies.

Articulating “Actually Existing Neoliberalism” from Below

In the context of the neoliberal restructuring of socio-metabolic processes of urban production, the everyday as time frame and topography is a key realm of political power and social regulation. Bottom-up treatments of governmental operations through explorations of everyday forms of social regulation have been developed particularly in critical studies of urban environmental governance¹⁵. Within this specific thread of research, everyday manifestations of the social organization of environmental management, and constituting of urban citizens within transformed spaces, “rights, obligations and sense of place” (ibid.) are central to examining micro processes of urban governmental techniques and discursive representations to re-produce “nature” in cities. In light of parallel arguments, Keil (2002: 583-84) suggests that urban neoliberalism refers to a certain political rationality that involves the “contradictory re-regulation of everyday life in the city”. Central to this project then, is a new political subject whose existence is conditioned by rational choice, calculation, and competition. Drawing on the Lefebvrian theorization of the everyday, Keil (2002) identifies it as the realm where imperatives of capitalism are imposed on individual experiences.

The everyday is spatio-temporally heterogeneous in the sense that it is an assemblage of formal and informal encounters between subjects and regulation during processes of production and reproduction. Urban transformation processes involve the social re-organization of everyday forms and practices which imply deeply uneven spatial consequences and adjustments to “the rights and obligations of urban citizens and their

¹⁵ In *Discourses of the Environment*, Eric Darier (1999), locates urban environmentalism within current debates on neoliberal urbanisation, and critically links it with Foucault’s work in a way that extends biopolitics to include governing of all life forms and ecological concerns, at a global scale.

sense of place in the new urban order” (Brand, 2007). In this sense, urban neoliberalism as a mode of regulation can be perceived as the bottom-up re-regulation of subjectivities and life-worlds (i.e. spaces, actions and means of life).

Political rationality approaches, too, enable a frame of reference to examine the contextual ways in which the “microphysics of power” (Lemke, 2000: 11-2), intertwine with the macro constitution of political economy. Political rationality accounts interpret actually existing (neoliberal) forms as the conditional (Larner, 2001) and “not only or even primarily focused on the economy; rather . . . extending and disseminating market values to all institutions and social action, even as the market itself remains a distinctive player” (Brown, 2003: 7). Such a rationality imposes a certain social landscape and its processes involve “transformation of politics that restructures the power relations in society” (Lemke, 2000: 11). It “constitutes individuals and institutions” (Dikec, 2007: 25) and imposes the market as the “natural” realm of all (social and material) interaction. Neoliberal rationality perspectives present government as a “continuum”. Therefore it is premised not merely on a set of new regulatory techniques, but equally on the production of its subjects and spaces. The state as an institutional assemblage, and subjectivities, are both within the governmental continuum and are both subject to change.

To propose neoliberalism as a particular political rationality is to recognize that its processes involve practices and orientations that are dispersed among formal apparatuses, institutional agendas, and the actions and perceptions of diverse and anonymous actors. Such acknowledgment draws attention to assuming it as “programmatically coherent” processes realized in a consistent flow (Rose, 1996a). Larner (2000: 245-47) suggests, alternatively, that the concept of governmental “assemblages” should refer to the “messy

actualities” through which processes of neoliberalization materialize. She assumes that the consistent operation of neoliberal rationality through abstract subjects of a market society is constantly challenged and contested in the world of actual subjects. In fact, this aspect is key in emphasizing its dynamic and dialectical nature in perpetually producing and re-calibrating power techniques.

A reversed interest in micro-settings of neoliberal social ordering provides the theoretical basis for a political engagement with neoliberal rationality in terms of “the ways in which [it] might get at people’s everyday lives” (Harris, 2009: 59). To this end, based on PM relocations, I explore a reversed, bottom up and subject centred representation of actually existing neoliberal urban governance by voicing spatial and economic processes through subjects’ experience. In this way, I intend to “see” and make sense of what municipal change means and how it materializes in subjects’ practices in key reproductive settings. Such an approach to governance prioritizes subjects and relies on the thick information gained by their told stories – their language and narratives. For future urban research looking to adopt bottom-up perspectives and produce nuanced knowledge about the diverse urban settings of the political regulation of socio-metabolic articulations of neoliberal restructuring, further key dimensions remain: subject formation, the reproductive realm, and the right to the city. These will be discussed next.

Formation of Subjects

Theories of political rationality warn against a priori constructions of the state, market and society; and, as such, reject analytical treatments of societal entities as “ready-made objects” (Foucault, 2007: 118). Rather, instruments and bodies of governance constitute

objects of analysis in their capacities to define (Dikec, 2007), address and formulate solutions for societal issues and problems (Nadesan, 2008). The political rationality perspective suggests that neoliberal governance, as an object of inquiry, involves “heterogeneous assemblages of mechanisms, bodies, techniques, and knowledges through which particular rationalities get translated, practiced, performed and produce particular effects” (Merriman, 2005: 237; Nadesan, 2008). Thus, the extended view of governance in neoliberal rationality redirects focus onto the “indirect and relational” (Brand, 2007: 623) operations of power in shaping policy agendas, instruments and the institutional development of enclosed spaces and structures of urban governance. The main implication of such an analytical articulation of urban governance as the partial and dispersed unfolding of neoliberal political rationality, in this sense, is the need to explore its specific spatial, material and discursive forms and processes as they are experienced in the form of everyday social practices.

Governmental power in its historically and contextually specific neoliberal manifestation is embedded and dispersed among agents, and shifting forms and spaces of the societal realm. This is to say, neoliberal rationality is premised on the constitution of subjects “within and by social relations” (Nadesan, 2008: 10). Formation of subjects is key in extending analysis to contemporary forms of power circulating across all social realms and is linked with the theoretical and methodological shift from a focus on “governing from a distance” towards political explorations of the performative realm of “technologies of the self” (Foucault, 1988) While becoming subjects, “individuals act upon themselves” (Nadesan, 2008: 9) producing “heterogenous processes and practices by means of which [they] come to relate to themselves and others as subjects of a certain

type”(Rose, 1996b: 38). In this sense, the realm of subject constitution is a complex one that connects different analytical levels and enriches them by situating power in its relational and politically contested lifeworld settings.

Processes of subject formation are an important aspect of the question of “what is particularly neo-liberal about neoliberalization?”. Foucault’s own uncompleted treatment of “neoliberal political rationality” bears no direct relation¹⁶ to current threads in neoliberal governmentality studies which centre on the various legal-bureaucratic, cultural, geographic and ecologic manifestations of market-led economic and social change along with a certain (economic) construction of globality. Based on the postwar transformations of the American and German states, Foucault observed “economic positivism” (Foucault, 2008: 323) to be the dominant political rationale in both national contexts and traced its links with classical liberalism in order to explain the differential articulations of liberal technologies across domains “which are not exclusively or primarily economic” (ibid.: 247). Central to this project was the liberal “economic man”, or in Foucault’s terms: the “man of exchange” (ibid.: 224), whose ontology was comprised of a priori inclinations towards rational choice and utility maximisation. As Hamann (2009) explains, the neo in neoliberal rationality is rooted in technologies of power that “target life” directly (Nadesan, 2008: 2) and transform the concept of “economic man” as a pre-given liberal entity into an abstract societal unit, or subjectivity, that needs to be actively produced and politically articulated both in space and in the extended social realm through practices, individual experience.

¹⁶ According to Foucault, the tenet of classical liberalism is exchange whereas “neo” in neoliberalism refers to extension of the market as a societal model by making economic activity the basis for social and political relations through competition. The origins of this argument are in his 1978-79 course lectures where he cross-examines the West German Ordo-liberals and Chicago School neoliberalism (Hamann, 2009).

Although Foucault's diverse conceptions of power (i.e. sovereign, disciplinary, pastoral, and biopower) are contextualized historically, they are not unique to the forms of government in which they were defined, but constitute clusters and complement each other in transforming systems of power (Hamann, 2009; Nadesan, 2008). The range through which power is encountered as a "political economy of the body" (Foucault, 1995) is vast and involves multi-scalar social, economic and metabolic processes that require a spatially sensitive, reversed or bottom-up social power analysis. In treatments of neoliberal rationality, this means advancing and linking analyses of modern subject formation (through scientific means of "governing from a distance") with the realm of neoliberal subject making by governing the subtleties and complexities of everyday life. Put differently, although the main concern of analyzing biopower is to examine the diverse juridical, educational and penal unfolding of "seeing like a state" (Hannah, 2000; Scott, 1999), there also are rich opportunities in complementary analyses of "seeing the state" (Corbridge, Srivastava, & Véron, 2005); that is, looking at neoliberal restructuring and subject formation through the (significant) trivia of market-led bio-economics that shape everyday life in its micro- settings and scales. As a bio-economic entity, the neoliberal subject's encounters with power inform the diverse ways in which the macro-dynamics of social change are articulated and performed as everyday experiences through the micro settings of livelihood. From a geographic perspective, the significance of emphasizing neoliberalism as a particular form of social ordering through subject making lies in representing individuals not merely as social and corporeal entities, "but also as spatialized arrangements or 'enfoldings', 'a kind of machination, a hybrid of flesh, artefact, knowledge, passion, and technique'" (Brand, 2007: 619).

With an increasing number of people living amidst higher levels of precariousness in cities, urban is the scale at which (Smith, 2002b) subjects are formed, re-formed and responsabilized intensively for and through the material and social reproduction of their bodies and livelihoods. Strongly tied to this are changes in the realm of access to urban resources which have become nodes of overlapping spatial and temporal patterns in which immediate and faraway places are linked with short and long-term concerns of well-being. These changes in the accessibility of urban reproductive resources are experienced in the form of dynamic decision-making and resource allocation reconstituting and normalizing subjects in a discourse of entrepreneurialism (of themselves) (Hamann, 2009). At the same time, this very discourse of winners and losers helps to legitimize the resulting vulnerability and socio-spatial (in)justices as marginal outcomes (Dikec, 2007). The following sub-section deals further with these ideas by elaborating first, on the significance of an integral understanding of the reproductive realm, and second, on its gendered dimensions, with regard to the material and social articulation of food accessibility in reconstituting urban subjects. It further elaborates on the care giver status of women as gendered subjects in the case study context and specifies their multiple involvements as food provisioners.

Gender and the Reproductive Realm

The subject of neoliberal rationality is a metabolic unit whose bio-economic potential is a function of complex networks of social, economic and bio-chemical reproduction in cities. In order to evaluate the political content of the transformations taking place in these networks, substantive attention to women's experiences of neoliberal restructuring

is of crucial importance due to the gender dynamics across definitions, scales, and cycles of social and metabolic reproduction in cities. In other words, gender dynamics are the preeminent focus of a theoretically nuanced and spatio-temporally sensitive approach to everyday life and reproduction (Harcourt & Escobar, 2005). Men and women, based on their gendered bio-economic roles and responsibilities, are subject to different social imperatives, making them agents in different biopolitical processes. These differential experiences intensify at the household level where women are responsible for a wide span of reproductive activities (Harcourt & Escobar, 2005).

“Reproduction” (Ginsburg & Rapp, 1991) requires a comprehensive understanding in order to critically and sufficiently articulate its political meanings in the gendered conditions of everyday livelihood decision-making. The scalar and temporal complexity of livelihood provisioning implies the difficulty of theorizing reproduction through binary understandings of short term-long term, public-private and social-physical. Depending on context, reproduction may refer to the various activities and ways that ensure the physical, social and economic maintenance of life. As Hiroko (2005) explains, biological reproduction is the pre-requisite of, and is implicit in, all other connotations of the term. The second and most commonly cited meaning of the term is economic reproduction, referring to activities that foster the continuity of (capitalist) economic relations by facilitating the “non-productive” life worlds of the labour force. Thirdly, and related to the first two, are the socio-political dimensions of reproduction (ibid.) which refer to the different levels of socialization that take place as biological and economic activities are carried out in the wider social assemblage.

Neoliberalization entails the gradual blurring and removal of the existing boundaries between the private and public by converging the two in market ethics (Hamann, 2009; Walters, 2001). A widely acknowledged aspect of neoliberal political rationality is deeming the family as consisting of groups of economic individuals. Responsibilization of family plays out at various spatial and temporal levels of reproduction but is overtly manifest in the home since these processes affect women's and men's lives differentially given the gendered dynamics of household level livelihood arrangements. (Hiroko, 2005) With its association with both the material (economic, biological, environmental and physical spatial) and the non-material (social, cultural, political, and spatio-temporal) dynamics of livelihood, the household is a critical level at which to examine the micro-constitution of power in everyday life.

Despite the neoliberal focus on the family as a preferred social grouping, the household rather than the family constitutes a better analytical unit for addressing the nuances of everyday bio-economic interaction and the bottom-up approach being argued for here. Spatial variants such as location, housing type and variations in domestic arrangements are integral to the materiality of households in contrast to the aspatial and nonmaterial connotations of the term "family". Examining neoliberal restructuring at the level of household is pivotal to grasping the dynamic, historical, relational, and deeply gendered processes in which individuals re-produce themselves within specific temporal and spatial frameworks. From this perspective, unlike the family unit, the analytical category (household) refers to a material/spatial and temporal collective that is constituted by, and itself is a determinant of, the multi-scalar interactions between the social, economic, and ecological configurations of power.

The emphasis of my study is on the everyday constitution of gendered subjects in places of reproduction. In order to overcome the so-called reproductive-productive distinction and to present a much more nuanced and integral understanding of the gender dynamics of the reproductive realm, I suggest food accessibility as a relational term which should be evaluated in-depth, rather than using nominally based a-spatial material and non-material identifiers such as income, status and so on. To do so, I unpack accessibility as consisting of several components, including availability, affordability, acceptability, and agency. I first trace availability, affordability, and acceptability in relation to their individual and social dimensions, in order to make sense of how these components relate to subjects' agency, and particularly the political dimensions of agency. In order to clarify agency, I invoke the concept of "sense" as discussed by Hildebrand-Nilshon et al. (2001). For them, "sense" is an identifying feature in the constitution of subjects, that is, subjectification and the processes relevant to it (Foucault, 1988). Drawing on Foucault, the authors refer to subjectification as "all the ways in which a person transforms him or herself into a subject" (ibid., 2001: 1; Hildebrand-Nilshon & Papadopoulos, 1998). Power-led social, spatial, and economic rationalization of the world constantly renders "sense" irrelevant, and functions to diminish the validity of this individual capacity in both expression and experience. This analysis presents a critical deconstruction of accessibility as a means of revealing a more nuanced understanding of agency as seen through the lens of "sense". In other words, subjects' feelings and conceptions of autonomy and creativity guide their acts in repetitive and intensely rationalized processes of food provisioning. Put differently, I identify the spatial, social, and economic restrictions imposed on the sense-based agency of

provisioning subjects. In the context of market-led rationalization of livelihood resources in the urban realm, women have a key function in sustaining material and social reproduction at the individual, household, and urban scales. Agency, defined as women's subjective perceptions and ways of acting in individual foodscapes, emerges as the key parameter for assessing the political meanings central to transformed access to food. A relational and gender-sensitive approach to accessibility and reproduction enables an analytical framework to co-articulate the lived (affordability, acceptability, and availability of food) and imposed and negotiated political facets of provisioning in the city.

The Right to the City

Incorporation of the city as both a target and the battleground for social justice is crucial for identifying the political as well as the ontological shift in the status of cities from techno-bureaucratic containers of national politics towards socio-spatial complexities that are both material and experiential (Lefebvre, 1991). “The right to the city” is a now well-known framework for bringing together debates on democracy and the diverse contents, modes, and scales at which individuals relate to cities. The idea is historically associated with urban mass movements that both claimed the city and mobilized it as a means to extend participation. A major implication of these social transformations with respect to the relation between government and subjects was the creation of a social citizenry for whom the city was the political site where individual lives were “organized, assembled, and rendered meaningful” (Isin 2008 266).

The right to the city represents an analytical as well as a political turning point in transposing “the question of governing the city” onto the level of inquiring the “rationalities of governing cities” (Isin, 2002: 306). Instead of projecting “the city as an enclosed, territorialized, and hierarchical container of the political rather than as a spatialized, deterritorialized, and reterritorialized network of governing rationalities” (Magnusson 2000 cited in Isin 2002, 309), the framework envisions the city itself as a means of and ground for political struggle. Unlike the individual definition and exercise of democratic rights, the framework calls for a collective right to experience the urban as a means to “change ourselves” (Harvey, 2008: 23). The scope of the right to the city, thus, extends beyond distribution and reversal of injustices in “access to urban resources” (ibid.). It rather expresses a certain spatial configuration of “social relatedness” (Appudurai & Holston, 1996, 197) and “a claim not only to a right as to justice within the existing legal system but a right on a higher moral plane that claims a better system in which the demands can be fully and entirely met” (Marcuse, 2009: 193).

Changes in social security, health and education systems have drastically affected subjects' patterns of living and the ways in which they relate to political structures. The gradual elimination of society as a fundamental political category and the contraction of the social institutional landscape are accompanied by the moral order of entrepreneurialism and penal attitudes towards poverty and counter-action. An accelerated reframing of “society” in economic terms characterizes a revised understanding of state re-formation, which, in turn, relies largely on global dynamics of competition and economic integration. This line of argument is now widely acknowledged in the interdisciplinary literature on critical political economy of

globalization and neoliberalization in diverse geographical scales and contexts. It is also the case that cities and the urban dynamics of these processes constitute a major focus for these investigations. Yet, as Purcell (2002, 2003, 2007) highlights, inquiries into the socially, economically and environmentally detrimental effects of the processes need further articulation by taking into account and relating these analyses to the political content of subjects' relations with political legitimacy and inclusion.

Purcell (2007) draws attention to the prevalence of democracy as an underlying and unproblematic "background" in critical analyses of economic globalization and neoliberal restructuring of the urban scale. This is a hegemonic obstacle and an ontological error contributing to the difficulty of envisioning progressive alternatives. Thus there is the need for a rescaling of research on neoliberal transformation in cities in a manner that acknowledges and interrogates "the complex specifics" (Purcell 2002; 2007: 198) of relating the mutually constitutive parameters and agents of eco/geo/bio-politics at the micro level. Questioning the redefinition of the urban political realm through the lens of the material and experiential specificity of everyday life may open up new perspectives on the myriad ways that the relationship between the state and subjects is configured and mediated through space. That is, to the extent that neoliberal political rationality entails an universal, economic representation of the world based on a free market ideal, critical analysis need to be politicized at all scales of specificity and concreteness, including the scale of lived experience (both practices, and perceptions), in order to enable alternative projections of democracy and the right to the city.

Conclusion

This chapter addressed the theories and concepts that opened up and situated everyday settings of social and material reproduction within the complex politics that are shaping livelihoods in Istanbul. It began with an emphasis on the need for a politics of food aimed at accentuating the potential to address the political significance of food provisioning in reconstituting livelihoods and state - subject positions at the urban scale. The aim was to highlight the importance of exploring the accessibility of food resources as part of a wider yet relational political economic analysis of transformations in changing urban environments.

Food per se and the need to nourish, constitute a complex phenomenological category at all cycles and scales of life including cities, where food is a primary need for urban, household and individual social and metabolic reproduction. As politically dominated physical and abstract spaces, urban food networks represent an assemblage of subjects' intense performative and emotional interactions in individual foodscapes. Places where reproductive processes take place are, thus, the nexus of subjects' everyday experience of power as it operates through bodies, decisions and one's sense of self, in relation to short and long-term political-economic, physiological and ecological consequences. It is from within this spatio-temporal flux of politics that I intend to approach the material and social complexity of contemporary livelihoods in order to evaluate the various political implications of political economic transformation and namely of neoliberal urban governance in Istanbul.

Part II: Storytelling

Chapter 4 Methods and Methodological Evaluations: Engaging People, Place, and Time

“There is no story that is not true” (Achebe, 1994, p. 141).

Introduction

This chapter explains the research tools and steps developed to investigate the social reorganization of spaces of reproduction and food accessibility in Istanbul's transformed weekly market network. Developing the methodological framework for any inquiry has political and analytical implications (Katz, 1994) and thus, this chapter also problematizes these implications in relation to engaging women's experiences in individual foodscapes. While conducting research, “the problem of place and voice is ultimately a problem of power” (Appadurai, 1988) and can at best be acknowledged by adopting a research strategy that recognizes the partiality of knowledge, the complexity of phenomena, and avoids fixed, stable, and objective claims to truth (Dwyer & Limb, 2001). Inevitably, there is a “localizing strategy” (Katz, 1994) embedded in research, and methodologies are the key means for testing the limits and revealing the limitations of the subjective realm as justified by the researcher.

Based on these considerations, my research is designed to apply critical qualitative analysis together with quantitative and visual representations of the meanings, sites and patterns of urban livelihoods as they are re-shaped under neoliberal governance

of a key food provisioning network. Through an integrated approach and multiple applications of in-depth, spatial, and statistical tools, the project interrogates “multiply positioned actors” and their experiences so as to converge on the complexity of real life challenges, with a concern to efface the boundaries set by any attempt to narrate social phenomena (ibid.). Centred on biographical accounts on food accessibility in the context of Istanbul’s transformed periodic market network, the research is designed to investigate the everyday experiences of provisioning women’s formation and experience of individual foodscapes across the life course. The inquiry at the same time concerns assessing provisioning women’s long term engagement in spaces of regulation and perceptions of their social and material wellbeing as citizen subjects. The following sections present the methodological context, research steps, procedures, and challenges that have shaped the design of my analysis.

Gender-informed Research

I articulate gender as a key analytical category in order to interpret critically the social and material meanings and political implications derived from provisioning subjects’ personal accounts of their collective and individual experiences in transformed urban foodscapes. This approach is consistent with a feminist perspective, sharing the view that the world, as a social and material entity, is constituted by power relations resulting in uneven consequences for different parties. Thus, critical research is seen as a means of exposing and, where and when applicable, reversing the dynamics that maintain and reproduce the unequal operandi of social power. Gender-informed research is a political undertaking to the extent that it challenges dominant structures, discourses and patterns

of power in their various scalar and historical constructions. The research process itself is an indispensable part of this standpoint, including the steps of refining the research question, developing an analytical framework, designing methods, and the actual research encounter. Adopting a gender informed research methodology above all requires acknowledging that methodological tools, just like research questions and conceptual frameworks, are strategies implemented through the mastery of the researcher which is a hybrid and non-homogenous cross section of professional, educational/disciplinary, emotional, and ideological clusters that compose his/her personal biography/archeology. In line with my own take on the critical deconstruction of one's partial, fluid and multiple existences in the process of producing knowledge I make "visible" the following assumptions that guide my analysis:

1. Food provisioning is central to sustainable livelihoods in cities and everywhere else.
2. Food networks are contextually specific spatial, economic, biological, ecological, and regulatory urban forms. These forms lead to different places and routines of social and material reproduction, leading to changes in individual food environments and accessibility patterns.
3. Livelihoods rely on accessible resources and on the constitution of provisioning subjects to ensure continuous material and social reproduction. Subjects are constituted in and as a result of the dynamics that are led by social power.
4. Gender is the primary identifier of the social and material organization of reproduction. The gendered division of provisioning tasks shapes long and short term sustenance of livelihoods at the household level.

5. The analysis recognizes the ways in which gender interacts with age, ethnicity, ability, culture and other determinants in characterizing the ways cities are governed and women's individual and collective experiences as citizens.

6. Provisioning women's interactions in transformed PMs is a gateway for exploring with them, their capacity to redefine and to act, both at the scale of individual foodscapes as well as at the scale of the wider urban material and social realm.

Women's Lives and Livelihoods

How different is living from “making a livelihood?” is a critical question which informs my reference to the often collectivized and vaguely incorporated category of “urban livelihoods”. I address this by articulating livelihood as much as possible through the stories of concrete subjects living transitional and gendered individual lives. A common tendency among livelihood perspectives that must be problematized at the onset is the representation of livelihood strategizing as reactive measures to cope with and overcome the vulnerabilities and socio-metabolic restrictions imposed by “roll out” and “roll back” processes of neoliberalization. Depending on the context, livelihood diversification may indeed take on forms that aim at “getting by” (Secor, 2003) or reversing a certain “threat” and thereby preserving the existing level of access to key resources. However, it is important to note that livelihood practices theorized as such convey those who exercise them to a limited range of responsiveness (Smith, 2002a). In other words, to situate livelihood provisioning merely as the realm of strategies against the vulnerabilities brought on by social re-ordering, undermines subjects as agents within the political metanarrative of market expansion. Furthermore, such a position, that is, defining

livelihood as the “means of negotiating class, gender, and race constraints of a hegemonic capitalism” (Smith, 2002a, 235), results in essentialist assumptions of global, formal, male, and corporate as distinct, dominant and active categories in relation to categories of local, informal, and female.

In the light of these evaluations, my approach to provisioning is inspired by Gibson Graham’s “alternative project of reading the economy for difference rather than dominance” which deals with the grammar needed to represent the economy “as it really is”. Likewise, in the study, it is my aim to “write” actually existing (micro) economies of provisioning in PMs and how these are comprised of diverse forms of exchange, labour and enterprise albeit predominantly in capitalist modes (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 59). Social and physical management of reproduction involves place-based complexities of practices, beliefs, and perceptions that are, to varying degrees, rooted in and interacting with multiple economic, cultural, and social bases. Taken together, changes in the organization of PMs imply certain challenges and trends that are critical for understanding biopolitical pressures on urban livelihoods. They also suggest a certain implementation of formal power and represent the urban outlook, which characterizes several critical aspects of contemporary urbanism and changing state-subject relations in Turkey.

Gendered conceptions of care and nurturing are at the core of culturally and historically diverse constructions of the food-body relationship. Gender and provisioning are mutually constructed categories which operate in and through provisioning bodies who both attribute meanings to and are defined by the everyday experience of care work which simultaneously arise from and result in "a place called home"(Massey, 1992).

Home, both as spatial form and in reference to ideologies of domesticity, is central to the socio-spatial organization of care at the individual level of the body and at the collective scale of household. Although most roles and responsibilities of the female provisioning subject are strongly associated with the home (as enclosed physical space), and with those activities carried out in and for making the private space of home (as abstract familial unit), the spatial aspect of domesticity permeates public-private boundaries. In this way, home both as conception and as the place and product of reproductive routines involves dynamic constructions of geographic scale. Feminine care can be defined as the collective (individual, household, and societal) good emerging from the gendered mediation of this dynamism, and is therefore central to the multiscalar organization of social and material reproduction.

The gendered provisioning subject strategically works out, negotiates and contests the socially constructed boundaries of public and private in order to fulfill her role as caregiver on an everyday basis. Gregson and Lowe (1994) divide reproductive tasks into distinct categories given the multiplicity of sites where women are active as care givers in completing a range of paid and unpaid reproductive work. In this categorization, it is suggested that: home as physical space is negotiable and differential in most tasks relating to "generational reproduction" such as childcare, and those tasks "which reproduce adult labour power on a day-to-day basis"- above all food provisioning (227). Food related reproductive tasks include mental and physical activities such as planning, shopping, preserving, cooking, and presenting food and are often accompanied by a continuous flow of information regarding price, variety, nutritional value, origin, and processing of foodstuffs. Women's cyclical and gendered engagement with the

provisioning matrix also implies a dynamic individually-customized mapping of the collective (markets, shops, food blogs) and private (kitchen space, family dining table) sites where provisioning ideas and activities extend. These culturally informed and socio-economically and spatially negotiated settings and routines comprise provisioning women's individual foodscapes. The subjective spatiality of individual foodscapes is where restrictions imposed on resource accessibility are interpreted and put into action as everyday provisioning strategies.

Agro-food production in Istanbul has to a large extent diminished and urban subjects are predominantly consumers in urban food networks. Therefore my approach to gathering individual food biographies situates provisioning subjects primarily as consumers. Still, this does not imply that care providers and their households are not productive agents considering the multiplicity of forms of economic interaction that exceed narrow definitions of production and consumption. This line of argument is drawn from Smith's evaluation of household food production in a post-communist context where he defines these processes as "undertaken in complex articulation with 'formal' economic relations but . . . constituted differently and . . . characterized by non-capitalist class processes concerning the production and appropriation of economic surpluses" (Smith, 2002a: 235). This is a crucial dimension since sensitivity for the multiplicity of economic activities enables a nuanced layout of available and restricted resources. This aspect also enables a closer view of the changing dynamics of household organization triggered by changes in provisioning patterns (Oberhauser & Hanson, 2007).

With respect to the remaking of cities, neoliberalism refers to the re-representing of socio-metabolic considerations vis-à-vis an expanding realm of production (Smith,

2002b: 435). In my interest to explore transformations in gendered dimensions of urban food accessibility, I make sense of the neoliberal restructuring of livelihoods by theoretically and empirically articulating the politics of social and temporal exclusion through the “concrete specificity of daily experience” (Pratt & Yeoh, 2003: 160). This stance recognizes neoliberalization as the active formation of subjects through their experiences of rights, places, perceptions and practices of social and material production.

Agency and the Role of the Care-giver

I engage Ojakangas’s (2005) notion of “care” and the Foucauldian notion of biopower in order to relate the changes in provisioning women's individual foodscapes to a discussion of the political reconstitution of subjects through actions and perceptions in spaces of reproduction. Ojakangas (ibid., 13) maintains that life “as the object and the subject of biopower . . . is the multiplicity of the forms of life, from the nutritive life to the intellectual life, from the biological levels of life to the political existence of man”; and, that “. . . the hidden foundation of biopolitics is love (agape) and care (cura), ‘care for individual life’” (ibid., 5). I interrogate the changing perceptions and interactions of female household providers in which these experiences are associated with the consolidation of a paradigmatic urban figure performing and perceived primarily and fundamentally from a (feminine/maternal) care perspective. In the current Istanbul context, these processes unfold in a distinct yet partial neo-liberal reorganization of the urban foodscape which not only imposes the market as the paradigmatic model and space of “accessibility” at all levels of organizing “life” (liberalism), but also works to actively construct the abstract gendered societal unit – or subjectivity – from which its legitimacy

and continuity are derived. Here, accessibility is articulated in terms of the parameters of availability, affordability, acceptability, and agency. This is because a critical deconstruction of accessibility enables a relational understanding of it, as something that is dynamically related to place and negotiated by subjects' "sense" of autonomy and creativity in intensely gendered, repetitive, and rationalized processes of care work. Among the components of accessibility, I make a distinction between availability, affordability, acceptability, and agency. I do so since the first three refer to subjects' dynamic relationship with the economy, geography, and culture of food provisioning mostly in material terms, that is, those components of accessibility that relate to the physical (spatial and material) availability, acceptability, and affordability of food. In terms of agency, my emphasis is political, referring to the agency of subjects while they perform food provisioning tasks. I draw attention to this component in particular, since the impact and political content in the material shifts in accessibility not only of food but other key resources can be fully grasped only by grounding the concept (and analysis) in the intuitive subjective realm where most livelihood decisions are negotiated.

I invoke the concept of "sense" to further clarify the meaning of agency as a component of accessibility. Hildebrand-Nilshon et al. (2001) suggest "sense" as an identifying feature in the constitution of subjects, that is, subjectification and the processes relevant to it (Foucault, 1988). Drawing on Foucault, the authors refer to subjectification as "all the ways in which a person transforms him or herself into a subject" (ibid., 2001: 1; Hildebrand-Nilshon and Papadopoulos, 1998). Sense is then introduced as "the sphere we enter every time we speak" (2001: 3). Subjectification is a power-led process in which "we" as subjects are taught to learn rationalizing the world in

a way to render the "voice" of sense irrelevant, and invalidate its relevance in both expression and performance. Sense, as the writers go on to explain (2001: 4), is the personal logical state each child experiences at an early developmental stage where he/she reproduces general facts in unique individual reinterpretations. Through gendered processes of social and educational formation and interaction, the gap between "personal" and "common" sense is overcome; in other words, the normalization of life across various scales of experience and perception. The subordination of sense is a key dynamic of subject formation and signifies the deactivation of a unique individual sphere of meanings and action. This deactivation occurs gradually and partially and cannot be qualified given i) the problematic of expression (Hildebrand – Nilsson et al., 2001), ii) its assessment, and iii) the complex topography of intuitive awareness. This topography extends selectively from past into the future, is layered with individual and collective experiences of emotions, knowledge, values, etc.; and influences present actions – ways of doing and knowing. Its development involves gradual, repetitive inscription of past and future associations with certain, familiar places and ways of doing. The subordination of these associations and their spatial and performative inscriptions during processes of subjectification represents the (geo)political domination of an individual relational geography of actual and possible ways of living: that is, subordination of a capacity to act and of expression. Sense in relation to women's subjective – actual and possible – perceptions and ways of acting in individual foodscapes, is a critical dimension for assessing the political meaning central to these transformations. Thus, despite the difficulty of assessing and qualifying the role of sense in individuals' actions, it is essential to acknowledge that the capacity to act in both actual and possible ways is a

resource in the making and becoming of subjects. The agency component of food accessibility (re)presents an understanding of the ongoing, inevitable gap between women's actual/preferred ways of performing and the applicability of this capacity to reproductive tasks in the context of the intense rationalization and commercialization of everyday food environments. A relational understanding of subjective agency rather than one which attributes to provisioning women "a mere positioning between power relations" (2001: 7) was constitutive in constructing the methodological approach to the research. The analysis engages provisioning women as agents with differential ways and abilities of threading subjective capacity in adapting and responding to the emergent accessibility patterns – places, forms, and routines. This approach also references the ways in which the individual realm of sense is constituted by these processes.

Overview

This study is based on qualitative, participatory interview research with forty "non-marginalized" women who are core providers of food-related care work in their households. My use of the term "non-marginalized" parallels Hopkins and Pain's (2007: 287) observation about feminist geography's overwhelming emphasis on subjects who are "at the margins" with respect to diverse exceptional circumstances experienced on a group or individual basis. War, environmental disasters, economic hardships and migratory flows are broadly at the heart of these circumstances in which women's and other gendered subjects' lives are altered and deeply challenged, exposing them to risk and leading to multiple vulnerabilities. Women's experiences are also widely scrutinized based mainly on ethnic, religious, linguistic associations at a certain scale and in a certain

region, country or societal group. Although my analysis will rely on this body of critical feminist literature which concerns women and their lives at its core, I try to represent the complexity of "making do" for those who perceive their socio-economic status "in the centre"¹⁷. In other words, the focus of this project is on the overlooked livelihoods of subjects who, at first sight, do not reflect a clearly identifiable determinant of their lifestyle, socio-economic status, health condition, location etc. Yet, being "in the middle" as all the study informants self-identify, implies complex relations of access and exclusion in the context of Istanbul's intense socio-economic and spatial transformation of everyday provisioning environments. For the purposes of this research, these settings above all centre on women's activities in relation to and perceptions of periodic markets. But the analysis seeks to explore a broader everyday geography of provisioning that concerns women's construction and articulation of scale and place through their multiple use and associations of home, supermarkets, malls, school canteens, restaurants, kitchens, gardens, and parents' pantries.

As such, for the purposes of this research, forty gendered subjects were interviewed on the basis of 1) food-provisioning status within the household and 2) proximity to a displaced and/or merged PM which was formerly well established and had a central influence on food circulation in the neighbourhood of residence. The contribution of food-related research focusing on cities has mostly been in the context of the vulnerabilities and controversies surrounding the lives of (economically, racially, and other) marginalized urban groups. Likewise, geographical research on food provisioning concentrates intensely on contexts and subjects identified on the basis of severe

¹⁷ *Ortada, orta halli* in Turkish. A common way of referring to one's political views and socio-economic status.

political/social conflict and/or exceptional economic/environmental conditions. I believe analytical mobilization around food and cities calls for critical attention shifted equally towards the emergent patterns of accessibility by focusing on the challenges experienced by “non-marginalized” (Hopkins & Pain, 2007: 287) urban subjects at daily, weekly, and monthly routines of reproduction across the life course. This is so because sustainable food circulation and networks such as the weekly PMs are central to processes of access to nutritious, affordable and culturally preferred food in the everyday lives of an increasing number of people both in Istanbul and other major urban centres worldwide. A research focus on socio-economically “mid-range” livelihoods and provisioners is a strategic decision and aims to draw attention to the diminishing realm of urban accessibility and the gendered implications of these pressures on livelihoods both “in the centre” and “at the margins”. The decision also aims to destabilize the methodologically individualist presumptions that are characteristic of accounts of neoliberalization and livelihoods, particularly in developmental and post-developmental contexts (Hopkins & Pain, 2007).

For a relational analysis of the use of spaces of reproduction based on the intersection of provisioning women's attributes and individual capacity (agency), the analysis co-articulates scale as an important tool in tracing the strategies, nuances, and meanings of women's interactions with spatiality during food provisioning cycles. Scale is a key parameter in the organization of struggle both among subjects and between fragments of formal regulation. Depending on scale, relations between state and subjects assume diverse spatial and temporal characteristics. In other words, spatial manifestations of state are “scalar forms of organization” (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003: 912) which

are constantly reconstituted to regulate social and material processes. The analysis is attuned to the ways in which food-based household material and social reproduction represents the scalar multitude of power effects, and converges critically on the scalar assemblage of life itself. Human geography's engagement with social scale has mostly developed from political economic analysis of regulatory forms and modes of governance (Guelke 2007). Alternative engagements involve individuals' use and construction of scale in dealing with and responding to emergent pressures. Food provisioning is a dynamic domain that is engaged in both immediate and longer term articulations of scale for livelihood sustenance. I try to address this dimension by focusing on the everyday as the time frame in which women rework and reproduce scale (Giesecking, 2007). Therefore, the study follows a minimalist approach to (re)producing social scale derived from women's narrative representations of their experiences in everyday sites of food provisioning in the context of the commercial re-allocation of places of social and material reproduction.

My stance pays equal attention to the performative, intuitive and emotional dimensions of food and place: women's everyday mobility while carrying out provisioning tasks engages all of these levels. In order to draw a distinction between external, linear representations of accessibility and the concrete and abstract assemblage of gendered spaces and scales of food provisioning, I refer to women's subjective geography of everyday provisioning as “individual foodscapes”. I use the term “foodscape” in order to refer to the places where women carry out provisioning tasks on a regular basis. Regular, in this case, varies among daily, weekly, bi-weekly, monthly and seasonal visits to a provisioning destination or locale. Subjective use and perceptions of

these places help to avoid physically neutralized and economically reduced representations of provisioning. As such I hope to articulate my analytical concern for a nuanced, relational geography of provisioning and subject formation.

Research Design

Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research designs are used to gain insight into people's actions, attitudes, concerns, value systems, aspirations and lifestyles. In depth interviewing and other qualitative research methods are strategies for interpreting phenomena in context rather than merely representing them “nominally”, based on visual or statistical data. Qualitative methods are interactive and imply an understanding that knowledge is “fundamentally interpretative” (Marshall & Rossmann, 2006). The role of the researcher in qualitative research is less that of a conductor who aims to master a prefigured piece of knowledge through methods, and more as an active interpreter who problematizes his/her own relation to underlying assumptions and emergent truth claims in research. Positionality refers to a researcher's continuous critical reflection on this aspect and is a defining element in designing qualitative research. In depth interviewing is one of the qualitative strategies that helps to ground data gathering as an interactive social relation between the informant and interviewer. The process may involve differing levels of cooperation and tends to unfold textured information on the meanings associated with both mundane and exceptional conditions of social and material experience (ibid.). A recurring criticism concerning qualitative research designs is the lack of sufficient presentation of the principles that shape the specific research procedures, encounters, and

overall evaluation of findings (Baxter & Eyles 1997). This issue tends to situate qualitative research paradoxically, where analytical validity is compromised for the sake of in depth, contextual data, and emergent rich, textured claims to knowledge. Some strategies that have been applied in order to set up research steps and valid evaluation criteria in this project are: extended field engagement, triangulation, revisits, and peer examination (Baxter & Eyles, 1997: 512). In the context of this research, triangulation refers to “persistent observation” (ibid.), interviewing, and secondary resource analysis. Secondary resources consist of policy and project document analysis and conversations with different municipal (local, metropolitan) officials, vendors and professional organizations (planners, public health workers). These secondary resources help to refine the main dynamics and mobilizers of change in Istanbul’s reproductive realm. The synthesis at this level provides a critical snapshot of state-society relations and provides insights in the context of Istanbul’s key role in Turkey’s experimentation with neoliberalism. In interviewing, I set up secondary or tertiary meetings with informants in order to gain feedback on what was covered in a previous meeting based on my notes and interview transcripts. Finally, emergent thematic patterns were discussed with social activists and researchers living and working in Istanbul. At all phases of fieldwork, familiarity with the research context and being a native speaker of Turkish were invaluable assets.

Food Biographies

Women's everyday food routines include habitual and intuitive actions in different places which comprise the “unspeakable' aspects” of their everyday lives (Hitchings, 2011: 1). This perspective relates to methodological discussions about the applicability of speech

in qualitative investigations of everyday life: that is, people's representations of associations with mundane places and tasks. Everyday practices are mostly repetitive and framed within a priori roles and relations. In this research, the habitual settings of food provisioning raise the question of whether women can or want to talk about these locations that are mundane and excessively intrinsic to their multiple roles as homemaker, mother, and care provider. Women's performance in individual foodscapes is dispersed and the knowledge which shapes food decisions is considered "natural" and/or trivial aspects of their status within the household. To address this issue, I adopt life storytelling as a specialized research method (Marshall & Rossmann, 2006) by which women can build a narrative centred on food while at the same time streamlining a thick description of the physical settings and, material, social, emotional factors that have developed and that characterize current accessibility patterns. I refer to these food-centred narratives on partial and subjective life stories as "food biographies" (Smith & Jehlicka, 2007). Among the many ways personal histories can be traced, food provides an understanding of both how residents perform as reproductive subjects and how they recall and voice these performances with respect to personal histories. By embracing a biographical approach, I explore the factors contributing to transformed access to food over time based on subjects' engagement with place, chronology, and provisioning in life stories. The narrative content of life stories "display human existence as situated action" (Polkinghorne, 1995: 5) Food as a thematic focus of narratives opens up these actions and "demonstrates the diversity of trajectories within what is often characterized as a singular transition" (Smith & Jehlicka, 2007: 3). Within a storied production of women's engagement in foodscapes, and provisioning roles, it is likely that the social, physical,

and mental conditions in which their responses and reactions evolve will be framed from the point of view of each individual. Biographical story telling in the study, then, is not only to show that “foods have biographies and geographies,” but also to emphasize that “these biographies and geographies matter” (Cook et. al, 1998: 166) in constructing and understanding the intimate and social environments in which social and material reproduction take place. It is a means of producing a relatively lengthy narrative of people’s experience but doing so on a subjective basis with respect to unique narrative structures which are subjective creations. Life storying around food as a theme engages geographies of food accessibility by articulating individuals’ voice in order to investigate the spaces and scales of their interaction with social power structures. Food biography analysis is attentive to recurring performative, mental, and emotional patterns in everyday provisioning routes and practices. It is also concerned with the narrative sequence and organization of information transmitted during the interviews. Still, since the focus of the overall analysis is on change as reflected by the dynamic tensions between subjects, places, resources, and social-political structures, the emphasis of food biographies is on content rather than form.

Several reasons have led me to choose to apply a biographical approach in this research. First, gaining insight into people’s lives and how they are transformed as a result of interrelated phenomena in different contexts is central to human geography and social sciences in general. As people talk through their experiences they themselves construct the representational realm which unfolds through their accounts. Biographies are stories and storytellers have the advantage of knowing the plot beforehand. This is to say, speech promotes subjects’ capacity to dynamically design, produce and reproduce

lived experience. Food biography as a method recognizes this aspect and integrates it in analysis. The power geometry of storytelling also assigns to the researcher the role of listener which is relatively empowering for subjects, compared to other emergent asymmetries during multiple steps of research (Wengraf, 2001). Studying provisioning women's food biographies promotes a place specific understanding of the less explicit, intuitive and actual, dimensions of food accessibility and women's food related mobility. Biographical research is capable of avoiding an itemized presentation of women's activities, locations, and intervals in relation to these foodscapes. Rather, knowledge is developed accumulatively with references back and forth to important places, turning points, and factors that have an influence on a subject's particular ways of carrying out food tasks. These types of data are likely to promote insights into the political and social implications of the transformed periodic market scene by situating it relationally in a provisioning woman's lived experience. The broader focus on transitional food practices, perceptions, and settings in food biography interviewing is also a measure against self-actualizing research findings. This is so since in-depth inquiry seeks to assess what periodic market accessibility actually means for subjects who are grounded in the complexity of their own reproductive realm through their narrative. In this sense, employing this method conforms to my epistemological concern to articulate social and physical change at the micro scale of experience.

Women who are involved in the project are diverse horizontally – a snapshot of their present profiles reveals differences in terms of age, socio-economic circumstances, and the educational backgrounds of themselves and their households. Yet, a biographical approach also enables a vertical overview of the multiple transitions each woman

experiences on the basis of her shifting food related and care provider roles over the life course. As such, threading food through women's life stories enables the identifying of key events and contributes to an in depth (vertical) understanding into the broader socio-cultural, economic contexts that have shaped these transitions (Boenisch – Brednich, 2002). As a relatively neutral, non-intimidating topic with which provisioning women can associate, food is a productive axis for storying life events and linking them to the political and social contexts in which these experiences are situated. The mundane tasks and scapes of everyday food provisioning encourage a flowing narrative by decentralizing any focus on potentially difficult-to-express determinants of food accessibility such as poverty or sickness.

Wengraf (2001: 5) describes in depth analysis as “to get a sense of how the apparently straightforward is actually more complicated”, and moderately structured interviews are an effective tool to manage this. In depth interviewing in biographical research involves mutual performative interaction in which a particular representation of the complex, plural, and shared experiences of an informant is expected to be made known to the researcher. Thus, the biographical interview is a process of informants’ storytelling and representing their own perceptions and experiences about a matter specified by the research objectives that, in certain pre-determined ways, relate to participants’ life stories (ibid.). Interviewing avoids the neutralized and ordered representation of individual food biographies. Rather, it encourages a holistic approach through which a deeper understanding of the meanings, priorities and strategies that qualify the mental (e.g. causality, neglect) and experiential (e.g. order, avoidance) assemblage of everyday tasks are put into the broader lifespan context. The performative

process of the interview bridges self-conception, representation, and observation in the social structures to which these performances are connected. In depth interviewing traces food accessibility based on a biographical engagement with women's subjective (re)collections of food-centred life stories which involve mental (past, projected, perceptual) and physical interactions with places where food is produced, exchanged, and processed.

Listening is a fundamental aspect of the researcher's role during biographical interviews. This stance is first related to the previously mentioned dynamic that the story is mastered by the storyteller. Most often, this mastery is not and need not be fully organized or systematically constructed either in the storyteller's mental sequencing or verbal expression of life events. This is so even when individuals are asked to plot their story around a habitual realm of everyday life such as food provisioning. Some strategies identified in order to address this difficulty are: being observant, active listening on the part of the researcher, paying attention to gestures, intonation and silences, but at the same time, when possible, probing out of curiosity – as if when listening to a story, rather than moderating the way it is being told (Marshall & Rossmann, 2006; Hitchings 2011). Given the project's aim to explore periodic markets as a unique reproductive spatiality, maintaining a focus on space and place (i.e. attention to different locations, settings, and scales) where provisioning experiences are sequenced and presented by the informant, is also a productive listening strategy. Biographical interviewing is a layered process and requires multiple sessions not only to explore new ground but equally to delve into what is already exposed (Baxter & Eyles, 1997: 509). In this way, the researcher and the

storyteller can develop a valid ground on which both have a shared sense of the terminology, meanings, and details of the content.

Further Thoughts on Storytelling and the Role of the Researcher

The design of any qualitative approach to acquiring knowledge is a kaleidoscopic reflection of a multitude of identities, concerns and priorities on the part of the researcher, reflecting an intersubjective process of research. Although power results in complex webs of representation during the research encounter due to its fluidity, the authority of the researcher is a substantial issue shaping the process, from initial analytical interest to phases of interpreting and presenting research results. As a specific knowledge acquiring method, in depth interviewing involves complex relations of representation and power (Dwyer & Limb, 2001). This is so first because it is the researcher who sets the learning objectives as well as the specific design of study and the tools to access specific information. Source selection criteria and informant profiles are the grounds on which researchers as decision makers identify what constitutes a representative and feasible sampling for the inquiry. In the course of the actual interview encounter, however, the informant is the primary narrator of the story told to the interviewer. Silences, gestures, and other immediate reactions such as tone of voice, laughter etc. are integral and equally crucial elements of what is expressed in words. Such an approach aims for a thick as well as an in-depth process of data collection. It also requires a participatory role for the researcher during interviewing. As Wengraf (2001) explains, whether the form of interview is lightly, moderately or heavily structured is not effective in reversing the direction of this power of the researcher. Subjects' storyteller position during lightly structured interviews may only challenge power at varying degrees and solely during the

data gathering phase of research. The level of structure of an interview implies preparedness on the part of the interviewer and reflects her preferred mode of facilitating the broader story being told in the study, rather than democratizing power. The concept of positionality refers to acknowledging this authority and continuously deconstructing the normalizing regime of the researcher's subjective position within research. My own take on the critical deconstruction of one's partial, fluid and multiple ways of relating to interpreting subjective representations in the process of producing (narrating) qualitative knowledge is inspired by Katz's (1994) previously discussed notion of "multiplying positioned actors". This is to say, the producer of knowledge as a positioned actor within the research must critically multiply his/herself through reflexive thinking on ways to continuously render "visible" the various, multiple and perhaps contradicting facets of his/her positioned presence (Haraway, 1997: 36-7) so as to set and claim permeable boundaries between self and research, interpretation and representation, truth and the contingency and partiality of knowledge.

Locating Participants

This project explores emergent urban food accessibility patterns primarily in the context of Istanbul's transformed periodic market scene. It is based on the biographical evidence derived from female providers' accounts of their perceptions of and performances within individual foodscapes. The study is situated in neighbourhoods located in five municipal districts all of which are in the relatively more residential, Anatolian part of Istanbul. In each neighbourhood, at least one PM still exists but it has either been relocated or merged with another market in the same vicinity within the last 5-6 years. Although consisting of a relatively small selection of the city's rapidly emerging neighbourhoods, these

neighbourhoods and markets are considered to be reflective of the changing food accessibility patterns in other parts of the city. In fact, the neighbourhoods comprising the study area are mostly in the residential core of the city which means PMs in these locations are mostly visited by local residents primarily to meet the household demand for fresh fruit and vegetables. This is a strategic preference considering the inter-district/urban and global complexity of shoppers and vendors in larger PMs in central districts such as Fatih (Wednesday Market), Besiktas (Saturday Market), and Kadikoy (Tuesday Market). In the selection of study neighbourhoods, a coastal-inland axis was also incorporated. Geographical cross-sectioning aimed to reflect the socio-economic and other diversity factors among resident profiles living in the established (and mostly better off coastal neighbourhoods) and emergent (inland - towards north) residential areas of Istanbul. Map 2 locates study participants and nearby PMs in their neighbourhoods.

Map 2: Map of Study Area Showing PM and Participant Locations

Source: <http://sehirrehberi.ibb.gov.tr/map.aspx>

Contacting Potential Participants

Qualitative research for the study includes 40 moderately-structured (Wengraf, 2001) in-depth food biography interviews with provisioning women who are affected directly or indirectly by the transformations in the periodic market network in their area. As a resident of Istanbul who is very familiar with its neighbourhoods, weekly markets, and the various phases of transformation that have taken place, I did not have much difficulty locating replaced or abolished markets and affected neighbourhoods. I had several key contacts in these areas at the onset who were mostly senior/longtime residents in a

selected study neighbourhood. Preceding much like the snowball method of getting in touch with potential participants, I asked for assistance from these senior residents to help identify provisioners living in the same area. Usually I was introduced to family members and neighbours in occasional and regular, women-only tea-parties, religious gatherings, and brunches. The process of chain referrals continued until a total of 40 interviews were completed. Fifty-three potential informants were first contacted by phone and in person. I presented the project and asked for feedback. In these introductory calls, I provided general information on interview duration, possible meeting locations, and the type of questions/issues they were expected to reflect on as participants. I also described the typical course of an in-depth interview, including details on confidentiality and use of data. After the initial phone call to describe the project and to get preliminary feedback, an informative overview of the oral consent script was provided in person for the 40 who agreed to participate. Participating individuals were also asked to describe their socio-economic standing without offering them prefigured categories during this brief informative meeting. At this preliminary stage, informants were informed in detail about the expected duration of the meeting, details on recording, data use, and confidentiality. Interview meetings were then scheduled and mostly took place at participants' homes, with a total of six exceptions where we met in another location such as a café, a school canteen or in a parental home.

Participant Profiles

While there were no strict selection criteria with regard to specific aspects of subject profiles such as age or income, participants were sought on the basis of their primary food-related care provider role within the household. All participants who expressed an

interest in participating in the project self-identified as being a “orta halli” or “mid-range” household, which is a common term to describe self-sufficiency in relation to socio-economic standing. Depending on context, such self-sufficiency may refer to: “some income” from some kind of (regular, formal, informal) paid work, and not experiencing an acute shortage of services and resources such as accommodation and health care. “Mid-range” economic status is an extremely vague category, and within it, participant profiles diverge significantly in terms of the material and social conditions which characterize their livelihoods. The following charts show some of the factors which demonstrate the diversity within “mid-range” households in Istanbul:

Figure 1: Age of Participants (n=40)

Figure 2: Formal Education Years of Participants (n=40)

Figure 3: Accommodation Status of Participants (n=40)

Figure 4: Car Ownership of Participants (n=40)

Figure 5: Employment Status of Participants (n=40)

Figure 6: Marital Status of Participants (n=40)

Figure 7: Household Population (n=40)

Figure 8: Years in Residence of Participants (n=40)

Diversity in subject profiles conforms to the study's epistemological emphasis on producing knowledge on urban subjects whose practices and ideas are closely linked to their role in social and material reproduction. Gender is the primary identifier of women's provisioning status, therefore, it is articulated as a key analytical level in the inquiry. Research on lifestyles of a particularly defined identity group may prove productive in informing policy and in challenging the conditions that limit or infringe upon individuals' right to act and to be. Exploring "orta halli" households' livelihood patterns is linked to a concern to discover these limitations for the purpose of a generalizable, evidence-based discussion on an overall political transformation affecting the majority of "non-marginal" livelihoods whose complex reproductive arrangements are under-represented. The group of "orta halli" provisioning women selected for the study is diverse in terms of age, education, household and employment status, education, ability, ethnicity, income and availability of other material and non-material assets. There is also a great deal of

diversity in provisioning women's families since the people who they provide care for are also diverse, primarily in terms of age and ability.

Interviewing and Data Collection

The aim of this project was to explore both what "women do" and equally how they make sense of and relate to the spaces where these actions take place. Therefore, study methods were developed to learn both women's practices and perceptions in different settings of transformed foodscapes. As such, informant meetings were designed as moderately structured (Wengraf, 2001) interviews by which current transformations in individual foodscapes were traced using a "food biography" approach. This specifically refers to women's narratives on personal evaluations and description of household food provision practices and settings over a period of time based on self-declared core-provisioning status. The biographical dimension allowed women to think of their provisioning experience in relation to that of mothers, daughters, and others who were influential in acquiring and transmitting food related knowledge throughout their lives. Each moderately structured interview meeting was held in two subsequent subsessions divided by a single "intersession gap". This interview structure is integrated on the basis of the Biographic-Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM) which posits biographical interviewing as a participatory encounter. In BNIM, both the operational and interpretive "apparatuses of the interview machine" are restructured for a reflexive and dialogical experience between the informant and the researcher (Denzin, 2001: 30). In accordance with the BNIM in depth interview design, informants were first posed a general question which is called the Single Question Aimed at Inducing Narrative (SQUIN). SQUIN is a narrative inducing (Jones, 2003) question and should have the following components: (i)

introduce the topic, (ii) indicate that there will be no alternative wording of the question, (iii) encourage the person to decide how s/he would like to start, and (iv) inform the person that they will not be interrupted during their response but the interviewer will be taking notes for reference in the following subsession (Wengraf, 2001: 119) (see Appendix 1: SQUIN Example). The first subsession was conducted with minimal intervention in participants' take on the SQUIN. The second part involved questions on topics raised in the first subsession together with pre-determined questions that aimed at more specific information on the components of accessibility such as food shopping frequency, desired proximity, budget, sample meal planning – both present and in the past. Assessments of present and past conditions were probed on the basis of a major life event or transition as identified by the informant. Ageing, mothering, or leaving the parental home were commonly cited changes reshaping the organization of individual foodscapes' (frequency, sites of) access to food. Food-related aspects of livelihood are key in perceptions of self and place and subjects' variant composition and use of individual foodscapes reflect these perceptions. External changes imposed on this individual geography at the same time imply the directions in which subjects construct themselves within the household and as urban residents. As such, during the interviews, informants often complemented their place-specific accounts with elaborate descriptions of their actions and thoughts in relation to identity, social class, and, gender. Risks common to moderately-structured research encounters are identified as leading the interviewee to respond within the conceptual framework of the study (where applicable) and/or in the direction or level of emphasis that the researcher seeks. To avoid such flaws, it is recommended not to share the primary research questions with respondents

and also to formulate questions in such a way that participants are provided with varying levels of generality among which they can build up their preferred conceptual categories and level of emphasis (ibid.: 163). A further difficulty concerns in-depth exploration specifically of the everyday realm, that is, building a narrative around habits, preferences, and actions that may seem too trivial, irretrievable, naturally done or un-thought to the informant. Informants may feel confused as to “where to start” or “what to tell”. Although not too formally executed, the procedural flow of events – from initial contact, to verbal consent, and the meeting day – led most informants to think that they were “expecting” to be involved in “different” i.e. “more academically held” work. When I asked subjects to clarify what they meant by this, they mostly referred to my participatory role as well as the lack of a more structured “questionnaire type” of research tool that directly sought “information” on their livelihoods. I can also make this point based on the recurring question by informants about whether the project involved any other “research” such as surveying, statistics etc. I was often asked by informants - mostly with more years of primary and higher education - whether the interviews were to “verify” “other” or “existing data”. Other informants who were older and had less formal education, were simply confused but they were “willing to help”. There were also informants who were more than anything else “surprised” that a “thesis” (as a dissertation is called in the Turkish academic tradition) based on “ordinary Turkish women's stories on market shopping and cooking” could be submitted to a university in Canada. The feelings in these comments range between surprise and skepticism. As I became more familiar with each informant while completing the biographies, their initial feedback on the project became more reflective of women's ideas on what constitutes “scientific” research than

their awareness of the importance of the provisioning work for the wellbeing of all the people who they provide care for. This is a valuable insight that should be highlighted in terms of the issues (i.e. relevance, methods, validity) surrounding conducting and promoting qualitative human scale research in geography and across the disciplines.

The biographical axis to talk about everyday provisioning practices invited subjects to narrate foodscapes as physical, mental, and social spaces shaped by major life events, socio-political context and factors relating to the built environment. Especially during the initial part of the interview, the “terrain” of lived experience in different food settings, locales and food-related information was expressed with references to wider social, cultural and political patterns (ibid.: 397-98). After the first session we usually had a short break during which I highlighted issues to be clarified or further explored in the second session. During the second part of our interview, continuities and transitions linked with provisioning experiences were probed and their relation to specific places were clarified. Depending on the issue to be further detailed, women were encouraged to use visual elements such as hand-drawn sketches, maps, and plans of old and new markets, shops, or homes. I laid out a blank pad, and several colour pens beforehand and reminded subjects that these materials were available in case they needed to draw anything. I purposefully did not encourage using these tools at the onset. This was because I did not want informants to feel that there was a “right” or “wrong” dimension to the story that they were telling. I also avoided using neighbourhood base maps because map literacy could be an issue and could have a similar negative effect during the interview. I didn't want this possibility to turn this productive visual tool into a barrier rather than a facilitator for our encounter. Focusing on verbal expression contributed to

building rapport and communicating that interviewing “really” sought information on habitual things and places such as what they cooked, where they shopped for food, their opinion on a new market or why they liked going there. Still, in some cases, even a simple sketch proved to be a productive means of clarifying relational views on distance, proximity, and more generally bringing the focus back to place and provisioning experiences in place. Upon completing both sessions, I was often asked to stay a bit more for tea and other treats.

The flow of events in these meetings were similar to the common pattern in women's religious or other occasional gatherings when a formal (usually prayer) session is followed by the serving of tea and food prepared for that day. This part of our meeting was especially valuable since it provided an atmosphere to better ground my understanding of a particular informant's food biography. Our “womanly chat” during this time sometimes provided a project-related insight such as when giving tips on where to find a specific ingredient for a recipe. I incorporated no unrecorded verbal information revealed during this time in the analysis. But, I benefited personally from our interaction. It is also the fact that the extra time I spent in women's kitchens, living rooms, and balconies was a valuable opportunity for observation.

Holding consecutive interview meetings was a useful strategy to minimize women's confusion on narrating their perceptions and performance in everyday foodscapes. Up to three food biography meetings were held with informants who expressed difficulty in thinking about how food related tasks and settings might have changed over time. Subsequent meetings were held (i) to provide subjects with different formulations of the SQUIN so that they could realize that they have different options to

frame their narrative and (ii) to build further rapport and help informants make better sense of the project's focus, that is, what their food provisioning tasks and settings are now, and what they used to be under different conditions over the course of their life. Only one informant decided to withdraw from the project at this stage following our initial interview meeting. Hinchings (2011: 3) calls consecutive interview meetings “a serial approach” to everyday life interviewing since multiple interview meetings offer time both to the researcher and informant to “reflect on” the interview. The time in-between may, then, lead informants to consider and to get a more concrete sense of “what the interview is about” based on the issues and questions that have already been covered. Other revisits were also scheduled following the preliminary analysis of the initial gathering of food biographies with selected respondents. These secondary meetings, also called the third and optional subsession (Wengraf 2001) within the BNIM model, were in order to verify my understanding of the biographical links and narrative flow from the first round of interviewing.

Coding and Interpretation

The initial step in processing the food biography interviews was transcribing the sound files. Transcriptions were verbatim and were all done by me except in four cases where the narratives were partially in Turkish but mostly in Kurdish. I was able to transcribe and later to translate these biographies with the help of a multilingual (Turkish, Kurdish and English) research assistant who was native in both Turkish and Kurdish and had assisted in conducting these interviews as well. To each transcribed food biography text I added my session debriefing notes as an appendix. These notes were taken soon after each food biography interview meeting and altogether they were similar to a field journal.

These interview-specific field notes included personal reflections on the interview in addition to descriptions of the setting and the course of my encounter with an informant. English translations of all the Turkish food biography texts were done by me with a concern to represent each informant's authentic voice as much as possible. This is a strategic choice and reflects a preference for “originality” in verbal expression of life events. As such, rather than following grammatical accuracy and syntactic consistency in translating the accounts, I have worked attentively to represent as much as possible subjects' original use of language, and the form and sequence of the story as articulated by its owner. Translated food biographies were then divided into topics, contexts and location in order to observe emergent themes and links. Coding of food biography data was carried out using NVivo 9 software. In NVivo 9, data could be coded by relevant themes, place names, and actions. The software also allowed the researcher to group and subgroup data files, and to explore excerpts in multiple categories such as location, age, food shopping frequency, household status. The first step in coding involved reading through food biography data to observe recurring and single incidents, places, themes and phrases in relation to food provisioning tasks and perceptions. The process of reading and re-reading the food biographies yielded a first round of codes which were useful in terms of familiarizing myself with the rich data with which I would work further. The codes that were attributed to biographical excerpts at this preliminary phase were analytically crude in the sense that they were descriptive rather than interpretive. Holding secondary meetings in order to share with informants my “reading” of their life stories was a method which helped me to evaluate the validity of my understanding of the factual and experiential aspects of subjects' food related decisions and turning points. As a result,

based on initial and follow up meetings, food biographies were transposed into life story texts, were revised, complemented, and revitalized in the narrative order and chronology originally presented by the informant. Materials such as session notes and informant feedback were particularly valuable in tracking the gaps, silences, and contradictions that equally shaped the “telling” of the emergent story text (Wengraf 2001).

The interpretive phase began by applying the “two-track procedure” of the BNIM. This procedure identifies data derived from first, the in depth-interviewing and second, the other materials such as field notes, secondary source reading, and contextual research. The reflective process involves co-articulating these two channels of extracting information for the purpose of interpreting “the deep structure of the subjectivity-in-situation” that is central to biographical research (Wengraf, 2012: 179). To do this, I first traced the chronology and geography of events and experiences that shaped subjects' food decisions, environments and mobilities. The textuality of the biographies together with field notes and free associative notes from the initial readings gave texture to my understanding of the stories and better situated the profile of each individual narrator. This process encouraged me to write self-reports which were lengthier reflections on the main theme/s that had a central influence in my informants' perspectives on food as they built their story. The focus on structure, that is, the sequence of organizing the thematic threads along which subjects narrated issues relating to food accessibility provided me with induced categories such as family life, ideas of home, and homemaking. The interpretive exercise also enabled me to make links with the collection of places with which these categories were associated. Women addressed lifelong transformations of food environments by narrating them with subjective use of geography and history, that

is, in relation to multiple micro and macro transitions which were experienced individually and/or collectively in space. Among these the most recurring ones are mothering, ageing, urban sprawl, transition to home ownership, and chronic economic crisis. I used both recurring and single themes as interpretive codes and through careful reading I sought how they corresponded to place in the narrative pattern of the food biographies. The narrative chunks enabled a place-based interpretive reading of the biographies by following informants' subjective sequentialization of their experience (Wengraf, 2001: 239). Interpretive micro-analysis of each food biography provided a situated understanding of the shifts in the broad social context that, in different ways, influenced how subjects lived and told their life stories. Interpretive biographical analysis enabled situating knowledge in the subjective geographies of food provisioning which were shaped by individual and social factors and value hierarchies that characterized an informant's performance and perceptions throughout her life course.

Limitations of the Study

The relevance of biographical research is linked to its potential to seek the significance and impacts of phenomena in “locating individual lives within the wider ‘times’” (Locke & Lloyd-Sherlock, 2011: 1148). Researching provisioning women's food accessibility in Istanbul's transformed food geography had diagnostic aims. A main purpose of the project was to provide nuanced, human-scale evidence and insights for urban governance and policy making. While the focus on PMs was a given, the framing ideas of food accessibility and sustainable urban livelihoods were broad enough to apply a biographical methodology. The first challenge in designing and conducting this research concerned

sample size. Life storytelling method's relatively small participant groups may be regarded as being in conflict with the extensive case study scope of conventional diagnostic research. That is, a sample size of forty is relatively large for interviewing and analysis carried out by a single researcher. Still, it may be considered small compared to semi- and structured (quantitative and qualitative) designs' conventional case study design. It was a purposeful decision to base this project on the information derived from women care providers' narratives on the lifelong changes and twists in their everyday foodscapes and experience, because biographical research enables assessing both an individual's capacity and intentionality of actions (agency) in the context of micro and macro structures within which her experience is situated.

I held meetings with respondents between November 2010 and April 2011 for a period of five months. Conducting and processing forty in depth interviews was a labour intensive process despite the benefits of using software in organizing and managing data. I was also unable to set up follow up meetings with all the respondents, especially with those who were time-poor due to being in paid employment besides their home-based care work. I was able to carry out final follow up meetings with thirty-two informants.

The BNIM model suggests that interpretive analysis be carried out by multiple and relatively large research groups who interact intensively in order to multiply the subjective interpretive basis in revitalizing individual life stories (Wengraf, 2012). Such an analysis process was not applicable to this research project. Feedback on the interpretive themes was drawn from discussions with a limited number of peers who had not immersed themselves in the biographical data.

A major complication concerning the strategy of in-depth interviewing used in this project was whether provisioning women can comment on how the unstructured, unacknowledged knowledge of food is produced, transferred, and put in effect with respect to the changing components of accessibility. The confusion on “what to tell” about the fragmented and dispersed realm of food provisioning equally translates into the question of “how to probe” further about the present and past conditions of accessibility. I was aware of this problem after completing the first four interviews. Reflecting on these encounters, I realized that place plays a key role in sequencing food related experiences. Informants tended to refer to place names (of former homes, home towns, markets and shops) to express the temporal flow of their provisioning experiences. During the rest of the meetings, I addressed the problem of probing for more information by formulating simple questions around a place name which was mentioned in the first (narrative) session of our interview.

A further difficulty concerned the context of the study since the study is based in Istanbul and the wider developmental trajectory of urbanism in Turkey. My engagement with a specific transformation in Istanbul's periodic market network not only revealed how broader social and institutional factors play out in individual livelihood provisioning, but crucially allowed me to question key assumptions surrounding neoliberal urban governance in Istanbul and broader neoliberal redefinition of politics in Turkey. These insights are especially useful in developing evidence based relational approaches to economic and spatial marginalization and other forms of exclusion in a non-western context of development. Still, the applicability of a life storying approach in assessing the ongoing manifestations of neoliberalization in developmental contexts is relatively

limited. This is because research on development mostly problematizes urban livelihoods and the built environment as acute manifestations of chronic socio-economic disparity resulting from persistent social, political, and cultural structures. The extensive focus on present conditions and forms of economic and social exclusion inhibits addressing these circumstances critically by epistemologically and methodologically relating developmental subjects to the historically specific, contextual operations of social power. As such, exploring the lifelong transition of places, practices and perceptions of food accessibility, I have sought to foreground provisioning individuals as subjects who have been situated in and interacted in different ways in the context of the gendered norms of their reproductive roles within the household and society. Using a "life-focused" methodology (Locke & Lloyd-Sherlock, 2011: 1150), I was able to generate nuanced, in-depth data to represent the subjective experience of an underrepresented group of women care providers whose diversity of identities, disadvantages, visibility, and forms of inhabiting the city has remained unproblematized. The empirical setting of the study also contributes to this, considering the "underrepresentation" of Turkey and the surrounding region (Middle East, Eastern Europe, Black Sea or Eastern Mediterranean Region, depending on subjective/analytical preference), not only in urban and geographical studies, but in critical social science in general (Kaldjian 2000). The perceived homogeneity of "non-marginal" livelihoods in cities is misleading in examining and evaluating the immediate and long term effects and meanings resulting from the social and political restructuring of material and social reproduction at the embodied, individual and household scales. The biographical strategy disaggregated the anonymous analytical object of "livelihoods" in much development and urban research, and situated

provisioning women as subjects to examine their shifting subjectivity on the basis of the thick information derived from their everyday realities.

Narrative Design

In Chapter 5, I select segments from the food biographies to address primary research questions and to base my arguments on the information from these accounts. I have tried as much as possible to re-produce each provisioning woman's food environment, accessibility routes and practices in the order and language represented by them during the interview. In selecting and using excerpts throughout the analysis, I have also tried to reflect as extensively as possible on the diversity of subject profiles and their multiple challenges, point of views, and expectations. Given the exclusionary nature of any design, I can only acknowledge the inevitable gap inherent in representation and the partiality of knowledge presented here. Still, the next chapter has the purpose of fleshing out some of the processes and themes problematized in the study by voicing individual stories of eleven provisioning women. Given the narrative design and structural confines of the study, I have selected excerpts to be included in this chapter based on subjects' consent and with a concern to reflect a range of identifiers, resources and priorities around which individual foodscapes were formed and narrated by care providers. Specifically, stories presented in each sub-section are presented thematically with respect to the guiding narrative axes along which care providers structured their stories.

Chapter 5

Stories of Food and Other Important Things

Introduction

This chapter looks more closely into the household, spatial, and social dynamics of individual foodscapes in the context of women's efforts to re-organize social and material reproduction within a transformed periodic market spatiality. In line with the study's overall aim to produce human scale evidence on the context and political implications of neoliberal re-organizing of the urban food environment and accessibility of livelihood resources, the chapter is dedicated to women's food stories in order to privilege their voices and multiple realities as the basis of the analysis presented in the rest of this inquiry. The chapter includes thematically incorporated excerpts from provisioning women's narrative (re)constructions of individual foodscapes during food biography interviews. Based on informants' consent, I have used fictional names but included information on age and reference to place. Excerpts are organized under the themes which were identified as recurring structural frameworks within which food biographies were formulated. Processing data to interpret narrative-building-themes was a difficult process and the strategy undoubtedly relates in some key ways to my subjective position in revitalizing women's accounts. I have worked iteratively until I could evaluate a guiding theme which made sense in terms of the chronology, narrative order, and content that overall made up each individual's food story. I then grouped the structural themes on the basis of the meanings (subthemes) that were similar or common in each of them. The following excerpts are organized in these structural-theme categories. I have intentionally avoided editorial processing of the transcripts (and translations). Yet, the collage is far

too synthetic to do justice to subjects' authentic voice, original words and to their moments of laughter, remembrance and silence. I have worked attentively to maintain internal consistency by working iteratively to understand women's stories and to represent them on a defensible interpretive ground. Still, the categories are subjective creations but conform to my priority that our knowledge and constructions of the world should be informed by problematizing social organization of phenomena at higher analytical resolutions by locating the processes' subjects and grounding their experience in context. It is also one of the claims of this project that women's stories will in this sense enable a dense and human scale understanding regarding the material and social reconstruction of their subjectivities through access to food and urban space in the Istanbul context. As such, the following stories are presented in the narrative order constructed by women themselves. Each story is also preceded by field notes which were taken as soon as possible after each food biography meeting. These notes include personal reflections, reactions and background information on the course of my meeting and familiarity with each participant. Introductory field notes have the objective of situating women's first-person narratives in the context of our research encounter. As such, my repeated "intrusion" in-between women's stories contribute to the purpose of deciphering my organizing presence in the study. This is also to say that the narratives on individual foodscapes presented in this chapter do not "speak for themselves" in the sense of "documenting" a certain truth or aspect concerning women and their households' transformed livelihoods. Rather, the analytically fabricated interpretive collage of food stories aim to provide textured insights into long term and current trends in some of the most cited constraints surrounding urban livelihoods such as social, spatial, political

exclusion of certain subjects and peripheralization of their right to access key reproductive resources.

Nisa

Nisa (61) was one of the first participants volunteering to participate in my project as soon as she learned that it was about food and women's stories as family providers. I met her at her apartment in upper Bostanci where she lives with her daughter who works full time, and her granddaughter who is in grade four. On the day of the interview she was very welcoming and had actually prepared a great lunch for me with some of the traditional dishes from her hometown. She has two other children who are married and they live in the same area as well. She and her husband moved to Istanbul more than forty years ago from a south-eastern Turkish city famous for its rich and diverse cuisine and unique ingredients.

I got married at sixteen and when I did, I didn't even know how to cook bulgur [cracked wheat side dish]! When I was very young, they wouldn't let me in the kitchen, there was my elder sister and my brother's wife. They would do the work so there was no need for me to help them. And I was relatively younger than those two, so, I guess, they didn't want me because nobody had the time to take care of me or teach me something. When I got married we first moved to Adana and stayed there for nine years before we moved here [Istanbul]. In Adana we were living in the same building with my brother in law who was elder and had been married for seven years then.

My sister-in-law - his wife was a great cook, she was really very good at it. That's how I learned, I learned from her. I used to observe her a lot. Sometimes we would eat together – both families then I would try to distinguish her methods and compare them with mine. If I had a problem with a certain dish at some point I would ask her “Sister, what is it that tastes different in your dish?” and she would instruct me. She would taste my cooking and guide me on what went wrong, could be improved and why. That's how I learned, gradually, but you know, I'm a good cook myself now, perhaps, to be honest, far better than her!

Now, my granddaughter asks me how my daughter learned to prepare a meal and I say “I taught her of course, my child” She says “I wanna know too, teach me!”. I usually let her get busy in the kitchen when I'm preparing something. She's a good observer and picks up quickly. Though, I don't take her to the market. It's a long walk and I don't want her to get bored and tired because she's already getting tired at school. But it's different when we're going to the supermarket once a week to buy other stuff – other than veggies and fruit. It's because my daughter drives us there and it's better for the child. You should see her pick her own stuff there – chocolate and snacks. She doesn't eat much but she likes shopping at the supermarket. It's great fun for her.

Mine

Mine (25) was at first interested in participating in the project but when I called for a second time to confirm her interest and to determine a meeting place and time, she was reluctant because she wasn't sure if she was the "right person" to speak about food since

she "didn't really know what to speak of". I explained the project and the nature of our possible meeting again. She agreed to participate and that's how we had the interview.

We are a six person household. I'm working as a nursery cook, and I was born in Istanbul. We've been living in Kayisdagi for 20 years now. In our home, I am the one who decides what to cook and what to buy, and from where. For grocery shopping, I usually go to our local market which is held on Thursdays. There, it's fresh and affordable. I usually spend around 25 liras on a market day. As a household we consume more veggies and fruit in summer when there's more variety. I recently heard of a market in a neighbourhood further down from ours, which was relocated to a worse place. I usually shop from the same vendors, that's been like this since I first started going to the market on my own. Of course, vendors sometimes mix good stuff with lower quality, and they won't let you hand pick the ones you like.

I usually follow what's on sale on public days, I also do this to shop groceries for the nursery – it's part of my job.

I think we eat healthy in our household, it's mostly veggies and no fast food at all. It's part of the peasant culture that we come from. We eat lots of legumes and bulgur in winter when there's less veggies or are expensive.

Normally, we have a lot of foods sent from my family's village. We're from Sivas and our relatives send us dried fruit, my husband's family is from Kars and my mother-in-law sends us butter and cheese every year.

We mostly buy 'public bread'[from the Municipal Public Bread Company]. Usually my mother in law buys the bread, we consume 2-3 loaves a day. We also buy

other products from there, for example my kids love the nuts and raisins bread and I buy those as school lunch for them. After all it's the public bread company, I mean it's public, for the people, we know what's inside and the price is good too.

Hayat

When I first contacted Hayat (56) about the project, she was quite positive and decided to participate right away. She invited me for tea the Thursday of the coming week which had been her tea party day for the last six years since her son and daughter had "finally" graduated from high school and she had time for throwing tea parties for "neighbours and friends". When I went to her apartment on Thursday at 2pm, everything was ready on her large rectangular coffee table including a large pot of tea, freshly baked phyllo pastry stuffed with feta cheese and parsley, three different kinds of veggie salad, cheese, spice cookies – a specialty of her hometown, and rice pudding as dessert.

I'll tell you my child...I love all veggies and fruit...One day, last summer I was on a minibus passing by the new [relocated] market ... I saw these stalls abundant with fruit so fresh...full of juice..I guess I was poked by the Devil and I decided to get off right there before my own stop to buy some of those gorgeous grapes, plums and whatnot. I got off the bus, did some shopping, I was happy to learn that they had started shuttles to the neighbourhood center – where we live. Small buses were operated after the market was moved from where it used to be – which was right on our street every Monday. Anyway, I got on this shuttle which was packed with women and bags of groceries in that hot summer day. I was standing under the low roof of the vehicle doubled up with my

stuff at my feet. I thought I should have taken a taxi but you know the new place is so awkward for people like us ... I mean, you can't walk because it's takes too long especially with all that you have to carry but you can't take a taxi either because it's such a short distance they would curse at all your family or wouldn't let you in at all. Even if they did, what then, you would spend all that you saved on the short ride. Anyways, I reached home, and promised myself not to be tempted to go there again. My son and husband were at home and helped me with carrying the bags upstairs, but they were so mad at me for going there in that heat. I couldn't say a word. I had to hide the pain I felt in my back for several days because they were so mad, but then it was unbearable and my back had gotten stiff and I couldn't move it was obvious. I had to see a doctor and was prescribed year-long physiotherapy afterward. Now, I go shop at the supermarket which is just across the street. There are two of them, not bad...either of them. They are competing. Now it's just the two of us my husband and I, so it's ok if I buy small amounts of everything on a daily basis. Of course, it's a bit expensive than what you would spend in the market, but I don't want to lose my health by going there again.

For years, since we first moved here more than twenty years ago, we had the Monday market set up along the streets in our neighbourhood. It was a huge market full of all kinds of different products and always packed with people. There was a man selling nice, chic blouses by our building. He would store his boxes in our building sometimes. Normally, Mondays are my house cleaning day but after this man started his stall in the market I had no time for cleaning. I used to go there every week to pick blouses. All of them high quality export surplus stuff...I would pick some for myself my mum, my daughter and as gifts for my nieces in Ankara. And because everyone's size is different I

would ask the man to lend me the ones I liked to take home and try on. He would say “yes, of course, we’re neighbours”; I would come home to try the blouses on, sometimes phone my sister in Ankara to ask about the girls’ sizes, likes etc. – if I couldn’t decide by myself. Or sometimes, when my mother was staying with us, she would ask me to buy her a cardigan or socks, or pickling veggies. She was old and I couldn’t take her in the crowd but I would go to the market two or three times a day to find something, bring it home, to have her try it on, go back to exchange it until she finally liked it. But it was great fun for very little money compared to what you can find in shops today. And they don’t have these things in the new market. It’s much less stalls and therefore customers. The men [vendors] aren’t happy about that and they have a point. What’s funny is that my husband and son who used to live with us then hated Mondays because they sometimes quarreled with the same guy [vendor] I had purchased so much from and was so nice to me during the day... I wouldn’t tell this to them [husband and son] of course...because obviously he had blocked the parking entrance with his stall. I also remember times when I found empty wallets and purses in our staircase, probably by some pickpockets who emptied all the money and goods and threw those away in our building – which is of course not good. One day, I found somebody’s purse with her ID and pictures of her children inside so I made every effort to find the person and let her know that her purse was safe even if the money was stolen. She came to pick it up and thanked me.

Both my daughter and son have their own homes, so neither cooking nor grocery shopping is a problem for me anymore. Both me and my husband have diabetes so we don’t eat much anyway. But when my children were at home, at high school for example,

all that pressure on them because of exams, university entrance, you know all those. I tried to make them happy by baking fresh goodies every day. I used to think about what to do all the time, I was cooking dishes they loved the most. So, it's a different thing, your fridge has to be full at all times, you must a bit of everything to end up with dishes that kids love. And there's shortage of money too, so the market was like a heaven for me. I would go and buy cheap fruit for jams, sauces, baking etc. Now my son has graduated but I'm sad because I'm not sure if he's caring about his diet. It's different with my daughter who is still a student and lives with roommates from different parts of Turkey. Two of the kids live solely on scholarships. But they have a shopping and cooking regime at home. They go to their neighbourhood market each week to buy veggies which everyone in the house likes, and then they take turns to cook. She says they are a family and always have dinner together at home. At least, I could teach her something, I'm really happy about that. And for the things I couldn't teach [laughs] because she was a student all the time when she was with me, there's internet... She looks up recipes on the internet and needs me just for tips to improve a recipe she finds. This way I also learned a lot of recipes from her, internet is great, we didn't have that when we were young, and had to spend years learning things.

I'm a village girl myself, I'm from a village in a large town near Ankara. I know how to tend a garden or even a field. I can't do it here in the city of course, but we also own a second, vacation home near Istanbul where we have a large garden. I plant all kinds of summer veggies when I'm there. But then it's too much just for me, since my husband only comes on weekends and my children never come. So I send boxes of sun-dried vegetables to my family, my nieces and sisters near Ankara.

Seda

Seda (28) is a social worker working with children and young adults. I met her after work at a cafe famous for its tahini cheesecakes. This was also her preferred place to meet for work meetings. I was surprised to learn that most NGO meetings were held in cafes and tea-houses since most organisations lacked sufficient office space. She said this wasn't always a disadvantage since as social workers it was part of their work to discover the less expensive and quiet places with some unexpectedly good desserts and pastries – like the one where we had the interview.

Living on my own with roommates was a major change which shaped my eating and food habits. I was living with my mum until I graduated from high school. My sister – she got married at an early age so she would stay with us for some time and then leave again depending on her situation. So I can say we were a female dominated household. But, considering the period when my dad was with us, my clearest memory is that he loved pasta and used to cook pasta all the time. For a period he had lived and worked in Germany and in those long years he had developed the skills for easy, practical cooking. On his return, during his time with us at home, he would prepare meals – pasta mostly – as a nice gesture for mum and to please us. After the divorce, I remember my mum not eat pasta for a long time. My father was good at making us happy with his cooking; even if it was something quite simple like fried eggs, he would decorate it with stuff like parsley or something. My friends at [primary] school would want to come our place for dad's paninis...it's because...you know, there's the idea that "men can't cook" so they would find it interesting that dad used to make great toasts.

Both I and my sister were born in Germany. On our return to Turkey, things went bad economically and we had to rent an apartment first in Etiler than it got worse and there was the divorce incident. We [her sister and mother] moved to a different apartment in another neighbourhood. Dad moved to a different place as well. Then the three of us moved again to my current apartment and then mum left to live with her boyfriend. Since then, I've lived here on my own with different roommates. With her new partner, mum's cooking has changed a lot and not in an appealing way for me I should say.

I just realized now that I dislike the things which my sister disliked when we were kids. There were also things that both of us were crazy about for a period of time, like for some time we would crave green beans cooked with olive oil, another time it was spinach or peach compote. We would make and eat just those things. Then we recovered [laughters]. All I know is I really like vegetable dishes and I'm crazy about all kinds of fruit. When we were living together, mum did all the shopping. After they got separated with dad, she would take me to the weekly market because I liked going there. It was a long walk, but the food was cheap and I was happy being there. There weren't as many supermarkets back then. There was one close-by but it was both expensive and we [sister and herself] enjoyed our time at the market, we also helped with carrying stuff like we helped mum with everything. I mean, she used to organize the meals and everything but we helped her at all stages. We used to do everything together. It's probably because my mum went to a boarding school where she did everything by herself so she wasn't like a normal mum in that sense. She didn't know anything about cooking when she got married. She says she learned everything from books. So there's no consistency between mum's and grandma's cooking. My mother's family was very poor back then, so their

food was different as well. I can mention only one, like, a family tradition that still exists in her family. My grandmother is old and can't do it anymore but my eldest aunt still makes big trays of baklava before every Bayram and sends a tray or two to us from Bursa. It's unbelievable – unbelievably good I mean. But, anyways, there's a rupture between my and my mother's cooking as well. She worked all her life so she used to cook different vegetable and olive oil dishes on Saturdays. You know, you don't have to re-heat those dishes, so it was pretty practical to get those right out from the fridge and eat during the week when we were back from school or for dinner. I, myself, prefer to cook on a daily basis. There are other differences between us as well, like for example, she doesn't like dining for too long at a table, which I enjoy very much. Breakfast is my favorite meal of the day, she hates it. Still there are a few soup recipes I like very much which I learned from her.

With all my roommates so far, I have always been the one responsible for cooking and shopping for food. I didn't volunteer to be the one, but it was because there wouldn't be any meals ready if I hadn't done it myself. I normally enjoy cooking and food shopping, but when it's a necessity it could be boring and difficult. Now I'm living with my boyfriend and other roommates but my boyfriend is really helpful and we do everything together, so it's fun again. We regularly go to an established periodic market in Merter. It's a very old market and it's set up on Sundays. They [municipality] changed its place upon resident complaints, that's how I know. The new place is a bit far now but we can still walk. There are many supermarkets in the neighbourhood now but the market is still the only place where we can get fresh fish in our area. It's good that they relocated it to a commercial area where there are mostly small workshops so those places are

closed on Sundays and nobody complains. I don't observe much difference in number of stalls or the prices. It's set up on the same day but a bit far away, it's OK for us but could be difficult for older people perhaps.

If I had to move to a new neighbourhood, I would definitely consider the availability of a periodic market...and this is not only because you can find fresher and cheaper veggies there...it's also because you can stick around and amuse yourself with this and that...cheap little trinkets, hair pins and whatnot as gifts for yourself and others. These are the silly little things which make you feel attached to where you live...like the possibility of finding something nice and the possibility of vendors to sing a silly song...

Selvi

Selvi (43) lives in upper Bostanci with her husband and two daughters who are both university students. She's a second generation Istanbul resident and as the eldest of her three siblings she "didn't have a chance to get higher education". We had the interview at her apartment in a room decorated by her paintings – portraits of women – where she served us coffee and Turkish delight. I was really impressed by her artistic skills which she developed further at the municipal public education centre. She said she had "more time for her hobbies" after her daughters "grew up and entered university" when she "finally had some time to relax".

We are a four person household, me, my two daughters and my husband. We do our major shopping at the supermarket once a week. We drive there with my husband and buy everything but fresh veggies and fruit. For those I prefer the local weekly market.

When my kids were young it was really difficult for me because I was time poor but I still had to go there to pick good stuff for my kids. Now it's easier since they are grown up – actually they're both university students but still, I take care of them, their health and diet. Diet has become a major concern for me since my husband was diagnosed diabetic in 1991. I've always had an interest in cooking but since then it has been different, I try to find recipes that are healthy and taste good. I've been trying recipes since I was 10. I started by observing my mother in the kitchen. She always encouraged me to try new things in the kitchen and when I failed she criticized me but she was very constructive, she taught me how to cook properly. Now, I can say our cooking is similar – mine is perhaps more versatile, I mean I try to incorporate health and taste and try to include new ingredients. Still, it's sometimes hard to plan meals – I mean I get stuck and ask my kids. Of course most of these times they can't come up with an appropriate menu because they don't know enough about everything I take into consideration – taste, health, and what's available in the fridge. If I'm stuck on what to make for dinner, I try to think seasonally, if that doesn't help, I fix something with the food that I preserved in the previous season.

We don't own this flat so we have to pay rent, but if you add up what we spend on food, I mean the weekly supermarket and market budget, together with what we spend on meat from the butcher – I know it's expensive but I try to buy the most quality foods – and don't mind if it's a little bit less in terms of quantity...we end up with slightly more spent on food than the rent itself.

In the supermarket they have vegetable and fruit specials on "public days" [public market day] but the quality is by far lower [than what she gets from the market]. We had

our own market nearby but last year they abolished it and now we – I mean – I go to Kozyatagi for veggie shopping. We also used to have a permanent municipal market [Sabit Pazar] nearby but it was more like a local grocer's – rather expensive I mean. They closed it and instead there's that huge residence tower, skyscraper – whatever it is.

In any market, there's a lot to choose from. I especially look for those vendors who are producers – I mean selling produce from their own gardens around Istanbul and nearby cities. There aren't many, but there are people I know and they know me so I buy from them. We have lived here [in this part of the city] so long now and I always buy my veggies from the same stalls. Their [vending family's] kids grow up, graduate, leave for military service or get married and have their own business or leave market business and others arrive – must be some relatives or kins...I know them all. I was sad when our – nearby market was abolished. I guess it's the people – residents of streets where the market was set up who sent complaints to the municipality. It was hard to handle emergency situations on a market day on those streets – like the ambulance or the fire department wouldn't have access because the streets and exits were occupied by stalls, people, and cargo vehicles, carts, shades strung across the street... I think they had a right to complain since I remember one incident when an old man died after a heart attack because the ambulance couldn't make it to his home soon enough because there was the market set up on that day. And there's also other things, like on a market day, people can't park their cars on the street near their homes or can't enter their garages – if there's a garage. Of course, I think people are right to complain, but as I said, why is it abolished? I think in a big area like this they [municipality] could have allocated a better place for the market. Instead they abolished it and I have to go all the way to Kozyatagi

to find my stalls [vendors]. Thank God, I met some of them but the thing is, that market is also set up along the streets and there are rumours they're going to abolish it as well. They should have some open areas with easy access instead of banning markets. It's bad for us [consumers] but also for those people who make a living there. It's hard work you know, all that cold, and rain and in summer too... It's difficult for those men. I also tried the organic periodic market which was new and I was curious because it's my thing...how should I say...like a job..like an inspector..always looking for quality and affordable foods. There [organic market] I was disappointed because I couldn't find the variety I was expecting. Maybe it's my fault because obviously they are selling seasonal produce and you can't expect much in winter, still I can't forget the leeks I got from there...so tender when cooked with carrots, olive oil, and the juiciest of lemon squeezed over...it was like Turkish delight. Of course, it was expensive and you could buy at least half for the price you'd pay at the [regular] market. The atmosphere was different too, many women, university students, café owners selling things. They also close too early though, at 2pm on a weekend day. Even if you had the money, no one – families with kids for example – would gather themselves to go out for shopping by that time.

Cicek

I met Cicek (38) at the school an hour earlier before the time she usually arrived to pick up her two kids. Besides her domestic care work, she also worked informally as the “class mum” for her daughter's class. Living in a newly developing area for a relatively long period, she knew the area very well and was quite knowledgeable of the changes that took place over time – also through her network with other “school mums”.

I've lived in Istanbul all my life. I've lived in the same area – Kayisdagi – for 11 years now. Home ownership was more affordable in this area, so we moved here when we bought an apartment. We're four people, my two daughters and my husband. Usually we go together for grocery shopping, to a major supermarket. My husband drives us and we shop there every week. I'm the one who cooks and plans meals at home. I ask my husband when I can't decide, but it's usually hard to get a reply from him on this subject. I also – very rarely – shop at the local market. I usually don't have time to go there. I always scan through all supermarket brochures and pick items according to what's on sale at each supermarket. I then go in person and check if the remaining sale produce is of good quality. I also don't prefer shopping at smaller neighborhood supermarkets, I prefer corporate chains, because they are more efficient in getting their flyers and brochures at my door in a timely manner. That way I can have three or four of them, I literally study them by comparing them with each other.

Our neighborhood market is on Thursdays but the major reason I don't go there is the question "how many kilos do you want?". They won't let you hand pick your items the way you can at the supermarket, and they expect you to buy too much. Sometimes, I only need one or two of something, or sometimes, I only buy it because I want my kids to taste it because it's expensive and I can't buy kilos of it. I also don't like the way they talk to customers. they call me "auntie" or other things. I think they're rude, and some other things perhaps. You never know. But of course, I think that market produce is of higher quality and more affordable. I heard about organic markets, but they are far and expensive so I'm not interested. There was a Wednesday market that had been relocated in our previous neighbourhood. Also, there's the Tuesday market that was relocated.

When considering these changes, one shouldn't be selfish and think about those who were making a life out of their stalls and vending business there. but there was also, blocked entrances, and noise, so it's hard to decide. Almost like a paradox. Most people depend on these markets because they don't have access to a car or someone who can give them a ride to larger supermarkets. I have that privilege and can go shop at wherever I want but not many others can and they especially low income folks rely on the availability of a market close-by.

Our weekly budget on food doesn't go below 150 liras although I try hard. We don't have a huge income, my husband is a civil servant and I try to make the best out of the little money we have. Unfortunately, since I'm from Istanbul and my family lives here as well, there's no home village from where they can send us foodstuffs, I've always envied my friends who receive produce from their villages and towns or leave for those places in summer for holidays. Instead we go for a summer vacation somewhere by the sea.

Zeynep

Zeynep (39) is a teacher and works at a primary school in a relatively disadvantaged part of the city. During the interview, I had a feeling that she was finding it difficult to talk about her household's food routines, routes etc. for some reason. I expressed this feeling to her at some point early in our meeting and wanted to make sure she was willing to continue. She said she was having trouble talking about something she knew too well but was too "complicated" to explain in an organized manner. I reminded her that I wasn't expecting any "organized" narrative and that I was just curious about her perceptions and practices as a family provider in the order and manner she preferred to

she said, she was “relieved” and we continued. This was a valuable experience for me because when I first felt that “something wasn’t right”, I wasn’t sure if I should have interrupted her speech to express my concern. Upon completing the interview I felt empowered that my sense was appropriate and the intervention was constructive.

I've been living in Istanbul for fourteen years now. I'm a teacher and I moved here after I married. I've lived in the same neighborhood since then. I'm the one who plans meals. Sometimes I ask my kids and they usually don't provide me with suggestions on what to cook, but of course, even though I am the one who makes the plan I have to take into account their likes and preferences. For grocery shopping, I go to a major supermarket once a month to buy things like cleaning products or toilet paper, I also go to neighborhood supermarkets every three to four days. For daily needs, there's a very good local shop from which I buy things like bread, milk, and sometimes vegetables. Our routine is a bit complicated. Normally, I prefer buying veggies and fruit from the local periodic market, but since I don't really have the time these last few weeks, I didn't have a chance to go. But, I can say I regularly shop at two different markets on Fridays and Thursdays. There's also another shop from which I only buy breakfast stuff like cheeses and olives and pastry dough. By the way, I've just realized how complex my shopping routine is! Freshness and quality of produce are my priority when I'm shopping for food. Product diversity is my second priority, and the third is buying from people I know and I trust. In the market, there are vendors I know very well, they know what I want and sometimes help me find what I need in other vendors' stalls. I think in the market I spend a somewhat less than what would be ideal for a four person household like us, and this is

mostly because salad veggies and fruit are really more expensive than other veggies, and since we love those in our family I spend much on those and less for other veggies.

I strongly believe that prices in the market are much lower than the prices in supermarkets, and I go to several of them, so I can say that for sure— not to mention that the quality is higher as well. Supermarkets get cheaper only during the public day sales, but still quality stuff is in markets – I also buy veggies from the supermarket on these days, but it's only because I'm time poor and I can't go where the market is relocated. It's far away now and I find it difficult to go there. I know many people who think so. Also. I couldn't find some of my vendors in the new place – that's why I don't like going there anymore. I've never had a problem with a vendor so far. I was really frustrated about the relocation because it was said they [municipality] did it for reorganizing the traffic flow in some more efficient way but it's not improved in anyway either. It's true that living on the street on which a market is held brings some difficulties, like blocked entrances and exits, parking and the noise. I wouldn't say it's bad because of all the waste that's left on those streets, because they're quickly cleared away by the municipality.

I guess having kids is the major factor determining what's for dinner or lunch in any home. It's very important to eat everything as fresh as possible so grocery shopping should be done daily. I don't believe that veggies stored for so long in supermarkets can be healthy or nutritious, that's the main reason I prefer going to the market. Sometimes, I find myself tempted by the idea that if something is more expensive, it should also be more nutritious, but then I quickly recover and realize that everything in the market is fresher and healthier because there's more variety and this is more natural.

I'm originally from Izmir and I really miss the markets there. There, everything was much fresher and cheaper. I still have much stuff brought here from there. Things like dried veggie soup mix, tomato paste, nuts and jams – that my mum makes, but also produce actually bought from a market in Izmir. My parents bring those every three months when they come to visit us or I pack the car with foodstuffs on my return if we're visiting them. I also have my spice shop in Izmir. I never buy spices here. My parents also send stuff by courier sometimes. I said I enjoyed shopping from the local market here, but I really miss the ones in Izmir.

I know about organic foods, but I'm not really convinced if what they say is organic is really organic, I mean if they're honest about it. I also heard about organic shopping clubs where you pay a lot of money to get a box of organic produce by mail, but as I said, I don't trust these things. Once I went to the organic market in Goztepe, where everything looked smaller and fresh and healthy, but it was an expensive market and not really accessible from where we live. Instead, I buy from peasants – local producers, who come to sell their produce – veggies, yoghurt, and eggs mainly – in our neighborhood every Saturday. I don't think it's an official market – just a few stalls and they sell between 6:30 am and everything is gone by 8:00am, so you have to get up early, and be quick on a weekend day. but it's worth it, because they are nice people, and the quality is unbelievable.

I think the markets are a necessity primarily for the retired, elderly, and women who take care of their families. Markets are vital for those people and shouldn't be removed. I know it must be difficult for people who live too close, but there has to be

another solution [than banning]. I really like markets, and I'm really pissed off that I'm not finding the time to go there these days.

Emine

Emine (83) lived on a first floor apartment within a newly built gated community of high rise residential buildings in one of Istanbul's fastest growing neighbourhoods. Both she and her two sons and daughter bought a unit from the same construction project six to fifteen years ago. Now, they all live on different floors of the same building. It was interesting for me to see how the conventional nuclear – extended family dichotomy was reworked in this low density networking of multiple related families in the residential setting of high-rise buildings and gated communities. During our meeting, I was also impressed by her sharp vision and eloquent expression of the changes taking place in her food environment which was relatively new and less resourceful compared to her former fifty year experience in a highly central and established district of Istanbul. Also, she wanted to start our meeting with a small poem which she wanted to be included as part of her narrative. These are anonymous or improvised small poems of her oral tradition which are versed at the beginning or end of a talk, or typically for fun when performing communal work such as harvesting or baking. Following translation from Turkish is done by me.

Uctum havada uctum

I flew and flew across the sky

Uctum da yere dustum

*I used to fly but I am fallen on the
ground*

Ne kıymetli kız idim

Kıymetsiz yere dustum

I was a dearest daughter once

*I've fallen to the land of worthlessness
now*

I was born in 1928 and I've lived in Istanbul since 1944. I'm a housewife and I'm originally from a village in a town in the north coast of Istanbul. I moved to this neighbourhood five years ago because we [son and daughter] bought apartments here. Before then I lived in Uskudar. I do my own grocery shopping. I am my own cook and plan my own meals. I shop at two nearby supermarkets but before moving here I used to go to three markets per week. I go to the supermarket because they have public days where you can buy cheaper veggies and fruit especially. I know there is a market setting up in the area but I'm too old walk that much and I no longer go. When we first moved here there was another, closer but smaller market here but then they merged it with the one that is operating now. But I don't have access to where it's held. In the past, in Uskudar I used to go to three different markets in nearby neighbourhoods and the produce was great. Of course, market produce is far better than what you can find in the supermarket. It's a bit different here though; the quality in the local market is low, lower than Uskudar for example, because it's a new neighbourhood. I try to follow what's on sale in the supermarket, but I'm not too into it. I don't get those too well. I buy what I think is cheap and of good quality. For example, I liked their potatoes yesterday and I

bought just potatoes. I also bought eggs, olives, and low fat cheese. Fat is not good at my age.

Markets are of use to general public. People – women – go to a market, stuff their purchase in pushing carts and push those back home to feed their kids. I don't want markets to be taken away to far away areas because people need them. In the market vendors use normal [mechanical] scale, in supermarkets they have electronic ones. If you're past a kilo even by ten grams it's added to your total, you know what I mean? A few days ago, I bought strawberries from the supermarket and the total was 7.95 liras, I gave a 10 lira bill, and the girl gave back 2 liras. I said "My child, you must give me 5 kurus" and only after then she gave my five cents. I did the right thing, they deserve it. I believe supermarkets are accusing market vendors for lack of hygiene and whatnot and probably the municipality is collaborating with them to take over markets and market locations.

Ayse

Ayse (65) was a bilingual participant in the project. We had the interview at her apartment with the help of her daughter who was a teacher and social activist. Ayse had five children and lived with four of them in the same building. She wanted to have the meeting in her kitchen where she had organized the ingredients for dinner that day. She took certain breaks during our talks to check on her preparations. I felt she lost interest in the interview after some time but was kind enough to let us finish it. Between the two sessions and after completing the interview, she went to the stove directly to stir the soup she was making as a first course for dinner. I wasn't sure if she lost interest because of

her limited fluency in Turkish or because she was concerned that the soup would scorch. I felt it could also be that she didn't follow a hypertensive diet for herself – something which she mentioned in her speech.

I am the one dealing with everything, the home. I lived in Istanbul for 35 years. We moved to this current home so that I look after my grandchildren. I decide what I'll cook, and what I'll buy. I buy from the supermarket or I go to the periodic market. I usually do that every other week. In the supermarket I buy cheese, meat and eggs. In the market I buy veggies and fruit. I go to the nearest market, it's our neighbourhood market. There was another one further down but I don't go there, it's not there anymore. It's cheaper in the market, I spend around 70 liras in the market, I buy at least three kilos of veggies and three to four kilos of fruit. When it gets cold in winter, prices in the market go higher. It's really noisy out there. And it's hard go all that way without a ride, but I go. I also get angry when they're not honest. They don't give back my change sometimes. They deceive me and get my money – some vendors do it. But markets are good for everyone, everyone needs them, the elderly, women and girls, they all go to buy foods and clothes. where will they take the markets? What will everybody eat then? They're for the people...

At home, in my village, everything is better, tastier. At this time of year, there's all kinds of fruit for free . . there's yoghurt, milk, and cheese, and honey. You eat but you don't spend money. I have my people sending me honey and cheese, and fruit.

Sengul

I met Sengul (61) at her apartment in the presence of her husband. Their building was in a newly developing area – a single high rise among finished and ongoing gated residential projects. The building was surrounded by three bakeries and three small/mid-size local supermarkets two of them opened within the last few months of our meeting.

Right now, it's just me and my husband. I've lived in Istanbul for forty years now. I'm originally from a small town near Istanbul which is within Istanbul now! We do the grocery shopping together with my husband. He buys things like bread and yoghurt and veggies are my job. It's because I am the one who plans and cooks meals so I know what to buy. We no longer go to a periodic market because it's not in a convenient location in our neighbourhood. This is a new neighbourhood and we moved here almost six years ago because we bought this apartment here. Our building is surrounded by supermarkets. There are four of them around us. The local market here is on Wednesdays, so all these supermarkets go on sale on Wednesday as well. It's very competitive so we buy particular things from one, and others from another. Of course, you can say it's a bit more expensive but it's just the two of us so we can make it, except when the family gathers on weekends when our kids and grandchildren come to visit us. They visit us every weekend. That makes a difference in our expenditure but the fun is worth it, Thank God.

I used to go to the market when I was younger. Now at this age, it's difficult you know, it's cold there and you have to walk a long way, and carry a lot of stuff. God may help families with small children who depend on these places to live a healthy life on a budget. Otherwise, I know that produce in markets is fresher. Especially lettuce and salad

herbs and veggies. But I also can't stand the noise there at this age. Last time I was there I shouted back at a young man screaming and chanting. It was too loud for me and I had to say "stop it!". He did it out of respect, respect for my age, I guess. To be healthy, you have to eat quality stuff. It's the quality not the amount you eat. In the past, we didn't care about these things, because the food was better. But now, you have to be careful and pick quality produce. It's even important if you're aged, like us for example.

Bengu

I met with Bengu (36) at the municipal adult learning centre where she was getting music classes. Among all the participants she was the only one who considered herself a "foodie". She was a freelance local food activist and blogger also affiliated with international cycling groups and pedestrian city initiatives.

I'm a second generation Istanbul resident and I've always lived in the same area. As a kid who spent his childhood in treetops eating fruit still on its branch, it's really hard for me to go to the supermarket to buy fruit that's put on sale because it's not really a fruit but some bio-chemically developed organism.

Periodic markets are a necessity but not in the manner they are now. A simple scan of news archives in the past a few years could show that. I recall one incident when someone died because the ambulance couldn't arrive timely because the streets were occupied by the market on that day. And yet, there are a lot of people for example in our area who do not want to give in to supermarkets, for example my mum, there is no alternative for her experience at the market. She would never give up that even for the

fanciest supermarket. It is true that in the market as a customer you're not protected as much, I mean you could be deceived, yes, but you can also be empowered depending on...depending on what?...the situation that day..you can't tell.

In our family, we try to go shopping at both the new organic and normal [conventional] neighbourhood markets as much as possible. There are two markets, Monday Market and Wednesday market which I go regularly. There's also the organic market on weekends but there people who sell stuff are also producers, not traders like in normal markets. I can say we are rather lucky in our neighbourhood, because we also have a local centre of small shops – like a traditional “arasta” around a hundred-year-old mosque where everyone – rich and living in difficulty has access to. Around that, in that tiny area I can count four different bakeries selling fantastic bread which is a bliss.

I also heard of other things, like in those newly developing neighbourhoods in the outskirts – places I don't know where . . . like those residential buildings surrounded by gates and guarded by so called security – people working on minimum wage to protect the rich living in those apartments? Anyways, in those places, I heard there are markets, with camera surveillance and all that where you don't go shopping by yourself, but place orders by phone so the vendor brings it home. They're experimenting with different models everywhere, most of it of no use to people.

You can sense the conflict between local and metropolitan municipality even by counting the bus intervals between Bostanci and Kadikoy [local municipal boundaries]. Within that area unbelievably few lines operate except those lines going between Kadikoy and further from Bostanci. You can also observe the same in the waterfront development project near Bostanci. It was initiated by the local municipality, but since

the waterfronts are really a metropolitan responsibility now you can only see metropolitan banners although it was really the local municipality who carried out the project in that specific area within its local boundaries.

We are a generation who were rather late to discover some facts; my mother on the other hand is from a deceived generation. We are searching for knowledge and habits [ways of doing things] that her mother had, while she [my mother] has this knowledge but was made to believe those were wrong. I realize this when somehow a tip, trick, or advice that her mother gave her comes out from her mouth, and I realize that it's the exact piece of information I need. But you can't explain this to her...because she thinks I'm being skeptical about everything and humans can't be that deceptive to one another...when I say that what says "butter" on the package may not be really butter inside...she says "come on, this must be butter too, it says so on the package. This is the generation who gave up using olive oil and cream for margarine in the 50s because it was promoted and technologically more advanced.

Conclusion

In order to offer a dynamic representation of women's perceptions and performances in the context of contracting urban foodscapes, this study incorporated a relational articulation of subjective processes that did not revolve around a static subject constituted as a generalized abstract entity. Rather, an effort was made to bring into light the particular individual turning points, mobilities, ways of acting and various other subtleties in order to flesh out a common, yet non-generalizable, and concrete gendered provisioning subject. This effort was informed by Foucault's remark on the invalidity of

the category of a subject (Dilts, 2011) preceding and abstracted from its actual, factual, and embodied existence. A provisioning subject is an actual person politically constituted through her (material and non-material) relation to reproductive space and mobility. Reading their stories, I tried to gain an understanding into the political meanings and emergent patterns of exclusion through women's embodied practices and mentalities in everyday social and material reproduction. While a major advantage of this approach was avoiding disassociated representations of individual lives, the possibility of erroneously attributing representative status to a single life remains (Locke & Lloyd-Sherlock, 2011). By working through the commonalities in each food biography (instead of a deductive standpoint) this chapter sought to avoid generalizations and make sense of the recurring and individual themes in provisioners' lives. In this way, this chapter aspires to contribute to non-linear, narrative and other methods of engaging with subject formation based on the situatedness of lived experience.

Part III: Understandings

Chapter 6 Individual Foodscapes and Relational Geographies of Provisioning in PMs

Introduction

Women's activities and attitudes towards periodic markets and other provisioning sites, such as local shops and supermarkets, reveal individual foodscapes to be highly individualized spatialities. Individual foodscapes are constituted on the basis of personal sense and knowledge in identifying the spatial, material, and temporal opportunities for optimal livelihood decisions. As a continuum, sense in relation to provisioning is the product of women's dynamic and intuitive, rather than programmatic, gathering of knowledge in processes shaped by gender roles, life course, and material resources. The analysis in this chapter traces the relational meanings and importance of PMs in material and social reproduction by exploring provisioning women's individual sense and interactions in constituent settings and scales of everyday foodscapes. As such, the chapter specifically addresses the following research question: how are changes in spatial reorganization of markets inscribed in individual foodscapes, particularly in terms of subjects' access to food and use of urban land in former and emerging food settings? It also articulates accessibility as a relational phenomenon to explore the personal use of PM space as a domain of provisioners' agency.

In coding the food biographies, it became evident at the onset that the impacts of merged and relocated PMs on livelihood provisioning could not be fully evaluated

without first providing a broader view of the sites that were incorporated as a food destination in accordance with subjects' relative economic, emotional, and geographical conditions. As household care providers, women are constantly active as shoppers, decision makers, planners, improvisers and performers of food related actions. These physical and mental activities take place in diverse settings that are brought together in variant mobility patterns and forms of social and economic exchange, organized as short, long, and mid- term individual practices. The chapter examines the individual context of these trajectories for "a different reading" of the relational geographies of reproduction in transformed markets (Gibson-Graham, 1996), without totalizing it to a normative formulation of material/physical access (to food and urban land). Following remarks on the need for a new language to express the place-based hybridity of economic interaction, the chapter addresses the ways in which place becomes a critical constituent of individual food accessibility and women's agency in everyday settings of social and material reproduction (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Harris, 2009).

Interactions in food settings during the life course take place in a "tapestry of differentiated spaces woven together" which make up the complex experiential realm of individuals' material and social ties with the world around them (Gregson et.al., 2002: 613). For a subject-centred exploration of the re-regulated market network and impacts on accessibility, I first identify and review the distinct practices, associations, and modes of interacting in different sites of individual foodscapes. These settings were cited by women, during their food biography interviews, as the most influential places where food is routinely exchanged, processed, and shared for household reproduction. The first part delineates women's subjective views and experiences in different provisioning sites and

enables a nuanced understanding of their use of these transient mental and physical spaces. Situating women's provisioning experiences within this framework reveals an experience-based reflection of the relative significance and multiple functions of PMs as places of transformation of livelihood provision and self-construction. The second part of the chapter focuses exclusively on the use of PMs and offers analyses of material accessibility, i.e. availability, acceptability, affordability, as it was invoked in relation to these settings in the food biographies. In the final section, I deal with agency as it relates to a discussion of everyday subject formation in the context of commercialization of reproduction through spatial configuration of home economics and care givers' activities. As such, the analysis focuses on individuals to complement the subject-informed ground to address what market downsizing and relocation "actually" means and with what broader social implications on exclusion of certain – multiply positioned – subjects. This latter question is the focus of Chapter 7.

Provisioning Women's Foodscapes

Provisioning subjects in the study expressed a "strong concern" (40 out of 40) and "priority" (28 out of 40) in relation to food related tasks in their accounts. This means that food settings and their change over time due to multiple social and individual factors have a central influence in the spatial organization of social life at the individual and household scales. Places where daily social and material reproductive work takes place stand for and further promote production of subjective meanings contributing to one's perceived awareness (agency) and experiences of inclusion, exclusion, and connectedness as family care providers, local/urban residents, and citizens. I trace and analyze these

meanings in the context of different places (i.e. super/hypermarkets, PMs, hometowns, and summer house gardens) which the women cited to have a role in household social and material reproduction. The life course strategy that was used during the interviews encouraged subjects to comment on these reproductive hubs not only in the order of importance relating to present conditions of everyday provisioning, but also allowed a reflective chronology of the change in the functionality of these settings with respect to transient socio-economic and personal conditions. That is, subjects could focus on and compare their relative use of and meaning associated with different food settings over the life cycle. In their accounts, two overlapping articulations of the temporal dimension were evident, resulting in a dense, yet, individually ordered account that was narrated dynamically across scale. These temporalities were on the one hand, the passing of time in the collective sense of social and political change, and on the other, individual turning points and life course transitions. Occasionally, the narratives also explicitly addressed such matters as: transient life events (i.e. decline in physical ability, parenting), socio-economic conditions (i.e. change in health/education/accommodation expenses, lower prices in mass retailers), and geographic change (i.e. market relocation, inter and intra-city moves, supermarket proliferation) to explain shifts in the relative use and value of different food settings. Other times, references were less explicit and further probing for information during the interview helped to make sense of the underlying context, relative influence, and subjective construction of a certain food site.

Upon listing all cited food settings in the food biographies, I sought information about whether women associated a certain feeling, mood, or value with an individual site. This specifically referred to information whether a food setting was cited as

encouraging/discouraging a certain behaviour such as (not)buying from there/a certain product; and was related to feelings of (dis)comfort, confusion, abuse, familiarity, friendliness, "doing good/bad", social/individual/religious responsibility. These were the themes guiding subjects' comparative assessment of present and past push/pull factors in including a food destination in their provisioning scheme. Their comments on each food setting revealed rich information and addressed multiple socio-economic, personal, and spatial factors in which individual livelihood strategies were shaped. These factors also account for the dynamic realm in which multiple constituents of women's subjectivity were exerted through practice.

I organized assessments (perceptions) of past and present functionality (practices) of each food site into the previously discussed accessibility components of availability, affordability, acceptability, and agency. Sometimes a certain attribute was included in two or more components but this was an expected situation in line with the multi-layered conceptualization of accessibility. The themes in place-related comments were grouped under each component, and this activity resulted in a panorama of the changing importance of food settings over time, qualified by subjects' views and categorized into the various components of accessibility. The following sections illustrate these sites in which subjective provisioning experience is located in place and time. Based on these evaluations, the analysis then expands into a relational view of PMs in the context of emerging and transformed ways of feeling and acting as care providers in alternate settings of food accessibility.

Neighbourhood shops and groceries

The gradual decline of small fresh fruit and grocery shops (manavs and bakkals) was a general starting point for most women who grew up and gained a provisioning role “in the city”. Unlike the market, corner shops were run by local traders who traditionally played a dual role by providing both fresh and locally preferred products as well as a credit system for residents who relied on flexible payment options to sustain unbroken access to food in the likely case of a shortage in income or other livelihood resources given their precarious living conditions. These privately owned businesses were mostly evaluated by women in reference to the acceptability and availability aspects of accessibility since these shops were considered a “secure and trustworthy” source of shopping for all kinds of foodstuffs including fresh fruit and vegetables. Although neighbourhood corner shops were “not the most affordable place to shop for foodstuffs”, they “served everybody in the neighbourhood”. For example, when someone “lacked immediate funds” [33] because “there was a delay in wage payments” [25] or “had an emergency situation such as a funeral or beginning of the school year” [3], she “could buy whatever was necessary and have it listed in the book to be paid at the end of the month” [12]. Local neighbourhood shops were also “within reach of a few steps” [7] and they were “helpful in providing home service for the elderly” [33] or “busy mothers who didn't have much time and cash at hand” [17]. All women who referred to the local provisioning network of small neighbourhood shops in their narrative associated the decline in these shops with macro trends in population (“nobody knows her neighbour anymore, how can they trust a customer” [39]), financialization (“they – shops – are ruled out because they – the banks – give out credit cards as if it were for free, nobody needs

credit from the shop owner"[12]) and globalization of the economy ("how can they compete with world giants, they are selling the world's merchandise in between shanty buildings"[21]). As a closer look into subjects' use of and comments on PMs in the following sections will show, these statements are partially applicable since not everyone is eligible to own a credit card or can maintain a credit account due to irregular bank payments and precarious life conditions. Still, besides nostalgia, the recurring emphasis on the inter-personal dimension of this type of local retail network reflects the perceived priority of the acceptability and availability dimensions of accessibility in defining a reliable food resource within the immediate home environment. This is especially so in the accounts of women who had spent the most years in the same neighbourhood. Local shops as a flexible, and proximal provisioning destination were where provisioning subjects negotiated time, space, and income in order to develop everyday and longer term reproductive strategies in their households.

Provisioning women's accounts reflect the gradual superseding of corner shops by supermarkets and corporate retailers. This multi-scalar transformation of the urban food scene which began in the 1970s has intensified since the 1990s, resulting in the establishment of mega- and hypermarkets in drive-only outskirts and newly emerging residential suburbs. Although relatively less affordable for the majority of residents, these food venues are still functional in preventing the emergence of inner-city food deserts, as is the case in most redeveloped urban areas in North America and the UK (Shaw 2006, Larsen & Gilliland 2009).

Rural Hometowns and Summer-House Locations

Istanbul's massive transformation since the 1980s was accompanied by a rapid decrease in agro-production in the city. Farm lands and city gardens, which used to be Istanbul's traditional supply networks for fresh produce, have been to a large extent overtaken by populist and illegal land appropriation (Kaldjian, 2000). Kaldjian's (2000) research in Istanbul proved that despite the radical urban effects and quantitative decrease in rural population, ties (owning land and/or relatives) to the countryside were still important. The main indicator of this was the intense flow of food from the rural locations as a strategy to minimize food expenses in Istanbul when they were more expensive. In the food biographies, women's ties to rural hometowns or villages where they had a second/summer residence were linked to food in several ways. Most of the time, the rural locations where women grew up and left, or regularly spent a few months of the year, were glorified as the place for "healthy, delicious" [28 out of 40] and "quality" [21 out of 40] fresh produce. More than half of the women in the study cited a rural location from which their household obtained food on a regular basis. The following Map 3 shows these locations and provides a visualization of rural-urban configuration of household foodscapes. Timing referred to "summer or fall"[16 out of 40], "every six months"[14 out of 40], "once a year"[28 out of 40], "every time we have a chance to visit there during the holidays"[14]. Produce from the gardens, fields, shops, and market stalls which were owned by their household or relatives in rural towns and villages, were extended sites for food provisioning for these subjects. These findings address issues important to further investigations of accessibility and livelihood strategies in Istanbul. First, provisioning women's food networks in hometowns and summer house locations suggest complexity

Organic PMs and Organic Produce

In recent years, it is also the case that high-end shopping malls establish so called “farmers markets” – or rather set up stalls that mimic the traditional market scene and diversity where organic fresh produce is sold together with a wide selection of “exotic” import products that are elements of “haute cuisine” and the global flow of tastes and values. Yet, the concept of organic in relation to fresh produce is still an emerging theme which the women associate strongly with health effects of food intake, especially in child development and prevention of disease. The majority of women from all backgrounds and age groups referred to organic in the context of their "desire", "concern", "responsibility" to provide their household with the best of whatever produce is available. Only three women – all of them in their 20s and 30s – referred to organic in relation to environmental impacts and the "superiority" of the agricultural processes involved in the production of fruit and vegetables. This does not mean that other subjects in the study did not mention relevant aspects of sustainability in their descriptions of acceptable food quality and resources. On the contrary, all food biographies included references to issues such as: "buying from farmers", "transportation distance", "commercialization of agricultural resources" and existence of "too many intermediaries", “use of pesticide and other chemicals”, "seed sovereignty in agro production and food sovereignty" and "financial burden on agro-producers". Despite these strong views on what constitutes healthy foodstuffs and a sustainable national food system, their comments were often not directly related to organic phenomena [33 out of 40]. In fact, in ten food biographies, these reflections were followed by skepticism towards organic labeling as "a novel marketing strategy"[17], "putting extra burden on one's shoulders to decide whether they

are telling the truth" [22] or "whether one should buy the poisonous tomatoes or spend triple the money for basic stuff like spinach and cucumber"[39]. Overall there were four subjects who regularly went to one of Istanbul's emergent PMs selling exclusively certified organic produce. Currently, there are three certified organic markets in Istanbul - two of them located on the European (Beylikduzu, Sisli) and one in the Anatolian side of the city (Kartal). These markets were originally an initiative of the Bugday Association which was established in partnership with district municipalities that allocated market sites and days. Bugday is an environmental non-profit organization in support of ecological living¹⁸ and it provides long-term regular product and source (land, farm) inspection and vendor certification in the certified organic markets. They are also active in organizing social and artistic events at the market site. There are also other municipally organized organic markets where a similar price range to that of certified produce applies, but the produce is not necessarily officially organic. Two of these organic markets were held by the district municipalities of the study neighbourhoods (Kadikoy and Maltepe). Subjects occasionally referred to these markets since they thought the municipalities opened them "because organic stuff is trendy"[8], "it made the rich in the neighbourhood know they are rich"[35]. There were also references to these markets as "fake"[14] since "one of the vendors from the (conventional) periodic market had a stall in the 'organic market'"[ibid.], but she "bought from him anyway because his products are fresh and it's good to have him open his stall two times in a week" [ibid.]. Subjects who regularly bought from a certified organic periodic market went to Kartal Ekolojik Halk Pazarı which is held on Sundays. There were also other provisioning women who cited this market in their narrative because they visited the same market once

¹⁸ <http://bugdayglobal.org/>

or twice with their families for a "Sunday outing"[9], "to see what it was about"[21] and "to buy some countryside produce"[2]. Some of their comments from these visits present this market as: "a nice place for a family breakfast"[21], "ridiculously expensive"[40], "an interesting place like a rural market where headscarfed women are vendors but also there are other women such as cafe owners, students"[14]. Often times, subjects compared conventional markets with organic food markets which one of them described as "healthy and all that but you can't do anything else but concentrate on money and prices, because everything is so expensive"[40]. Women who regularly shop at the Kartal organic market describe the setting as a "clean and organized market"[3], "without the typical noise of male vendors and all the garbage from the leftovers"[12]. While they, too, find the prices "rather high"[21], "higher than conventional produce"[7], "it's worth the feeling of being sure that you are getting the real thing"[10]. Still, organic shoppers qualified their purchase in the organic market as "complementary"[10; 2; 9] to weekly, biweekly, and monthly regular visits to "super- and hypermarkets", and "specific vendors that they know in neighbourhood PMs" [14]. The market in Kartal is relatively accessible by public transport to the residential locations of the study subjects but in all cases both regular shoppers and visitors accessed the market by a car driven by their husband, son or son-in-law. It can be said that for regular shoppers, the organic periodic market presents an enjoyable and safe atmosphere to experience their provisioning role where their priorities in food acceptability (i.e. non-contaminated, healthy, fresh produce), creates an opportunity for family gathering and socializing. Comments also describe the food-centred sociality in the market as a place where intergenerational knowledge exchange between provisioning women in the family occurs. It is critical to note that subjects

engaged organic phenomena in relation to experiences and views on organic PMs rather than, for example, organic sections in supermarkets which are an equally new development in most super and hypermarkets in Turkey. This is interesting since the organic market is portrayed as a place of both familiarity and difference in women's accounts. Familiarity in this case refers to shoppers' quest for quality and fresh produce. This is an ongoing process and is the most commonly cited logic central to making optimal food decisions in the context of family budget and whatever is available in the near and extended elements of individual foodscapes. Yet, both regular shoppers and visitors also considered organic markets as a different place where conventional gender patterns, socio-economic profiles and the ecological content of the market was related to another mode of provisioning – one that is more defined by class, education, and political orientation.

Super/hypermarkets

Proliferation of super and hypermarkets comprise the major change in the retail geography of food and other items in Istanbul and in other urban centers in Turkey. According to GYODERs (2008) report on the development and future of "organized retail markets" in Istanbul and other provinces, Turkey is the fifth largest market in Europe for food expenditure. In the report, organized retail markets are defined as super and hypermarket chains, retail outlets, and shopping centres while "traditional markets" refer to single and small scale shops, groceries with no explicit reference to PMs and other forms of retailing such as street vending and internet and other multimedia based sales. Turkey's potential for organized market investments has risen gradually since the late 1980s and intensely throughout the 2000s due to increased leasable land and high

revenue of shopping centers and domestic and foreign chain markets (ibid.). In fact, together with Moscow, Istanbul is presented as one of the two most important cities in the European region for retail investments (ibid.: 13). While accelerating consumption by urban masses fuels the global competition for “bringing in” and spreading consumerist forms, commercial place making derives a fuller impact in terms of the real estate value of these investments as a shorthand way of producing and extracting urban rent. Since the emergence of a booming real estate sector during Istanbul's multiple phases of ad-hoc urbanization, new and existing urban land has been politically instrumentalized to create and redistribute real estate value. Istanbul's place within the national and regional projections of state spatiality, in other words, has typically involved political manipulations of the built environment to maximize the city's real estate potential. As such, the new retail geographies characterized by mass foreign and domestic retail networks in central and developing parts of the city are an ongoing feature of rent-oriented growth strategies in Turkey's present developmental condition.

Local supermarkets (individual and sub-branches of retail chains) and drive-only superstores located in or near shopping malls are the primary food settings which women cited, in their food biographies, as a major change that has influenced their shopping patterns, routines and perceptions over time. The great majority of the women in the study expressed a highly individualized pattern of the places they visited regularly on a daily, weekly, and monthly basis. Among these, PMs and supermarkets are the foremost food settings where women shop for fresh produce. Visits to gross markets are generally monthly and are mainly for non/fresh food and household products. Since places where these markets are located are accessible by car, shopping routines are monthly and the

credit card is the dominant method of payment. Access to a vehicle as well as owning and regularly maintaining a credit account is what more than half of the study subjects lacked for various reasons, but above all due to age and income status related factors (i.e. flexible and low income, unemployment). Women's perceived grounds for age-related disinterest in gross markets included confusion, illiteracy, distrust, location, and low product quality ("not fresh"[14], "stocked for a long time"[1; 19; 32]). Neighbourhood supermarkets, which are sub-branches of chain stores or medium sized, privately owned retail establishments, have had a more extensive impact on the food provisioning patterns of a diverse range of subjects. These centrally located shops have a dual status similar to both former local groceries and existing PMs; their bargain sales are usually exclusively on the day of the periodic market. Therefore, neighbourhood supermarkets are "proximate and convenient" [28 out of 40] food destinations and primarily conform to the availability and affordability aspects of access to fresh produce. Most [26 out of 40] study subjects reported at least three visits per week to a local supermarket. The majority in this group shopped from a supermarket every other day "usually for fresh fruit, bread, salad veggies and "to see what's on sale" [17 out of 26]. Supermarkets have become a competing shopping destination for women because they are "everywhere" [14], "easily accessible" [22] and offer flexible shopping "even when you don't have cash, you can buy with a credit card"[10]. It is also expressed by women that supermarkets are convenient because they are open everyday and close late, which helps in terms of flexible meal planning. Despite these positive remarks, there was a conflicting consensus on the quality of fresh produce available in supermarkets. "They lack quality"[36] and "there is usually a single variety of each produce so it tells you what to fix" [18]. In some accounts, these

comments were followed by ideas on cleanliness and hygienic qualities of produce sold in supermarkets [9 out of 40]. Since the process of handling and presenting fresh produce (unpackaged and in bulk) in a supermarket section was not qualitatively different from that in the periodic market, these ideas on cleanliness were followed up to clarify what this specifically referred to. Responses were unclear but did include references to the cleanliness of the general shopping environment rather than specifically of the product. In some cases, subjects cited the difference between picking items by their hands in a supermarket and being served by a male vendor at the periodic market, as a reflection of poor hygiene [6 out of 40].

Perceptions and experiences of status are highly influential in provisioning women's preferences for where to shop for fresh produce. PMs and super- or hyper- retail outlets represent two distinct settings where subjects feel and perform differently. For most women [29 out of 40], food provisioning relies on economically and spatially optimal combinations of multiple food settings. Among the variations of optimized food shopping sites, shopping regularly at large centres and hypermarkets is closely associated with feelings of higher social class reflected through "experience and informed status" [10] in care provision. This approach is manifest most explicitly in household providers' reference to "responsible shopping" [ibid.; 12] when comparing periodic and super- or hyper-market shopping experiences. The supermarket with its rationalized and systemic means of facilitating economic exchange (e.g. membership/credit cards, coupons, bargain catalogues, campaigns, on-site product classification, etc.) invokes a sense of rational consumption where one can make optimal (that is "affordable and hygienic") possible (food) choices. In this discourse, hygiene and the availability of

discount campaigns are explicitly identified as factors underlying women's preferences for supermarkets (and other permanent retail settings) relative to PMs. As expressed by younger women in particular, these retail sites are also central to the performance of and participation in "knowledgeable consumption"[ibid.]. This refers to their capacity to optimize food choices for the health (nutrition and hygiene) and well-being of their household despite the comparatively "limited range of product quality and variety in a supermarket" [18].

Children's supermarket practices and preferences also play a significant role in shaping women's preference for supermarkets. This is primarily evident in mothering women's perceptions of supermarkets as child-friendly settings when compared with the difficulty of shopping with children at PMs. As discussed above, the tendency to use mass retail outlets among relatively well-off households reflects a qualitative difference in children's food agency. This is so because their food preferences are more likely to become actual food choices in the self-service environment of the supermarket. Despite the consensus [29 out of 40] on markets as the source of the highest quality and most affordable produce relative to inferior supermarket produce, shopping at a supermarket enables a more comfortable, tangible environment where women can engage with their children on food choices and more easily determine their children's wants and needs. This aspect was especially emphasized in the food biographies of women who were somewhat less cash dependent, meaning that they owned a mutual or individual credit account and thus were able to shop on credit. In this sense, the level of cash dependency in livelihood provision is a critical dimension in defining PMs as a primary food destination due to the households' reliance on a cash-dominated, informal economy in

these markets. The spatial implications of this struggle are more intense for the mobility of women with limited resources as they can signal longer trips to a relocated periodic market and multiple trips to one or more supermarkets in order to maintain affordable household (primarily children's preferred) foodstuffs. Chapter 7 will deal closely with this issue and examine how changes in the periodic market network relate to care provision patterns and the agency especially of mothering women with less and/or instable socio-economic resources. The following section centers around women's actions and ideas on PMs, that is, the impact on accessibility patterns and interactions as household providers of a PM that was closed and relocated within the last five years,.

Periodic Markets

The majority of provisioning women are able to express more or less systemic representations of PMs as habitual destinations, mostly for food shopping but also for leisure, and market sociality. Their visits and activities differed in frequency depending on household size, physical ability, work schedule, and car availability. Comparing the women's use of PMs and other types of shops enables insights into the relative impacts of the spatial re-organization of food, sociality and other associations which the women described in relation to their use of PMs. In all the neighbourhoods where study subjects presently resided, there existed a current or former PM which was either relocated or merged with another market in a nearby neighbourhood. In almost all cases, whether the market was cited as a current central food destination or not, subjects were aware that a PM was present/relocated in the neighbourhood [38 out of 40]. Similarly, most women were also accurate about its location (the streets on which stalls were set up) and the day

it was held, whether they frequented it or not [34 out of 40]. More than two thirds of the women could also comment on product quality, diversity, price, and other aspects of a specific market in her neighbourhood, including views on customer profiles, impact on traffic flow, noise etc. More than half of the women in the study went to a market on a weekly basis [22 out of 40]. The second largest group was bi-weekly market shoppers [7 out of 40] followed by five women who went at least once a month. Three women did not go to a market regularly – three of them did not go at all.

Food-shopping at the weekly PM is predominantly for fresh produce (i.e. vegetables and fruit) which is an integral feature of daily food consumption for most households in Turkey. Vegetables are the main ingredient for most dishes and are typically accompanied by rice, pasta and/or bread in typical one to three course meals (Appendix 2: Sample Meal Plans). Fruit is mostly consumed fresh but is also dried or preserved as jam, compote, etc. Cooking is done daily by women in most households and availability of fresh produce is a key feature of maintaining this reproductive rhythm. In the food biographies, PMs are described as the single major food source that provided urban residents with fresh and quality produce both now and in the past [17 out of 40]. Compared with other food settings, PMs have remained an influential reproductive setting for the majority of study households. Therefore it is the most frequently mentioned provisioning site especially for fresh fruit and vegetables in the food biographies of study subjects. This finding parallels the ICT inventory (Uzuncarsili & Ersun, 2004) result of 74% of food shoppers among the 1202 households who shopped regularly at one of the seven PMs in Istanbul. In the food biographies PMs were mostly valued as sites where "good produce" was available for "an affordable price". "Good

produce", in this case, above all referred to "freshness and diversity"[19 out of 40], but also meant "nutritious" [14 out of 40] and "tasty" [11 out of 40] fruit and vegetables. Women's reference to "good fruit and veggies" was at the same time quite subjective. Optimizing quality with price for individual household needs was considered a skill that a care provider should have and further develop throughout her provisioning status. According to some provisioners, the market was "sometimes" [12] "like a work place" [10] where they were responsible for making "informed compromises" [ibid.] about food quality given the socio/economic constraints that they were experiencing as a "teacher couple" [12], but also as state officials and migrant households. A mothering care provider expressed similar feelings because she had "daughters in school" and "spent hours every week at the market looking for items like hair pins or specialty fruit to make them happy" [8] so that her daughters "could do better at school" [ibid.]. Food shopping is considered the central feature in a woman's culinary creativity and housekeeping skills which are an assemblage of inter-generational knowledge transferred almost entirely by exposure. Given the accumulative nature of this knowledge, age emerges as a factor that characterizes women's differential means of access to food and status in household reproduction. The following sections travel through a number of mutually constitutive components of accessibility and unfold transformation through women's interactions in these spaces as socially positioned provisioners and urban residents.

Affordability as Continuum

Women who frequent markets on a regular basis and those who shop elsewhere consider PMs to be the most affordable source of fresh produce. Optimizing quality and price in shopping for vegetables and fruit is crucial in the everyday planning and preparation of

family meals. Subjects who are regular market goers identify affordability as the major reason for shopping at a neighbourhood market. This is most often described in association with “freedom” and explained in terms of the capacity to make decisions, that is, “to compare between a wider range of price and quality before selecting a product” [27]. Women express extremely low confidence in market prices, given variations in location (neighbourhood) and time of shopping on market days (i.e. fixed price in early hours versus mid-afternoon or evening sale of low quality/leftover produce). Yet, they agree that weekly markets are the most affordable place to shop for fresh food products for their households [22 out of 40]. In the accounts of both market shoppers and non-shoppers, the market is perceived as the most affordable source of food “for the majority of the urban population” [12; 39; 15] due to the opportunity to “choose what one needs” [14] provided by flexible prices and variable product quality. Co-evaluation of data from the ITC inventory (Uzuncarsili & Ersun, 2004) and GYODER (2008) report support these perceptions in that PMs are highlighted as primary food shopping destinations for most households due to the affordability of produce.

In the food biographies, women's long-term description of affordability and affordable food settings reflects a complex engagement with the term. Individual accounts define affordability from a subjective perspective where a buyer's knowledge and skills are emphasized as effective tools in optimizing an affordable, adequate, and acceptable family food basket. In processes of shopping for fresh produce in the market several skills are particularly emphasized. These include references to being knowledgeable about different qualities of product variety, ways of processing lower quality vegetables, family budgets and preferences. Bargaining skills, physical

accessibility and availability of time to go around the market in order to find the best products as well as being physically able to bring products home are also important to their roles as being skilled care providers in the periodic market. Despite some external readings of PMs as simply a source of cheaper food products and a setting of urban informality, the evidence offered by female provisioning subjects provides a critical insight into women's complex understanding and maximizing of affordability. The term, in this case, is more an output of women's complex arrangements to optimize individual skill, space, time, budget and household necessities, than an economic "given" based on actual price or quality of foodstuffs in the market. This micro/subjective interpretation of affordability brings to light subjects' structural sense of the loosely-organized market environment and how it functions in contributing to family food security and wellbeing. Market informality in the sense of flexible terms of economic interaction and existing social ties between vendors and shoppers is an integral feature of women's perceived capacity to develop and practice provisioning knowledge. Non-registered, cash-based economic interaction, product variety, spatial and temporal arrangements in a market renders affordability as a relational phenomenon which is negotiated by women and to a large extent shapes their practices as family providers.

Availability and Women's Mobility

The location of a periodic market has a central role in the spatial organization of provisioning activities. Market proximity is integral to women's relative understanding of availability and of her strategies for optimizing affordability. It is a defining element in negotiating everyday and longer term mobility, and it is linked to other issues such as physical accessibility and the transient role of female care providers in the life course

(older, pregnant, disabled women; or women with young kids). In all of the food biography interviews, whether a regular market shopper or not, subjects acknowledged the availability of a market, or its proximity, as an important element in ensuring sustained access to “healthy and fresh” food resources. The availability of a market ensures price competition among permanent food retailers such as supermarkets and neighbourhood shops. Women thus highlight the significance of having a weekly market in their neighborhood not only as a public service for limited-resource households in a locality, but also as a factor that creates a collective benefit for the wider neighbourhood population [25 out of 40]. Whether shopping at a market or not, all provisioning subjects in the study considered PMs to be a significant part of their personal foodscapes and everyday mobility, and were aware of the changes taking place at markets in their neighbourhood. All subjects also saw the relocation of a market to a permanent site in a central location as a positive change. The displacement of a market to peripheral streets or areas of a neighbourhood was the main reason offered for no longer shopping there [13 out of 37]. Displacement is usually compensated for by shopping at small to medium scale supermarkets which proliferate in central areas (such as central roads and streets where weekly markets were set up) and offer “public day” deals, although with a lower diversity and quality of produce. What can be called a quality-affordability continuum is central to the importance of PMs within urban food supply arrangements, as well as to provisioning women's acts and ideas about the availability of acceptable food resources. Optimizing quality and affordability is also the main identifier of provisioners' everyday mobility planning [23 out of 40].

Women's everyday mobility in meeting reproductive tasks has been richly described in the critical literature on the gendered geographies of travel, transportation and urban form. A major contribution of this literature has been problematizing the actual experiences of gendered mobility along with the imagined, constrained, and negotiated movement patterns, routes, and accessibility of intersectionally diverse identities. In this literature, geographies of mobility deal with gendered "mobility regimes" (Sorensen, 1999) which make a distinction between – but at the same time critically relate to – actual and imagined/desired/preferred mobilities of physically, generationally, and sexually diverse groups and individuals. Shin (2010: 2357) and Uteng (2009) emphasize the importance of this dimension, i.e. “the potential and possibilities for movement,” in order to develop a deeper understanding of women's everyday mobility “as part of a larger project, namely, social and cultural geographies of mobility” (Law, 1999: 569). In this approach, mobility comprises both actual movements and women's capacity to move otherwise depending on the availability of potential moves and routes. This integrity of potential and actual movements is constitutive of gendered subjectivities across daily international, national, local, regional scales; for migrant, working, growing, religious and lesbian bodies (Pratt & Hanson, 1991; Katz, 1993; Shin, 2010; Secor, 2002; Podmore, 2001). Much like these arguments, I engage provisioning women's daily mobility by not solely measuring, counting, and qualifying the actual impacts of transformed foodscapes on reproduction. I equally present the revisions, eliminations, and alterations made to women's mental maps, to account for other/possible movements and mobilities, given the reconfigurations of space and food as well as changes in one's life course. With this, food biographies reflect walkable distance as the most influential

factor determining women's mobility in assessments of “available” food settings [17 out of 40]. The physical mobility required to access a certain food site is a key factor in evaluating affordability of produce from a certain source. Yet, again, since women pursue socio-economically, physically, and geographically diverse lifestyles shaped by their multiple responsibilities as mothers, employees and so on, their routines are anchored in distinctly diverse combinations of settings including the home, office, school, parents' and relatives' homes etc. Such dynamism was also evidenced by women's use and perception of directions, routes, and distance as reflected in the descriptive sketches of different food settings during the food biography meetings. Women, most often, visualized past and present food shopping mobilities in a non-linear, complex cartography which included primary, secondary and tertiary (and sometimes more) route options. These options reflected a dynamic hierarchy of actual movements and alternatives which overall resulted in highly subjective mobility patterns. These layers were dynamically managed by women on a daily basis taking into consideration multiple sets of variables. Based on the accounts, I have identified variations in women's food related mobility as relating mostly to time-saving proximity, general atmosphere, family budget and preferences, physical ability, factors such as weather, perceived social status, and therapeutic features of distinct food settings.

Accounts on proximity in relation to a food setting referred to different initial locations; yet, the majority of subjects described available food settings in terms of minutes it takes to reach from home [22 out of 40]. Except in three cases this distance was described in terms of mobility without the need of a private or public vehicle [19 out of 22]. Distance to an available food setting, according to the women's accounts, refers to

the "optimal distance that can be traveled by walking" [27] and in most cases without "having to go too far from home" [14]. Women described a certain food site as available when it is within distance that can be traveled "cost-free"[14] and "without spending too much physical energy and time"[35]. More concretely, women considered a food setting available when it was five to ten minutes away from an initial location – primarily the home. For all of the subjects who were in paid employment, available food settings were described in reference to walkable distance as part of their daily commute from work. In the case of specific references to a periodic market, this was also expressed as a strategy to benefit from lower prices of the "evening market". In all cases, women's mobility planning involved intense strategizing over time and space, equally revealing the dynamic use and constructions of place (home, neighbourhood), ideas (health, well-being, homemaking), and resources (what constituted affordable and good food). Another common trait associated with women's perceptions about availability was their self-identification as "time poor" individuals regardless of socio-economic status. Food preparation was identified as the "most time consuming" [40], "pressuring"[12], yet "important"[5] aspect of homemaking. Planning, shopping, cooking and presenting food are processes, all of which involve constant physical and mental performances that result in complex routes, schedules, and scales of doing and conceptualizing.

The relationship between previous and present walkability of a market and women's preference to include it as a regular shopping destination is one explicit effect of relative meanings of availability within the spatial and temporal organization of household reproduction. Longer walkable distance is by far the most influential factor for no longer shopping at a former centrally located periodic market. Women shopping at a

market describe their mobility on a market day as a strategy designed to achieve an efficient use of time, money, and energy. Extended travel time to a relocated market is considered "not worth it"[17], "physically tiring"[14], "sickening and inconvenient"[21] and in some cases "impossible" [2] by former shoppers. Distance to a periodic market conceived in terms of time and physical burden of the activity matters in women's conception of the affordability-quality continuum. Relocation of markets from central locations towards peripheral areas in a neighbourhood in this sense marks a sharp redefinition of the everyday mobility of women with lower resources who depend on the availability of these settings in order to optimize provisioning tasks. For most regular shoppers who lack both time and stable income, weekly market shopping reduces their reliance on other sources (primarily supermarkets) to optimize quality and affordable food on other week days [19 out of 29]. This was a recurring aspect of the mobility patterns of women caring for larger households including young children and older parents when they commented on their transformed access to a relocated market. These subjects relied more on centrally located PMs to plan affordable, adequate, and preferred meals with relatively limited resources including above all time, income, and physical ability.

Relocated markets change the everyday mobilities of older women foremost, given their more limited perceptions of and capacity for altered and more challenging walking distances. Although older provisioning women express a stronger attachment to neighbourhood markets as an indispensable site of their individual foodscape, travelling to a new market location is never expressed as a feasible option because of their compromised physical ability. Another feature of older women's experience has to do

with the physical space of markets – both new and existing. Older provisioning women expressed limited access to markets in winter when it's "cold and rainy" [2] and "loud, and confusing"[21]. As one subject noted in relation to relocation of a market in her neighborhood, "we were expecting a change, really, I was hoping for it [PM modernization], but not the same open air market this time in a peripheral lot far away from the centre" [14]. Changes in both the physical (proximity, infrastructure), social and temporal organization of PMs are related to provisioning subjects' performance and conception of their identity, although in varying intensity and for different reasons. In the case of older women, the re-organization of PMs represents a significant limitation on everyday mobility patterns and provisioning capacity. For younger subjects with limited resources the new locations meant loss of formerly available food resources and/or longer travel distance and a limited subjective realm to conceptualize provisioning strategies. Individual foodscapes are a combination of the temporally and spatially available sites and routines of carrying out reproductive work based on the individual physical, mental, socio- economic capacity of the provisioning subject. The relocation and displacement of neighbourhood markets influences women's everyday mobility in both physical and non-material ways, in that these changes move the family provisioning equilibrium in directions that are sometimes beyond the capacities of aged and economically deprived family providers in particular. This equilibrium is usually an experiential product of women's cumulative expertise and efforts to balance individual and household resources with perceived needs to achieve the "healthy, happy, and productive"[12] functioning of their household and "peace in the family" [12]. Dislocated PMs affect these constructions and related mobility patterns by reducing availability of food but also by reducing the

availability of a uniquely urban public realm. Women's tolerance and judgment of distance and walkability in response to the changes in key food resources varies, above all, by socio-economic status (access to income and other material and non-material resources such as time) and age (and related physical conditions). Changes in the periodic market network have particularly impacted the everyday mobility patterns of aging and limited-resource provisioning subjects. Constraints in available food settings, such as the disappearance or relocation of an existing market, imply changes in this capacity of women as provisioning subjects.

Acceptability

Acceptability is perhaps the most fluidly articulated component of women's accounts on the accessibility of a food setting. In the food biographies, I have come across three somewhat distinct articulations of acceptability in relation to PMs and their divergent influence on provisioning over time. These include women's various and overlapping interpretations of the market as place of: poverty, backwardness, and of sociality and non-economic exchange. Among these, the strongest association of the market was with poverty and economically deprived households' livelihoods [17 out of 40]. Shopping geographies are marked by perceptions of social distinction and status (Gregson et.al., 2002). Women's weekly market decisions are closely expressed in terms of longer term meanings around individual homemaking creativity, knowledge, and skills. Their narratives reflect a continuum of social distinction which is an important component when integrating a food site as a regular food destination. Like affordability, women negotiate social status in decisions about whether a certain shop, market, or supermarket should be visited regularly to obtain food. Women's preference for the gradual increase of

supermarkets as a provisioning destination rather than the periodic market depicts one facet of this issue. In the context of women's generalizable determined search for healthy fresh produce, market shoppers and others with diverse backgrounds acknowledged the market as a resource "above all for poor households" [12]. In some accounts there were also occasional self-references to the "low income people like us" [5]. Frequenting a displaced market was seen by some subjects as "a less prestigious"[9], "traditional,"[12] and "economical"[39] food shopping experience. While the majority agreed that shopping regularly at a market was an important yet weighty task that necessitated strategic planning (meals, family budget)[22 out of 40], time management (other household duties, time for budget shopping), and physical ability ("shopping in a crowded and informally organized atmosphere" [16], "carrying products home"[14]), most non-market-shoppers consider going to a displaced market "a necessity for the most needy: those with little income and many kids"[12]; "but, thank god, not for us"[11]. For subjects with greater socio-economic means, strategies along the affordability continuum enabled by high and low quality produce and pricing in markets is perceived "too energy consuming to care for"[11] compared to supermarket shopping. This comparison can be situated within the modernization paradigm that overrides different segments of Turkish society on almost all grounds. The periodic market, in this vein, represents a backward spatiality where food circulates culturally within semi-formal forms of economic exchange, whereas the supermarket represents gradual transforming of this cultural perception into an objectified quality of food that can be attained in technologically formalized, hygienic settings of impersonal exchange relations. Therefore PMs are less associated with poverty due to lower prices and income-levels of the market shoppers and more associated with a

broad understanding that it is a backward reproductive space which lacks organization and infrastructure.

PMs as therapeutic space (Gesler & Kearns, 2002; Williams, 2007) is another feature contributing to acceptability. Therapeutic places are conceptual or actual indoor and outdoor environments with certain features that promote healing and individual wellbeing (ibid.). Interestingly, women who both relied on low priced market produce and those who cited other places as major food destinations referred to the market setting "in certain ways" as recreational places [23 out of 40]. In most cases, emotions and rituals such as "relaxation", "a sense of freedom"[5], "a chance for a good find"[14], "making yourself happy with so little"[23] were expressed alongside the routine "chaos" [5] of the market. This was more widespread in the accounts of especially young and older subjects. Older informants both invoked the general idea of the market as abstract places of nostalgia. Those who retained ties to a certain market mostly emphasized the leisure aspect of frequenting the market. This familiarity and leisure provides an insight into older women's relative difficulties and disinterest in adapting to the rationalized mode and tools of shopping in impersonal retail environments. This is to say, for older residents, the availability of a familiar market not only enables better-known and preferred ways of food accessibility, but also represents a critical means of facilitating individual capacity and empowerment as urban residents. Women's accounts of the changes in the availability of weekly markets reveal different mobility and affordability strategies that are explicitly related to socio-economic necessity, as well as to leisure, social interaction, and knowledge formation and practice. When available, PMs improved

women's self-conception as local residents, as creative, knowledgeable home makers for whom the market was a leisure experience available at minimal cost.

Social and economic reductions in women's everyday reproductive mobility in individual foodscapes hinder women's subjective experiences as home makers and care providers. In this study, many subjects referred to local markets as "an affordable resource", a venue for "having fun and hunting minor treasures" [36] which may include "specialty cheese, herbs, quality fruit to make jam for grandchildren"[2] as well as "small garments such as socks or underwear or kitchen towels"[14], "yarn, hair and other accessories, lunch boxes"[5], "reading glasses, and kitchenware such as a good wooden spoon"[39] which are "small but great gifts for everyone or just to please yourself on a long and tiring day"[19] and "under these conditions of economic difficulty" [5]. Searching for gift items is a continuous activity for most provisioning women [23 out of 40] and is not reserved for formal occasions such as religious holidays or family events. For women in the study group, it was more generally a regular maternal performance to show affection and/or respect for parents, children, and relatives – mostly nieces and nephews. On the material side, these gifts, which are usually small but practical and valued items, reflect women's constant reproductive awareness, creativity and planning not only for the immediate household but also the extended family. This attention to gift giving also points to a subjective process by which women constitute and maintain their ties to an extended, quasi-material, but non-physical conception of home and home-making. Gift exchange, as an empowering practice, is an important feature of women's experience of both leisure and (superior maternal) status in family. This performance which also reveals a non-capitalist, alternative form of material/social exchange is

spatially integrated in women's everyday food provisioning mobility and is tied to availability of PMs as acceptable food environments.

Thus far, I have presented the meanings and practices relating to transformed PMs in terms of the availability, affordability, and acceptability components of accessibility in performing provisioning tasks. The next section deals with agency and co-relates the findings at a more extensive social/political level of articulating neoliberal subjectification of subjects through reproductive processes.

Agency: Spaces of Home Economics and Commercialization of Reproduction

In Istanbul's displaced PMs, commercialization unfolds according to a certain neoliberal logic that includes re-regulating the spaces of material and social reproduction. This re-regulation physically and socially limits certain livelihoods' access to urban land and food resources. A focus on agency underlines the significance of integrating subtle, particularistic subjective information on accessibility with more generalized patterns of commercialization and exclusion. Perceptions of different food settings represent subjects' sense of capacity (to act) which is a function of the underlying factors shaping their interactions in a setting. Tracking whether a certain place induces "tempted"[19], "spontaneous"[14], "responsible"[12], "economizing"[5] food shopping/processing behaviour, situates practices in association with perceptions of a particular setting. Evaluating the ways that subjects act and perceive their actions in association with certain places relativizes subjects' actual practices in the context of their perceived capacity (agency) to have acted otherwise, in this case, in potential/alternative/preferred ways to carry out food related reproductive work. Pinning down these experiences in place

enables new insights about subjective spatiality, that is, provisioning women's "option landscape" (Paeragaard, 1998) This, in turn, refers simultaneously to what provisioners actually do, would have done otherwise, can no longer do, as well as their "sense" of the reasons which influence these patterns in the context of transformed reproductive resources. Agency is sought in these terms of women's experience as provisioners in the altered option landscape which in this case is the relational geography of PMs. Relocation and merging of these food settings reflect contraction in the actual and conceptual reproductive performance of provisioners and households by the formal re-regulation of space, food and other resources including geographic proximity, social ties, and alternative forms of economic exchange. Given the market-led direction and relative social, spatial, and material effects of this contraction in key reproductive resources, the processes also translate into a gendered process of subjectification in which provisioners are re-produced as micro financiers of household economy with gradually greater restrictions of spatial and other opportunities to act alternatively, i.e. in different spatial schemes and modes of interaction. The dislocation of PMs from core areas represents one way in which temporal and spatial fluidity become linked to competitive redefinitions of the use and value of (reproductive) space. Impacts of this transition are less obvious when focused merely on the material circulation of fresh produce in the city. Yet, food biographies reveal that the affordability component is quantitatively and qualitatively transformed given the shift from a household cash economy towards a micro-economy of credit debt based on the financialization of household food provisioning. This transition is experienced in terms of limited walkability, credit card availability, and dependency on vehicles and/or others' (such as partners') schedules to organize and sustain provisioning

routines. The processes become more intense for aging, limited resource care givers and their dependents. The spatial and functional peripheralization of PMs also forces the rationalization of subjective "sense" to improve or diversify provisioning decisions, universalize care work, and render provisioning subjects price sensitive micro-entrepreneurs. The dismantling of local markets in the urban core, in other words, not only means a contraction in actual reproductive resources such as proximity, variety and affordability, but a market-led domination of agency, that is a subject's capacity to strategize on other ways, mobilities, and places of care.

Intense transformation of the urban food scene over the last two decades has led to observably different subjective maps and methods of optimizing household food provisioning. This specifically refers to an increased share of corporatized spaces of food retail and the continuing importance of PMs as the primary food source for most urban households. At the same time, it is evident that the circulation of foodstuffs, especially fresh produce, has not been affected to the point of scarcity for the majority population. Nonetheless, manifestations of neoliberal economic trends and urban governance have gradually narrowed the option landscape for residents to meet key reproductive needs such as access to urban land in the form of preferred food settings. These processes are also transformative in the sense that they redefine perceptions of status as urban residents since they inscribe social exclusion in space. Places of reproduction and livelihoods are stigmatized, such as a peripherally relocated market "for low income households"[12] or markets as "crime zone"[10]; and subjectivities such as "poor" mothers and/or "needy" households. The micro-financialization of home economics in food provisioning through the extensive use of credit cards and financial consumer incentives tends to rationalize

women's subjective relationship with care work. These processes centralize the (super)market (in terms of physical space, impersonal shopping experience, stock/discount equilibriums, as well as a certain broader logic) in subjects' everyday mobility and foodscapes. The emergent nexus of affordability and availability leads to transformed spaces and modes of acceptability and redefines what is considered "good" food, also reconfiguring care giver subjects' agency through objective representations of well-being and financialized home economics.

Conclusion

This chapter interrogated food accessibility from a layered, human-scale perspective in order to bring to light the relational and multi-dimensional role of PMs with respect to other reproductive settings which comprise individual foodscapes. As the personal level implications of the changes in Istanbul's food retail networks suggest, accessibility is a complex term and involves dynamic processes of negotiating place-specific material and non-material interactions along intersectionally differential terms of provisioning in the city. Personal level analysis of individual foodscapes and the re-organization of access to food revealed diverse manipulations of aspects of accessibility at the household and personal levels. These strategies interact intensely with changes in the urban spatial and social realm which are induced by the multi-scalar re-organization of urban resources – in this case the growth of corporate retail and the dismantling of PMs from core areas.

The subject-centred engagement with food accessibility positions PMs as deeply rooted in both the experiential and imagined foodscapes of urban provisioning subjects. Analysis of the provisioning women's agency suggests that the peripheral relocation of

markets and corporate inner city growth leads to a redefinition of the terms of their immersion into a new moral economy which allows less autonomous capacity to plan and/or to improvise. These processes further restrict care work to a micro-financial management of crucial livelihood resources such as food and space. The biographies also revealed that women want to live closer to acceptable food environments. This is not only because foodscapes are closely associated with social class, but also because foodscapes such as weekly markets are recreational environments where women are empowered through social interaction, practices such as gift giving, opportunities to optimize resources for hobbies, and personal development.

On a methodological and epistemological level, this chapter was exploratory and sought to provide an in-depth understanding of the lives of a group of provisioning women based on free flowing narratives about their lifelong interaction with food and in foodscapes. Given the perceived priority of food related tasks in women's reproductive labour, food is the most dynamically circulating medium to develop an understanding into women's agency as provisioners. Focusing on women's interactions in foodscapes, in this sense, enabled exploring provisioning status as a subjective domain of perceiving and ways of acting in space, rather than a state of being. The biographical methodology aimed to situate provisioning women within the place and time-specific political and social relations that connect and re-constitute them as agents performing as family members, customers, mothers, neighbours and residents.

Chapter 7

Social Determinants of Provisioning: Narratives of Class, Mothering, and Age in PMs

Introduction

Chapter 6 examined individual foodscapes and explored the relative meanings of PMs for users by tracing the patterns of physical accessibility and agency in provisioners' accounts about these specific places of social and material reproduction. The chapter centered around the range of individual meanings and uses subjects attributed to PMs, and specifically explored how reorganization influenced these patterns within the relational geographies of individual foodscapes. The analysis demonstrated the ways provisioning women's use and perceptions of food settings involved individual strategies in and over space when organizing and carrying out food-related reproductive work. The examination also showed that access in relation to food is subjective, place-based and can not only be grasped by physical availability of food and/or space.

PM spatiality is where narratives of poverty and backwardness are currently reproduced, interrelated, performed and extended to broader conceptions and meanings of rights and legitimacy in Istanbul. Women's description of their encounters in new PMs demonstrate that displacement is linked to various material and non-material re-configurings of routine provisioning tasks, together with their self-conception as care providers. I engage formal discourses of PM displacement as the initial means of examining the municipal re-production of (PM) space. From the narratives of municipal officials, as well as from secondary sources, I identify three dominant themes in these discourses: urban security, public health, and spatial modernization. I argue that it is

through these framings that the direct and gradual contraction of PMs as existing and potential reproductive resources is taking place. This chapter addresses the broader social implications of these influences on exclusion of different provisioners, and domesticities in the city. The objective of the chapter is to represent the actual and conceptual connections between re-spatialization of reproduction and exclusion based on individual reflections of provisioners on the social and cultural circulation of (material) food and associated perceptions of provisioning in the physical setting of a market. Specifically, the chapter addresses the research question: on what specific grounds do changes in access to PMs broaden the perspective on the complex and intersectional patterns of political, socio-economic, spatial and other forms of exclusion in the city? The chapter also presents women's conception of accessible and empowering PMs gleaned through their critique of current relocations.

Official Discourses of (reproductive) PM Space

Space matters in being able to access resources. The regulation of space has both direct and indirect impacts on the social and physical maintenance of everyday reproductive activities. With regards to direct contractions, I refer to instances where accessibility is directly cut off or restrained by the municipal relocation of PMs away from central neighbourhood areas, with the result being longer walking distances and the replacement of centrally located retail areas with permanent and financialized food settings. Indirect contraction occurs when existing temporal and spatial urban patterns that specifically benefit lower-access residents are gradually re-interpreted by municipal governments to focus upon middle class demands and priorities. This is apparent, for example, in the

active role district municipalities play in the establishment of higher-end certified-organic farmers markets in some of the central neighbourhoods, while conventional PMs are relocated in peripheral areas (as in Kartal and Kadikoy). As the priorities and agendas of growth promote competitive and private uses of reproductive space, the already limited realm in which limited resource residents can maneuver for provisioning contracts further. Displacement of weekly PMs manifest this trend since there is a critical shift in municipal discourse towards focusing on health and lifestyle while downplaying accessibility as a prominent food priority.

Spatial problematization of urban issues is a key governmental strategy in regulating urban space. Urban governance in this sense is a continuous cartographic exercise by which issues and subjects are formally mapped and re-mapped in line with projections in space. In Lefebvrian terms, the process refers to a distinct form of state ‘production of space’ where emerging maps of intervention are integral to the constitution of the actors, extent, and boundaries of the issues in question (Dikec, 2007). As such, urban governance manifests new urban forms and relations by bringing about transformed orders and subjects of interaction through and in space. In the case of peripherally relocated PMs, space and food resources are re-instrumentalized by re-regulating space in ways that make PMs a less accessible and enabling network for adaptive strategies of livelihood sustainability, especially among residents with intersectional grounds for compromised access.

Specifically, in municipal (both district and metropolitan) language for spatial redevelopment, “the issue” of weekly markets, that is, the “necessity” to modernize them, was articulated through the mobilizing discourses of neighbourhood security and safety.

Social discourses of space in which PM relocations were presented put forward urban renewal as a means to promote redevelopment by imposing “order” in spaces of poverty, backwardness, and degradation.

Security, Health, and Lifestyle in Women’s Narratives

All PM-shopping subjects were to some extent knowledgeable about what must have led to the relocation of a PM in their area. Reflecting on change, they could also comment on which grounds they agreed or were satisfied by the formal claims for displacement and its outcomes. Physical availability of PMs has a key influence in the design and articulation of provisioners' spatial strategies. Spatial strategies in relation to provisioning are subjective creations and result from women's interaction with material conditions in social environments that are governed contingently by social, cultural, and economic discourses of health, security, productivity, and modernization. In the narratives, provisioners' comments on security and their concerns for healthy food choices in PMs reflect a mix of these discourses. First of all, women, especially those who live on or close to the streets where a PM is set up, view “a typical market day” [5; 32; 23] as “chaos” [5] caused by a “loud crowd of vendors and customers”[14], and “congestion”[26]. Women also express a strong view on insufficient formal inspection of vendor practices [19 out of 40]. Unfriendly attitudes and harsh treatment by vendors as well as sexual harassment are commonly cited as elements of disturbance associated with a “typical market day”. Especially subjects who lived on a PM street reported at least one incident when “the stalls”[14], “vendor vehicles” [39] or “the crowd itself prevented emergency vehicles’ access”[12]. Pickpocketing and purse-snatching incidents were also

mentioned but these were mostly “heard of” [5] and “not-personally-experienced” [3] events. A most referenced [10 out of 40] issue in relation to views on “PMs as threat” was cited as the “leftover scenes”[11; 21] which refers to people – mostly children and women – picking leftover produce during the market after hours, that is, once the vendors leave but before municipal waste trucks arrive to clear the streets of the day’s garbage. Picking leftover produce was “not healthy for those kids”[19], and such “a scene of poverty” [2] was not something “a person would want to see every week from her balcony while fixing a salad with lettuce bought from the very stall that was being searched through for individual leaves” [10]; this “was sad and humiliating” [9]. For whom? This was a question women mostly found difficult to comment on [7 out of 12]. In most cases women responded “of course it isn’t their fault that they had to pick from garbage” [10], and that they felt respect and “empathy for those people” [14] since “they were, too, mothers trying to take care of a family” [11]. Their comments were mostly vague, expressing mixed feelings of criticism and empathy for witnessing poor provisioners using the same reproductive setting of the PM in such a different way. In this sense, to what extent the humiliation was internalized or projected on leftover pickers and other limited access subjects, comprised an interesting yet difficult dimension in our interviews. Disturbance by “scenes of poverty’ and emergency access issues were the most expressed concerns about central PMs setting up along major streets [18 out of 40].

Relocated or closed PMs are most commonly justified by court decisions based on “resident complaints”, mostly on the grounds of noise, pollution and traffic blockage in a vicinity (see Chapter 2; Eder & Oz, 2012). According to the affected vendors, court decisions do not reflect the facts. Resident complaints are instrumentalized – or even

concocted by individual municipalities -- in order to legitimize private intentions for public land (ibid.: 15). Relocations follow a certain local growth logic that commodifies public and quasi-public spaces of reproduction by rendering places such as PMs, parks and waterfronts as “usable” land to promote competition for urban rent. Yet, women's negative views on conventional PM settings demonstrate that it is over-generalizing to underestimate the role of residents (as provisioners and inhabitants) in contributing to the governmental ground for creating and implementing competitive growth practices. For example, provisioners from all backgrounds reflect a common concern for healthy foodstuffs as a defining element of food shopping in PMs and elsewhere. That is, PMs are where provisioners constantly negotiate freshness and hygiene as oppositional qualities of produce. Security in relation to PMs is also commonly discussed in relation to inaccessibility in emergency situations. Improvement of the physical market layout with infrastructural elements such as parking, lighting and cooling systems is another important carrier of the discourse of modernizing PMs. In these narratives, it is again clear that gendered dimensions relating to proper interpersonal conduct and individual security are less openly pronounced, yet important aspects in supporting PM modernization. Finally, views on markets as backward places is also strongly related to the distaste of being “exposed” to poverty as in the case of after hour provisioners picking leftover produce. These comments and experiences overlap in some key ways with the municipal agenda of ordering space through commodification since, as one provisioner clarifies: “the middle of a normally busy and developed neighbourhood centre is no place for these scenes” [2]. What, then, is the right place for these “scenes” to be normal? Or rather, how are spatial strategies functional in normalizing poverty and the

limitations to resource accessibility on which they are based? In the case of PM relocations, the answer to these questions unfolds as a spatial order introduced by remapping the (reproductive) functions of urban space.

Narratives of women who live in a central area where a PM was formerly set up, reveal that their conception of social status is strongly defined and conditional on the social use of reproductive settings, in this case, by “the poor”. This link provides insight into the mutually constitutive relationship between subjects and social discourses of space. Municipal discourses around PMs overlapped with women's class-based self-conceptions and provided the ground for municipal strategies which interpreted, instrumentalized and integrated with these self-conceptions to exclude “the poor”. Displacing centrally located PMs “opened up” and ordered urban land but by reinforcing space as a means to consolidate the self-conception of some provisioners by spatially segregating others as those who were carrying out “poor, dangerous, and peripheral” livelihoods. Yet, PM relocations partially responded to the conflicting demands of provisioners who live in better off central neighbourhoods. This is because their material/physical expectations for accessibility (i.e. affordable, quality fresh produce in near proximity) contradict class-based conceptions of self and its manifestations in domestic space, including a “modern and clean”[20] residential area. The interaction between discourses and production of space is simultaneously a process where subjects of exclusion and inclusion are constituted. That is, subjects are not external to the workings of spatial strategies to re-represent and eventually to re-map functions in space. As such, PMs as a collective resource realm have not only been spatially peripheralized but also have reinforced and made visible the stigmatizing and exclusion of subjects on the basis

of everyday routines and strategies in reproductive environments. Another implication relates to accessibility as agency since its material and non-material dimensions are effective in women's performance of care and simultaneous construction of self as care providers. This is evident in the strong spatial understanding of (higher) social status, although the material impacts of relocated PMs have been counterproductive with regards to material and physical access to better fresh produce for some subjects.

Habitual environments of reproduction translate into interpersonal interactions and subjective uses of place, which are important realms for women's everyday and longer term negotiations of class and other dimensions of subjective construction. Livelihood needs to be problematized as an experiential category by exploring the transitional meanings in which everyday actions are shaped. The role of subjective dynamics in optimizing accessibility in individual foodscapes presents one case where the importance of this dimension becomes clearer. It can then be said that livelihoods of provisioning women as an object of inquiry involve “‘making a life’ rather than making a living” in places of provisioning (Jarosz, 2011: 308). Context-specific readings of neoliberalism and its possible responses should, in this sense, address subjects' negotiations of conflictual demands and expectations and how these link to constructions of self as subjects as well as the ways these understandings intertwine with strategies in and for space and other livelihood resources. To do this, I now explore the distinct grounds which influence relocated PM shoppers' use of individual foodscapes and conceptions of self within the household.

Narrating (limited) Access: Food-shopping in a Relocated PM

I have referred to socio-economic status in terms of subjects' level of access to a range of material and non-material resources including income, social networks, geographical proximity, knowledge and time (Chapters 1 and 3). Subjects' self-identification has also been the major evidence on which I have problematized individual and household socio-economic status. It has also been previously discussed that PMs are recognized as the most affordable place to shop for quality fresh produce in Istanbul. Here, I will focus on particular narratives of affordability and what these representations may reveal in terms of provisioners' self-construction, that is, their sense of capacity to act in distinct, alternate ways as care providing subjects. I apply this information to a loosely conceptualized category of class, in order to articulate the social implications of PM spatiality. PMs are the major source of food accessibility for provisioners whose overall access to other urban and individual resources is restricted, due to lower and unstable incomes and employment, lack of financial flexibility (i.e. credit card ownership), and limited geographical flexibility. In these households, food shopping was primarily paid for in cash; availability of credit cards was uncommon. Limited resource provisioners were also less likely to relocate their residence to adapt to changing life conditions such as a new job location, school etc. On the contrary, most provisioners expressed being a tenant in the same rental unit as a long-term strategy despite long hours of daily commute to and from work (which was on average three hours) for employed members of the household [25 out of 40].

Spatial contractions in the realm and diversity of reproductive resources and food in particular, complicate food choice, activities, and routes of provisioners living on

insufficient household income. The realities of women who described their experiences in transformed individual foodscapes suggest that poorer subjects travel more and are less likely to utilize public and private means of transportation. They cater to larger households with more non-adult children compared to economically better off families. Deprived subjects and their households are also younger than provisioners with more material means (such as home ownership, stable income, and grown up children contributing to provisioning in different ways i.e. supplementing income, or participating in reproductive tasks by driving and/or shopping). Limited means provisioners' individual foodscapes are comprised of more food settings than others, including at least one weekly PM and on average two or more smaller scale local supermarkets which they visit every two to three days to shop for missing and/or daily items such as extra fruit, fresh salad veggies, and bread. For limited access provisioners, PMs are the major food destination for household sustenance. What is available in the market and at which price and quality are the major criteria in putting together daily and weekly plans for meals including dinners, school lunches, and occasional meals with extended family or guests. The reasons for their particular reliance on PMs are varied but most commonly have to do with affordability and diversity of produce in the neighbourhood PM. Availability of preferred vendors is another factor and specifically means occasional deferred cash payments and the ability to reserve better/specific quality produce. Women also visit PMs to shop for non-food/leisure items for crafts, school supplies and gifts. Shopping at a relocated PM takes longer and requires more physical energy. It also involves tightly scheduled strategies in order to reconcile market shopping with other everyday tasks, mainly to benefit from "evening sales" in the later hours of a market day. Detailed

descriptions of experiences in markets also reveal the significance of fresh produce shopping as an axis for organizing other practices of reproductive work such as bill payments, buying gifts and minor household items for repairs and other necessities. It seems that even when a PM is no longer in central proximity with other (non-food) settings of provisioning (such as banks, the bakery or the pharmacy), the weekly temporal scheme of the PM continues to shape women's organization of domestic routines and everyday lives.

When I asked what made shopping particularly important given the tight schedule and physical effort women described on “a typical market day”, the most common answer was that PM shopping was “a habit”[15 out of 29]. I probed this straightforward answer further in order to understand how the transformation of the habitual PM setting influenced self-perception and social status. At this point, women's accounts centred generally around the quality and affordability of produce in PMs. Comments at this level reflected more common sense than providing directions to understand how spatial re-organization influenced subjective use of reproductive space and reflection as subjects. It was then that I realized I had focused too much on “what” women told and not equally on “how” they told their particular stories when they described PMs as a main food resource and a constituent of individual foodscapes. I went back for a “different reading” of the narratives, this time paying attention to the links, particular use of narrative tools such as humour as well as the gaps during a subject's description of food accessibility in one or more weekly markets. The first insight from this re-visiting of the narratives had to do with the strong emphasis on the importance and organizing role of food in the everyday functioning of family – even more so than, for example, older and better off households.

Second, for subjects who regularly shopped at a PM, reference was more often to sufficiency of food within the household. Sufficiency was accompanied by formulations of quality as a relative function of price, which is also a negotiated category. This was important since for relatively young subjects, especially for those with formal employment, quality was discussed objectively, that is, in direct relation to health and environmental impacts (although the latter to a much lesser extent and as a broader context for health implications). PM shoppers, too, articulated provisioning practices concerning certain links to health such as sufficient diet and malnutrition especially of children. In fact, sufficient intake of seasonal fresh produce and other foodstuffs was the most commonly cited family health concern put forward by women to “justify” shopping from PMs since “fresh fruit and vegetables are abundantly available” [17] in PMs. There were certain “disadvantages of buying food from the PMs” [5]: “it’s much more affordable and all that” [9] but “they say the stalls are dirty” [31] and “you have to go all the way and mix in the crowd which is unpleasant especially if you’re young and it gets dark by the time you get back home with all the stuff you’ve bought” [14]. The comparative basis on which provisioners went about their continued preference for relocated PMs suggests that the spatially articulated stigma of PMs influenced women’s self-conception and performance as provisioners. The transformed PM spatiality, its peripheral location and disorganized structure rendered women responsible to optimize food sufficiency/affordability, hygiene, personal security, and satisfaction, as incompatible features of provisioning experience. This dimension was most evident in one provisioner’s explicit reference to the link between limited material access and reliance on PMs as a primary food resource: “You know they say ‘it’s not what you earn

but saving on food' that gets you a healthy family budget, but I don't mind that. We're not rich, of course, but why on Earth should I save on food? What other luxuries have I? I don't smoke; I even go to the hairdresser less than once a year. I can't and won't save on food. The market is the place for me – wherever it is – I buy what my kids want – less if it's something expensive but I try to buy some anyway” [36]. Unlike this particular informant, most limited access informants tended to avoid explicitly addressing the stigma associated with relocated PMs. This may be because food has a cultural centrality in the functioning of domestic life and the gendered division of reproductive labour. The silencing strategy in this sense may reflect the actual ways women save on food expenditure, which is incongruent with dominant discourses of women's responsibility in making healthy food decisions and ensuring family wellbeing. By spending relatively more physical effort and time to negotiate health, quality, and affordability concerns, the spatial, discursive, and social marginalization of PMs put provisioners under pressure both to perform and at the same time to justify their performance. The physical and emotional burden of provisioning with limited means and in spatially contracted locations, relates to subjects' self-conception as caring provisioners and as residents with equal rights to participate in the city. This issue also links to subjective explorations of the gendered relationship between poverty and shame in narrative expression. That is, introspection on the perceived disadvantages of poverty and other social determinants of stigma is intensely emotional as well as material: it is embodied and place and time specific. In the case of transformed PMs, provisioners found it 'difficult' [10], “odd” [5] and “unworthy” [18] to talk about why they shop from a certain place and what it means when the spatial organization and meanings associated with these places change.

Provisioners' tendency to “justify” and/or silence the “home economics” measures they put into work by shopping from a PM may be interpreted as ways to distinguish self (and household) from the stigma created about these reproductive settings. Food provisioning is a daily activity and involves daily, weekly, monthly and sometimes yearly visits to preferred food destinations to obtain foodstuffs. Therefore, peripheralization of PM locations does not necessarily mean that spatial re-regulation results in perceived negative impacts on food choice and composition of the provisioning foodscape and domestic food work. That is, “people learn to manage where they are” and further “they may not express dissatisfaction in consumer surveys, even those using in-depth interviews” (Dowler, 2008: 764; Williams & Hubbard, 2001; Whelan et al., 2002; Wilson et al., 2004 cited in *ibid.*). Yet, subjects’ narrative strategies, such as self-defence and avoidance, when reflecting on lifelong provisioning performance not merely as consumers of food but care providing subjects, reveal that changes in accessibility of food are linked to emotional as well as material and social experiences of class, exclusion, shame, and personal achievement. Emotional manifestations of poverty and other social determinants of exclusion are not widely explored and less so in terms of the gendered nature of their interaction (Howard & Millard, 1997). Next I deal with this issue by focusing on limited access provisioners’ performances as mothers and how these performances are influenced by transformed foodscapes.

Narrating Age and Mothering: Nurturing in PMs

Life course matters in provisioning women's transitional experiences and their use of reproductive spaces. Implications of spatial transformation of food settings vary across

age and subjects' transitional status within the household. The spatial reorganization of individual foodscapes is affected by women's time and place-specific roles in the gendered division of reproductive work. Life course defined "less as the mechanical turning of a wheel and more as the unpredictable flow of river" (Hockey & James, 2003: 5) is a valuable tool to understand the shifting provisioning performances of individual subjects. It is an analytical engagement with spaces and scales of transition during and after significant life events or "turning points" (Elder, 1998 cited in Worth, 2010: 2), which happen and shape individual experience. Therefore, accessibility patterns should be problematized by looking at the individual meanings of spatial change with respect to the domestic organization of care work and the construction of subjective positions according to life course events/transitions. In the case of transformed access to PMs, provisioning performance was mostly related to parenting and ageing as "life changing" transitions. A typical market day was commonly described as consisting of several key dimensions and concerns that are part of women's construction and experience of mothering. Motherhood represents a complex transition in women's reproductive roles and has crucial impacts on the perceptions, scales, spaces, and temporal organization of reproductive tasks. Mothering women tend to express their care giver positions as "instinctual" (a "gift of god"). Yet, they relate their own mothering practices to the accumulative knowledge which was "acquired through lifelong interaction" with other female care-givers – primarily their own mothers – as well as through the ideals and models of the patriarchal culture.

To what extent the accessibility of relocated PMs had an impact on provisioning subjects in the study diverged significantly, depending on women's position as mothers,

grandmothers, and ageing individuals. Being responsible for older, young (grand) children as well as having older parents was expressed as the major grounds that shaped subjects' maternal performances. Here a distinction has to be made on the basis of what I mean by mothering: I understand it as "maternal care provision" for various external and household dependents, including children, grandchildren, older parents and relatives. By briefly dealing with the concept of critical motherhood, I seek to better articulate the centrality of food and foodscapes in women's transitional maternal work. The gender literature on critical mothering emphasizes the need to scrutinize "the actual experiences of mothering, as apart from, albeit affected by, the institution of motherhood" (O'Reilly, 2005: 3). This method of theorization defines maternity in performative, experiential terms and critically demarcates it from the social and biological construction of motherhood as "institution" (Ruddick, 1989; O'Reilly, 2005:3). As a way of thought and acting, critical maternity scholars conceptualize "the word 'mother' . . . as a verb, as something one does, a practice", O'Reilly (ibid.) notes, that this redefinition is important in that it clearly "degender[s] motherwork" and "divest[s] care from biology . . . enabl[ing] scholars to destabilize patriarchal motherhood". Mothering is a critical performance mode that, in multiple ways, influences the constitutive relationship between the material and non-material processes of care provision and gendered subjectification. Critical maternity, defined as a dynamically negotiated rationale for "ways of doing" rather than a given, biological and social status, conceptualizes mothering as a performative constituent of the subjects of reproduction (both male and female). In other words, processes of mothering are an integral feature of subject formation. These perspectives are needed in order to make better sense of the physical (in terms of actions and places)

and emotional intersections which constitute women's reproductive subjectivity and "ways of providing care" across the life course and at the bodily, household, and broader scales of both the public and private domains. In this study, depending on provisioners' mothering status and dependants' age, daily reproductive concerns are adjusted to satisfy the (perceived) needs of primarily young children but also of unmarried adult children and older parents. In many cases where adult unmarried children and older parents (also in-laws) were not reported to live in the same house, women expressed continuing interest in monitoring and whenever possible carrying out food provisioning tasks in children's and parents' homes.

Aging parents, that is, having one or more older parents, were reported as being a life transforming "situation" [7] and a major reason to re-focus individual provisioning mobility and strategies. Caring for elder parents was mostly described as a "responsibility" [19] and involved weekly PM and local supermarket shopping for fresh produce and meat and monthly visits to outlets for non-food grocery items. These contributions are also complemented by some processing of food (such as, cleaning, peeling, freezing etc. fresh produce for daily usage) before taking it to a parent's home, usually on a weekly basis. Women who provide for older parents mostly express dietary concerns and their parent's preferred food locations as the primary rationales for this part of their provisioning work. Even in cases where a subject would express negative feelings in relation to shopping at a PM for her own household, she would shop weekly at a specific PM – in one case, a specific vendor – "just to please" [12] her older mother who "would die to go to the PM on her own, but was frightened because of the crowd and pick-pocketers" [ibid.]. At this point, self-provisioning older women's preferences for

PMs supports parental care providers' accounts on their parents' insistence on PMs. In the case of study subjects, PMs were the most preferred destinations for older provisioners, but they generally lacked the physical ability to walk the increased distances required to regularly visit a PM. Their visits were mostly occasional, and the weekly stock was usually supported by produce from a local supermarket or brought in by adult children.

Women who carried out food tasks for older parents with or without limited physical ability expressed this as a “major duty” [32] for someone who is responsible for “nurturing the family” [8]. For older residents, ageing and limited physical ability severely limit urban accessibility and visibility and, in this sense, comprise an important barrier against social and spatial inclusion. Their knowledge and capacity do not count and they experience a contracted realm. These limitations diminish their individual capacity to act on individual provisioning concerns and in this manner, undermine older people's agency as reproductive subjects. Still, the gendered perceptions of feminine responsibility to “nurture” [11] render younger generation provisioning subjects as responsible to compensate for parents' limited access to affordable and preferred food settings. The processes, in this way, reveal that timely and appropriate provisioning for others is an important realm influencing perceptions of personal achievement and emotional relationship with parents. As subjects tended to express femininity and maternal care provision as congruent categories of a woman's adult life, affection towards parents was considered as an extension of this “inclination to nurture” [25]. Food played both a symbolic and actual role in this performance and influenced women's use of reproductive settings. Women's maternal conception of parental care was one dimension

which illustrates the complex relation between organization and accessibility of food settings and women's self-conception and individual emotional satisfaction.

Gender assessments of the commercialization of everyday life have mostly been explored within geographies of consumption, where women's provisioning practices have been linked to gendered explorations of how individuals and households manage, divide, and finance reproductive activities. Domestic and other settings of everyday reproduction have been problematized by addressing the crucial implications of spatiality; and, everyday and long term relations of exchange have a central role in shaping the gendered patterns through which women experience differential status as reproductive subjects. Yet, women's self-construction and performance as mothers, i.e.: maternal care as the key constituent in making food decisions, has not been sufficiently explored as a time and place-specific transition with crucial links to subject formation. Maternity and subjectivity as related constructs provided significant insights into how provisioning identities that were formed in a household context altered in response to one time and gradual transitions in life. Mothering was described as the most influential and continuing life event in defining one's use of and perspective on reproductive settings. Therefore, based on women's narratives, it is possible to say that subjectivities formed with reference to their provisioning status within their households were both spatial and transitional.

The transformed spatial and social accessibility of food settings imply different experiences and conceptions of mothering. The interaction of reproductive space and mothering is also related to class as a broad material and non-material social category and comprises the subjective realm in which women shape provisioning practices and

perceptions. It was previously discussed (Chapter 5) that compared to PMs, supermarkets were considered a more children-friendly provisioning environment and thus contribute to women's feelings of satisfaction as mothers. Mothering women's negative associations with PMs included the physical difficulty of visiting the market with small children and inability to interact with them, for example, to make food decisions on what to buy. Mothers value children's feedback on food and individual food preferences. Therefore in the supermarket, children were “free” [9] and participated in food choice by expressing what they would like to eat and also by making individual shopping decisions themselves. These accounts mostly belonged to mothering women who did not or only occasionally shopped at a PM (when alone and usually dropping by to buy a single item/produce). Commercialization of mothering through transformed settings of food retailing was a particular manifestation of the broader neoliberal redefinition of social and material reproduction. Mothering is a widely instrumentalized dimension in targeting provisioning subjects' food behaviour as consumers in supermarkets and other settings of consumer culture. Yet, preference for local supermarkets as an optimizing mothering strategy in order to sufficiently respond to and socialize with children, reveals a context where physical and non-material aspects of accessibility are negotiated by mothering provisioners' agency.

Experiences of mothering women who regularly shop at a relocated PM are different in that they prefer PMs as a major destination for food since they care for younger children with less material and non-material resources. In other words, affordability in PMs is a defining dimension of food accessibility for their households. Proximity and ability to improvise on food in a given setting are valued features of a food

setting. As PMs move further away from their neighbourhoods, mothering women with limited means travel more and tend to rely on less flexible schedules of care work. Women expressed these as “inevitable outcomes of raising a young family on limited income” [16]. In most cases, poverty and struggles of coping with prolonged everyday difficulties in provisioning were normalized in potential and actual mothers' perceptions about feminine maternity. Yet, women who actually look after a family with limited means are influenced by the stigma created by the relocations: “I'm not saying where it was was perfect. But when I went to the new place for the first time, I said, why then? Same old story... nothing is for us... has never been” [5].

Peripheral PMs have not significantly altered provisioning women's physical access to affordable and acceptable food. Food provisioning is a continuous and to a large extent systemic activity of managing resources. Women who relied on PMs in the study adapted to the changes imposed by PM relocations. Maternal status expressed as the performative realm of responsibility and care (for diverse 'others') is the major way women internalize and normalize the extra physical burden of longer walking distances and the commercialization of habitual settings of individual foodscapes and spatial transformation in their neighbourhoods. Yet, the social implications of spatial segregation on the basis of the use of reproductive resources and the legitimizing discourses of modernization (hygiene, order, and security in the marketplace) attached to these processes, influence women's self-construction as subjects within the household and within the city.

Place is important in women's individual performances as provisioners, and different food settings and locations imply different tools and modes of mothering.

Environing the life course as a relational concept of becoming enables a dynamic understanding of individuals' overlapping positions in life. It calls for a topographical approach to individual experience where time is embedded in and makes sense through the geographies of performance and recollection (Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Worth, 2010). The provisioners' interpretations of and reactions to PM relocations are full of tension and can best be understood as a process where the material and non-material components of accessibility result in class related conceptions of "communicative" and stigmatized mothers. The commercialization of the reproductive realm instrumentalizes mothering women's capacity to design and implement provisioning strategies in ways which lead them to feel responsive and creative as subjects. Besides gender, class, age, and mothering as a lifelong status interact with and alter women's agency and visibility in "doing home economics" [34]. These processes find expression in the spatially and socially stigmatized everyday geographies and subjects of social and material reproduction.

"A Desired Market Day": PMs as Empowering Foodscapes

So far, I have discussed provisioning subjects' experiences and their understandings of "a typical market day" and "a typical market setting". Their perceptions and relative use of PM space provided insights for a dynamic conception of urban accessibility and factors effective in their differential constructions of self with respect to gendered provisioning. Here, I focus on a complementary dimension: women's conception of "a desirable" market spatiality for a subject-centred diagnostic approach to empowering urban reproductive space. I do so by referring to women's positive reference to specific aspects

of both projected and past practices and settings of provisioning. Under the current conditions of relocated, merged markets, PM shopping requires more physical effort and is mostly preferred as an affordability maximizing strategy. Positive perceptions of leisure and social networking are expressed together with fear of crime (i.e. sexual harassment and theft), kid-unfriendliness, and lack of retail standards primarily with regard to hygiene, and the general organization of market-vending. Current transformations that corresponded to merging and displacement of formerly central PMs, meant longer walking distances and other physical difficulties for subjects for whom the PM was the major food resource. These subjects were younger, had young children, and had access to relatively less material resources, including income, home ownership, access to a vehicle, or ability to change their residential location.

Replacement of PMs with permanent and private food retail spaces exemplifies one way in which neoliberalization spatializes social and material reproduction in Istanbul. The political meanings derived from the distinct pattern of neighbourhood spatial segregation has deep impacts on individuals and households by subjecting provisioning women to the stigma created around PMs. Class, age, and maternal status are the key factors shaping women's agency to respond and/or to internalize these processes. Women's conception of self as provisioning subjects became visible life patterns through the spatial composition of provisioning performance, that is, individual foodscapes. The spatial and temporal flexibility provided by centrally located weekly markets was a domain of livelihood strategizing that was subjectively interpreted by provisioners through their individual use of reproductive place. The flexibility and fluidity of market organization itself constituted a resource ground for residents with

limited access to a range of advantages such as price and product diversity, location proximity, and informal economic relations on which they routinely and systematically strategized for livelihood sustenance. Flexibility as a resource was diminished spatially and temporally by the growth perspective of municipal governments, which primarily entailed commercialization of available public space. Limited mobility left provisioners with more commercialized settings (i.e. supermarkets) where their capacity to benefit from price and product/quality differentiation was limited. In terms of a temporal dimension, the temporary nature of weekly markets provided buyers with opportunities to strategize about the better (more affordable) times for purchasing certain goods. The weekly pattern allowed consumers flexible decision-making about appropriate household budget allocation and the shortness of the cycle enabled them to benefit from weekly price and product differentiation (that may occur due to the impacts of weather, transportation, or level of exports on the domestic market). Instead, flexibility as an advantage, is taken over by private interests of urban investors (in land) and manifested in settings of micro-financed provisioning and franchise forms of permanent retailing. With this, flexible relations and spaces of urban material and social interaction were increasingly re-modeled as a factor in creating competitive advantage and were less allowed to function as a collective ground for optimizing accessibility. As such, provisioning women addressed the following issues in order to frame PMs as an empowering environment promoting and ensuring individual and collective accessibility of food, and participation in the public realm:

1. PMs should be centrally located in a neighbourhood. They should be close to public transportation but pedestrian access should be the priority in relocating a market.

2. PMs should be allocated permanent market locations. These areas should be facilitated by infrastructure but should also be designed for multiple functions such as “PM for one day and public parking on other days of a week”. Many provisioners emphasized the significance of multi-use planning by providing examples from other Turkish cities (mainly Ankara) and also from the traditional village/town centers, which are a widespread model for farmers markets around the world.
3. The weekly temporal pattern should be retained, ideally without changing the day in the case of a change of location. It is important for provisioners to maintain established links with vendors. Customer profiles differ depending on which day a PM is open. Therefore, changing the day when the market is set up influences produce and price distribution in a PM (for example, higher prices in a weekend market and lower on weekdays).
4. Product and vendor diversity should be retained. This is important since in most relocations, the number of vending stalls were officially decreased. The downsizing of PMs negatively affected product and price diversity while also diminishing PMs' therapeutic use by allowing less “space” and opportunity for leisure.
5. Vendor-customer relations should be regulated. Retail standards should be in effect. Measures should be set to prevent harsh treatment and verbal abuse.
6. PMs should be safe. Uncontrolled traffic of carts, trucks and people is dangerous and comprises the major reason why PMs are not considered safe especially for older people and children. Security should be ensured specifically by sufficient lighting of the marketplace, especially in winter when most people shop after sunset.

7. PMs are gendered environments dominated by male vendors and female provisioners. Verbal and physical sexual harassment should be prevented and penalized. Currently, neither the police, nor municipal constables are easily accessible given the dispersed organization of markets in a number of major and smaller streets. Women consider centrally located, permanent marketplaces as a planning measure that could improve safety by having municipal constables based centrally in the market.

“The different ways in which women and men participate in and benefit from urban governance are significantly shaped by prevailing constructions of gender, whose norms, expectations and institutional expressions constrain women's access to the social and economic, and thus political, resources of the city” (Beall, 1996). Women’s ideas of a desired marketplace underline the important ways in which income, social status, and physical ability affect gendered inclusion and participation in city life and access to its resources. Neither the ongoing municipal relocations nor the standards introduced in the newly introduced (July 2012) by-law overlap with the above listed expectations of provisioners with respect to gender-sensitive governance of PM re-organization. Regulations on opening, relocating, and closing PMs and vendor accountability comprise the core of the current by-law; and the document mainly aims to provide a general framework for ongoing municipal practices.

Still, the by-law addresses some of the issues raised by women in their accounts on a desired PM setting. First, it introduces municipal responsibility for: allocating covered market areas with necessary infrastructural elements such as electricity, lighting, parking, and public toilets. A municipal constable base is also to be located in every market place. Prices are to be inspected and consumer rights are to be protected by

measures such as available electronic scales at the market entrance and exit, so that customers are able to control the amount of their purchase (Articles 5-10). The by-law also prohibits uncovered/unpackaged sale of items but assigns municipalities to specify and inspect its implementation (Articles 22 and 25). Yet, the proposed regulations do not envision centrally located, flexible-use PM spaces which was a major issue in women's prospects for preferred PM planning.

The document generally reiterates municipalities' current actions by neutralizing the effects that the space has on the profitability of PMs for both provisioners and vendors. Still, a relative novelty is the explicit description of required facilities in market settings. Yet, these are too general and primarily directed to municipal responsibility to establish traffic and waste management, safety, and accessibility measures for a legal market location. The by-law exposes vendors to financial pressures without addressing the spatial injustices their businesses face by setting up stalls in smaller markets in less physically accessible and favoured (by consumers) locations. In its current state, it formulates PMs as a matter of physical/spatial and financial modernization of the relations between traditional/informal vendors and vending and municipalities. It doesn't recognize and voice the perspectives and priorities of residents who "use" these PM place for diverse objectives of provisioning and everyday and longer term social and material reproduction. Instead it reveals a stronger will to prevent and to regulate vendor informality than to respond to women's expectations for a safe, flexible, and accessible provisioning environment. In this manner, the bylaw formalizes ongoing conflicts over informality, space, and accessibility by legitimizing municipalities' current spatial management.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented a social and spatial assessment of the connections between PM re-spatialization and social and physical exclusion. Women draw upon various individual, family and social histories as they recount provisioning experiences in the context of transitional and multiple roles as gendered subjects. The analysis in this chapter showed that pro-growth displacement of PMs leads to stigmatized reproductive spaces and “peripheral” livelihoods and subjects, and maps new boundaries for exclusion primarily on the basis of class, gender, and generation.

Replacement of markets by permanent, financialized, privatized settings of provisioning represents intense commercialization of the reproductive realm as well as the gendered subjectivity of care providers. I have argued that regulation of reproductive spaces has direct and gradual impacts on the social and physical maintenance of everyday activities and necessities. Social discourses on PMs as a threat for neighbourhoods have significantly affected the use of these settings while at the same time reproducing its subjects as backward. The material and discursive articulations of neighbourhood modernization elevate the stigmatization of spaces and priorities of limited-access subjects as backward and a-modern. Together with direct limitations on physical accessibility and social and spatial exclusion of certain livelihoods, these processes have also marginalized the use and acceptability of the PM network as a collective urban resource base. I have also argued that the gradual processes of subject formation are transitional and correspond to different levels of intensity depending on provisioning subjects’ experiences of class, mothering, and ageing during the life course. These perceptions depicted the many ways in which food space is integral to the reproduction of

social distinction and subjects' self-construction as care givers, within the household, and across the life course. In the case of PMs, individual timing and use of markets are strongly tied to understandings of age, class, and mothering status and perceived social connectedness/inclusion.

The relational geographies of individual foodscapes demonstrated that accessibility in relation to food could not be reduced to external categories of price, and the geographical and physical availability of produce (Chapter 6). Instead, they were explored in the subjective realm in which space makes a difference to everyday and long term provisioning strategies of provisioners. Changes in locations of reproductive settings influence care providing women's agency, which is increasingly more defined in the context of an expanding (micro) financialized food retail market. Replacement of formerly available PMs with supermarkets leave less scope for subjective meanings and priorities, which in turn influence provisioners' self-conception as knowledgeable subjects. Women associate greater meanings of capacity and creativity with the weekly and loosely organized spatial pattern of PMs. Definitions of this capacity also relate to opportunities for community involvement (through e.g. gift giving, household production, leisure), social ties, and use of public space. Such conceptions of PMs also reveal that the subjective use of reproductive spaces at the same time organizes and to a large extent informs other facets of social and material life. These are often neglected in proposed policy directions addressing the current and future implications of PMs and other places where food and other livelihood resources are produced, exchanged and consumed.

The current by-law on PM modernization and regulation contains no recognition of individual users and undermines PMs' relation to accessibility and participation of individuals and households in urban material and social cycles. As such, the role of space in promoting distinct uses of reproductive places is both inhibited and overlooked in assessing urban accessibility and the well-being of urban residents.

Place and geographical location make a difference to the transitional experiences of accessibility understood as the combined experiential realm of material sustenance and agency. Manifestations of PM regulation in individual provisioning stories reveal both gendered patterns of neoliberal urban governance and redefinition of gendered social and material reproduction. This minimalist approach to social analysis also translates into a focus on the histories, geographies, and gender sensitive analysis of the place-specific and transitional lives instead of the developmental analytical subject of "urban livelihoods". Self-conception plays an important role in constructing the critical knowledge base for further diagnostic and policy informed research derived on the basis of such an approach. These and other methodological and epistemological dimensions relating to these issues together with contextual and policy-oriented conclusions from the study will be elaborated next.

Part IV: Dis(Closure)

Chapter 8 Concluding Thoughts

Introduction

This project has visited and benefited from many literatures and themes that link in different ways. Some of these inter-linkages are explored in detail while others are hinted as potentially productive analytical directions throughout the study. Generating and ‘reading’ empirical evidence in the light of these is another “story” which is yet to end. The narrative in the previous seven chapters is inevitably imbued by my and other people’s and institutions’ insights and worldviews among those who were involved partly or thoroughly in the project (as informants, contacts, research assistants, also through funding assessment and supervision processes). Although this is where I am supposed to piece together all these thematic and empirical bits by locating the gaps and missing parts so as to result in one “big picture” of the project, I prefer to sum up with a landscape metaphor in mind so that I can deal with the overall research as a terrain of knowledge layers from which I pull together concluding thoughts instead of “conclusions” in the fixed sense of the word. This is so because, after all, an important part of my aim was to carry out contextual research which was rooted in a critical realist analytical stance where causality is not universal and the aim of research is not to “unravel” universally adaptable “facts” about phenomena. Instead my approach throughout this research has been diagnostic where contextual, path-dependent, and contingent actions of institutional and human actors in and for urban space were explored to produce open-ended knowledge on

the common aspects of the causal mechanisms that affect material and spatial configurations (and implications) of power and interaction among social agents.

Directing this to my initial research objective, I have presented how gendered subjects connect to neoliberal municipal governance through the physically, socially, and economically re-regulated places of reproduction in the context of dislocated weekly PMs. Municipal re-regulation of PMs represent the neoliberal contraction of a specific urban resource for livelihood provision. I have explained the social, emotional, physical, and material factors which shape interactions with the gendered PM setting and cycle. I have outlined these interactions by focusing on individual foodscapes, underlining that the construction and use of these settings contribute to the making and unmaking of subjects' existing and potential performance and self-conception as agents. I have explored life course transitions, and relationships with place where the provisioning subject is constituted as "livelihood maximizer" in the context of a stigmatized urban resource base (space and food). I have illustrated accessibility as a relational concept from a subject-centred representation of the changing sites, use, and perceptions of periodic markets. Consequently, through a biographical, experiential livelihood perspective I outlined the class, place, and life course related challenges experienced by core providers of food-related care in the household. As such, I have revealed the individual (mental, emotional) and place-based patterns of subject formation from an everyday vantage point in a path dependent developmental context of "actually existing neoliberalism" (Peck & Tickell, 2002).

In tackling the first research question of opening up the material and social accessibility of PMs as a context to examine the overall governance and constitution of

subjects, I first created a better understanding of the theoretical, historical and geographical links that contextualized the current relations between people, place and food provisioning in PMs. With this, I have conceptually *positioned* my engagement with material and social accessibility of PMs in Istanbul and “located” a particular version of path dependent neoliberalization in a developmental context.

I went about working with provisioners to learn their lifelong experiences as care providers. As experts of material and social reproduction in their families, women exposed me to their provisioning biographies by *storytelling*. These were narratives about transitional material and social realms where women exercised capacity and generated political awareness on a range of issues from local and urban land management to agricultural planning, nutrition policy together with intersectional experiences of (spatial and social) exclusion and participation in the urban realm. Their stories were then pieced together to illustrate a broader narrative on the neoliberal configuration of the spaces, practices, and routines of provisioning. I have therefore brought together the micro settings of women's everyday reproductive practices such as grocery shopping, meal planning and preparation with broader term conceptions and experiences of (urban reproductive) space. The meanings, tactics and techniques recounted in women's provisioning stories illustrated that food provisioning can not only be viewed as a material and social processing of foodstuffs by gendered provisioners of reproductive care, but also as a process that involves provisioners' subjective – often personal -- and also cultural, class, and age-related use and sense of place.

The human scale analysis of the dislocated PMs also “relativized” accessibility in view of provisioners' multiple, highly spatialized and at times conflicting concerns in

optimizing material accessibility of food (resources) with individual agency. Agency in relation to changing foodscapes unfolded in two complementary categories. First, women expressed PM availability as a positive contribution to personal empowerment which they related to individual autonomy in conceptualizing and carrying out food decisions. Place-related social status is the second dimension of agency which was effective in shaping provisioning women's PM attitudes. Women perceive and experience lower status in relation to the current conditions in existing and dislocated PMs. Urban governance related regulation physically peripheralizes this indispensable reproductive resource for most households. Regulations also inscribe these perceptions in space and create a map of exclusion and stigmatized livelihoods and subjects.

As a conceptual foundation to the overall analysis, relational accessibility with its focus on provisioning autonomy in PMs has also brought to light the individual, gendered meanings, and material significance of under-explored yet widespread reproductive activities such as gift giving and parental care. Apart from these examples which were specifically linked to PMs, food stories also brought to light the continuing importance of food transferred from the countryside. Women's complex experiences of home, belonging, and the local underlined the role food plays in these constructions.

I have added to the critical literatures on gender, and political economic restructuring in cities by illustrating instances where gendered subjects negotiate agency and place in the context of larger social, material, and spatial transformations. The time and place specific nature of this knowledge also links in some key ways with related planning and policy literatures and the ongoing debates in relational economic geography which I now address.

A Working Methodology: Voicing the (under) told stories

I have conducted in depth research using a biographical interview tool and analysis process which was modeled largely as a version of the BNIM (see Chapter 4). In choosing this methodology my primary aim was to investigate the everyday experience of provisioning women's formation and experience of individual foodscapes across the life course. This includes the question of how the neoliberal contraction of urban food settings shapes the place and time specific (contextual) practices and self-conception of provisioning subjects. Through the biographical approach I have presented the "actual", subtle, and under-articulated realm of everyday food provisioning. As such, this methodology has enabled me to advance arguments on the ways neoliberal governance shapes the relational geographies of subjects involved in these processes.

I have adopted life storytelling in relation to food as a non-linear method for processing the contextual, subject-centred perspective on neoliberalization presented in this dissertation. Using a combination of serial interviews, persistent observation, and secondary resource analysis I have approached the field as an unfolding dynamic experience as much as possible. Conducting research with women who were mostly older, more experienced and expert on the issues that were central to this research have also positively contributed to destabilizing my status and power as researcher. Through the nonlinear course of our interviews and processing of the information presented in this analysis, I have learned a great deal about "making a life" with scarce resources, under worsening conditions related to age, disability, displacement, or simply when raising a young family. My genuine personal interest in women's incredibly diverse and practical knowledge – for example on simple ways to preserve food or bargaining skills and

strategies – has also situated me in the process as a participant and provided me with a concrete way to acknowledge partial knowledge.

As such, the methodology used in research has shaped this dissertation as a conceptually integrated assemblage of personal, theoretical, and place and time related co-constructions. Indeed, the biographical approach has had a central role in portraying a certain “subject-centred” bottom up narrative on engagements with food, self, and place.

From Food Stories to Policy Critique and Planning Alternatives

Empirical Conclusions

Neoliberal governance of urban resources requires subject-centred examinations of power as they unfold in everyday reproductive settings and cycles in order to *understand* the way in which subjectivity and inclusion in the urban realm are reworked. In tackling this main argument, I have explored the revised hierarchy of urban priorities by underlining the physical and social restrictions imposed on subjects' capacity and strategies to optimize individual, social, and material resources for livelihood provision. Using a nonlinear biographical mode of inquiry, I have exposed the ways displaced PMs lead to stigmatized spaces, tasks, and excluded subjects. Therefore at an empirical level, I have presented in this dissertation that the dismantling of PMs from core areas is an outcome of neoliberal urban governance which prioritizes commercial use of valuable urban land. In Istanbul's context, retail real estate is the primary symptom of commercialization and unfolds especially in the rent seeking spatial governance by municipalities. As a social resource base PMs are considered an integral feature of the urban public realm. On the individual level, they are deeply rooted in both the experiential and imagined foodscapes

of provisioning subjects. I have also advanced arguments that displaced PMs bring changes in the composition of individual foodscapes and physical accessibility of preferred food resources, mainly in terms of the amount and method of payment, types of foodstuffs and diet, and everyday mobility patterns especially of limited resource residents. As part of my relational accessibility construct, I have also argued that individual foodscapes are at the same time experiential constructs and PM transformations link to changes in agency by trivializing limited resource provisioners' chance to incorporate sense, creativity, and autonomy in making food decisions. I have attempted to explain this by interpreting PM-relying provisioners' lower social distinction, limited sociality, leisure, and ability to improvise (in food decisions) in displaced PMs. I have concluded that these aspects of self-conception are in strong association with the spatiality (location and setting) of a PM.

The varieties of meanings and uses attributed to periodic markets by both shoppers and non-shoppers demonstrate PMs as an influential public resource base. This base is governmentally redefined leading to hierarchical means, places, and ways of living and participating in the city. I have also illustrated that these processes lead to and are intertwined by the recasting of provisioners' agency depending specifically on transitional experiences of class, mothering, and ageing during the life course. Finally, based on my knowledge from provisioners' experiences I have critiqued the existing legislation and have also voiced women's ideas and aspirations for planning and design alternatives for more empowering and desirable PMs. I have thus brought together themes and instances where the Istanbul context allows for and opens up concepts and analytical categories which can be productive in understanding a variety of issues

influencing people and their life-making practices across contexts. These categories which I will briefly discuss below could be taken up in terms of their under-developed links particularly to policy and planning where applicability and contributions of qualitative and specifically subject-centred (biographical or other) methods are still in question.

Conceptual and Analytical Conclusions

These concluding remarks relate to several methodological and other dimensions which are situated in my case in the Istanbul context but could be productive for other research on the diverse ways cities are inhabited, made and governed.

1. Life course matters in provisioning women's transitional experiences and use of reproductive spaces. Therefore, I have examined subjective factors in the accessibility of PMs by listening to how provisioners “make a life” as younger, older, single, mothering individuals. These multiple and transitional life roles and experiences have shaped my approach to “livelihoods” which is often reduced to a normative category especially in development research. Life experiences are transitional and age-related as much as they are gendered and class based. Inquiring perceived transitions in self-histories is a valuable tool to gain insights into time and place specific contexts of social change. Integrating the life course approach in research enables a nuanced representation of macro, micro, collective, and individual (emotional, sense based and other) factors that count in and unfold in subjects’ experience of the phenomenon in question (Locke & Lloyd-Sherlock, 2011). This aspect is particularly important for policy oriented research which tends to prioritize “factualism” to a level where individual subjects are collectivized in order to understand and to intervene in the often rapid course of social

change in developmental contexts. Instead, the life course as an analytical lens helps to situate and represent subjects in their relatedness to a specific context and enables a more precise and efficient basis for identifying policy directions.

2. The importance of place in leading to differential use of food settings presented in this research posits relational accessibility as a well-founded direction for progressive urban planning (Hilchey, 2011). So far, spatial manifestations of food related inequalities have not drawn sufficient attention in the agendas of planners both in policy echelons and in academia. Space has a key role in constituting and reversing the inequalities and exclusions related to (in)accessibility of food and other livelihood resources. Critical and policy oriented planning are potentially key fields to problematize these issues.

3. Qualitative narrative methodology is fruitful in producing human-scale evidence for nuanced, responsive, democratic, and gender-sensitive urban planning and governance. Subjective factors such as emotions, sense, and perceptions are relevant in shaping people's intentional actions, interactions and conceptions of urban use. Narrative inquiry is a key methodological tool to produce in-depth and thick knowledge on subjects experiencing multiple inequalities. It would inform planning research and policy to address these factors, based on detailed and grounded information about how people live, how they reflect on and respond to norms which govern their lives and how this interpretive realm shapes their future projection and expectations.

4. Research on neoliberalization in path dependent, hybrid, socially, economically, politically transient contexts should critically engage subjects in order to contextualize the contingencies and path dependent characteristics. This is crucial for developing an applicable, democratic, and realistic language of change without prioritizing the abstract

notion of (social, economic) processes over and instead of the actors who create, experience, and are undermined by these processes (Bathelt & Gluckler, 2003). To this end, I have represented a reversed, bottom up and subject oriented representation of neoliberal urban governance by voicing (neoliberal) spatial, economic processes through subjects' experience. This is why my focus has been on the provisioners' use and perception of PMs. I have tried to "see" and make sense of what municipal change meant and how it materialized in subjects' practices in these settings. Such an approach to governance prioritizes subjects and relies on the thick information gained by their told stories – their language and narratives. There is an important potential in widely incorporating in-depth, subject oriented, qualitative means of knowledge to write the critical, contextual, and "relativized" histories and geographies of actually existing neoliberalization and social – economic processes in general. Finally to this end, I suggest also putting a spotlight on the decade long debates on "relative economic geography" as a connecting field where complementary discussions on how to understand and represent economic processes as place specific manifestations. Although this field has mainly concentrated on institutional networks as its object of analysis, its analytical scope offers tools and insights on incorporating subjects' "multiple logics" (Ettlinger, 2004) and voicing the "actual" subjects when representing the "messy actualities" of social inequalities experienced in cities and elsewhere.

I will conclude by revisiting the foundational – as much as inspirational themes – in carrying out this research.

Summing Up

As the neoliberal integration of Turkish developmentalism took pace, its urban manifestations re-inscribed inclusion and participation in consumerism by promoting certain “modern”, “contemporary” lifestyles and by creating commercial spaces for individualized, financialized consumption. Consumerist spaces and commercial redistribution of urban space have worked to normalize spatial and social exclusion and its intersectional links to gender, socio-economic status, and ethnicity.

In focusing on the relational geographies of food provisioning in the context of Istanbul’s dislocated PMs, I have attempted to interweave the individual histories and geographies of gendered subjects in order to focus on the subject-centred aspect of the right to the city. The aim was then to present a subject-centred evaluation of the collective right to the city by situating the concept in the subjects’ emergent and existent terms of using and re-allocating the urban realm. Part of my objective also had to do with working with as minimal as possible references to normative, socially constructed categories and conceptual abstractions in problematizing the challenges people experience when making a life and providing care for others. The inquiry in this sense concerned assessing exclusion and inclusion based on a particular urban pattern that has fleshed out provisioning women’ social and material being through their long term engagement in regulated, redistributed, and discursively reconstituted spaces of reproduction. Therefore, I have shown that the changes have influenced material accessibility of food less than they have imposed a transformed order on the (social and physical) circulation of people, social accessibility and physical use of reproductive space, and subjects’ limited and materialized agency to act on reproductive life decisions.

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Appendix 1: SQUIN Example

The following was a SQUIN example that was prepared after (Wengraf, 2004)

Turkish original:

Çerçeve:

Bildiğiniz gibi insanların semt pazarlarından ne kadar faydalandığını ve son dönemdeki Pazar yeri değişikliklerinden nasıl etkilendiklerini araştırıyorum.

Soru (SQUIN):

Sizden ricam ailede/evde beslenme ve gıdadan sorumlu kişi olarak şimdiye kadarki deneyimlerinizi , sizin için önemli olan olayları anlatmanız. Değişik gıda ortamlarıyla ilgili geçmiş veya yakın zamandaki deneyimleriniz, ve düşüncelerinizi merak ediyorum.

Anlatmaya istediğiniz yerden başlayabilirsiniz.

Acele etmenize gerek yok, zamanımız var.

Ben sizi kesmeden dinleyeceğim sadece.

Yalnız; siz hikayenizi bitirdikten sonra sormam gereken şeyler olabilir diye arada notlar alabilirim.

English Translation:

Introduction:

You know I'm researching people's use of PMs and what they think about the changes that are underway.

SQUIN:

"I'd like you to please tell me about the story of your experience as a food provisioner for your family/household, all the experiences and the events which were important for you, up to now. About any recent or past experiences or concerns in different food settings.

Begin wherever you like.

Please take the time you need.

I'll listen first, I won't interrupt.

I'll just take some notes in case I have any further questions for after you've finished telling me your story.

Appendix 2: Sample Meal Plans

Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bread and butter, feta cheese, olives, jam/honey, and eggs• Lentil or kitchen soup (in winter) with bread• Homemade pastries and tea	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Soup• Leftovers from previous dinner	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Vegetable, lentil, kitchen soup; tomato, cucumber, onion salad, rice; and green beans cooked in olive oil (or with meat)• Cracked wheat (bulgur); white kidney beans in tomato sauce; green salad• Potatoes simmered in tomato sauce; plain pasta; yoghurt• Fresh fruit as dessert
Snacks	Dried fruits, seeds, and nuts; cheese and bread; fresh fruit; chocolate; cookies	