

ORGANIC FOOD AND MOTHERS: TECHNIQUES OF NEOLIBERAL
GOVERNMENTALITY AND NEGOTIATION OF MULTIPLE DISCOURSES OF
MOTHERHOOD, RISKS, AND ORGANIC FOOD

by

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ABSTRACT

ORGANIC FOOD AND MOTHERS: TECHNIQUES OF NEOLIBERAL GOVERNMENTALITY AND NEGOTIATION OF MULTIPLE DISCOURSES OF MOTHERHOOD, RISKS, AND ORGANIC FOOD

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Keywords: Organic food, motherhood, neoliberal governmentality, anxiety, distinction

This thesis is based on a fieldwork consisting of sixteen in-depth interviews with mothers having children younger than seven years old and a discourse analysis of comments and posts on a mother blog. It analyzes following questions: Do the motivations and practices of mothers for feeding their children organic differ from each other?, why and how?; is it considered primarily as the duty of mothers and why?; is organic nurturing of a child a distinctive practice?; do varied forms of organic food experiences in the urban space contribute to the symbolic boundaries within these mothers? Research findings indicate that there are multiple discourses which circulate and constitute the basis of concerns and motivations of mothers for feeding their children organic. The study also reveals that mothers contribute to these discourses not only and simply by reproducing them but also negotiating, transforming and reshaping them as active agents through their own practices in which their own economic and cultural capital, and their social positioning play an important role. It explores their impact on the diversification of perspectives and experiences of organic feeding, and thus points out that these practices are not only gendered but also classed and distinctive. Also, the research elaborates the symbolic boundaries that these practices strengthen, not only by drawing attention to the socio-economic boundaries but also the moral boundaries that organic feeding experiences highlight. Finally, through this case, it demonstrates how managing food security for children becomes a technique of neoliberal

governmentality for mothers as a privatized responsibility. It examines how the ideals of self-conscious and sensitive mothers intersect with the organic food and risk discourses, and how intense mothering performances and the affective burden of these ideals are experienced by women.

ÖZET

ORGANİK GIDA VE ANNELER: NEOLİBERAL YÖNETİMSELLİK TEKNİKLERİ VE ANNELİK, RİSKLER VE ORGANİK GIDAYA DAİR SÖYLEMLERİN MÜZAKERESİ

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Anahtar Kelimeler : Organik gıda, annelik, neoliberal yönetimsellik, endişe, seçkinlik

Bu tez yedi yaş öncesi çocuğu olan annelerle yapılan on altı derinlemesine görüşme ve bir anne bloğunda yer alan yorum ve paylaşımların söylem analizini içeren bir saha çalışmasına dayanmaktadır. Şu soruları araştırmaktadır: annelerin çocuklarını organik besleme pratikleri ve motivasyonları birbirinden farklılaşmakta mıdır, neden ve nasıl?; bu pratikler öncelikli olarak annelerin görevi olarak mı görülmektedir, sebepleri nelerdir?; çocuğunu organik beslemek ayırt edici bir pratik midir?; şehirde farklı şekillerdeki organik gıda deneyimleri anneler arasındaki sembolik sınırlara katkıda bulunmakta mıdır? Araştırma bulguları annelerin çocuklarını organik besleme motivasyonlarının ve kaygılarının temelini dolaşımda olan çoğul söylemlerin oluşturduğuna işaret etmektedir. Çalışma, annelerin bu söylemleri yalnızca ve basit bir şekilde yeniden üretmediğini, onları birer fail olarak kendi pratiklerinde müzakere ettiğini, dönüştürdüğünü ve yeniden şekillendirdiğini ve bunda sahip oldukları ekonomik ve kültürel sermaye ile sosyal konumlanmalarının oynadığı rolü ortaya koymaktadır. Bunların perspektiflerin ve deneyimlerin çeşitlenmesi üzerindeki etkisini incelemekte ve bu pratiklerin yalnızca cinsiyet bazlı olmadığını, aynı zamanda sınıf temelli ve ayırt edici olduğunu göstermektedir. Araştırma ayrıca bu pratiklerin pekiştirdiği sembolik sınırları ele almakta ve bunu yaparken organik besleme deneyimlerinin altını çizdiği sosyo-ekonomik ve ahlaki sınırlara dikkat çekmektedir. Son olarak, bu vaka örneği aracılığıyla, çocukların gıda güvenliğini yönetmenin anneler özeline indirgenen bir sorumluluk biçiminde neoliberal yönetimselliğin bir tekniği haline geldiğini göstermektedir. Bilinçli ve özenli anne

ideallerinin organik gıda ve risk söylemleriyle nasıl keřiştiđini ve bunu annelerin nasıl yoğun bir annelik performansı deneyimlediđini, yařadıkları manevi/duygusal yükü irdelemektedir.

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INTRODUCTION

Food touches every aspect of our lives and this makes it an interesting research area. “What we eat, if we eat, how we eat, when we eat, and with whom we eat reflect the complexity of our social, economic, political, cultural and environmental arrangements around food” (Koc et al., 2012: xi). There is a vast and increasing literature on food and eating with different theoretical approaches, e.g food as communication (Lévi-Strauss, 1965); food and power relations (Mintz, 1985); food risk and anxiety (Lupton 2005); food politics and industrialization (Nestle, 2003); food and distinction (Bourdieu, 1986); food and subjectivity (Lupton, 1993, 1995); food and gender (Counihan, 1999); food activism (Hassanein, 1999).

In my research, I try to understand the complex interaction between the micro and macro because the eating practices are multi-dimensional, interlinked and negotiated practices rather than being simply structured (Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, 2013: 1). I investigate how ‘the organic child ideal’ and the hegemonic discourse of motherhood and governmentality function ideologically to affect women’s perception of their individual ‘responsibility’ for risk management through feeding of their children in the neoliberal era, while also examining the multiple layers of information which are interpreted, negotiated and experienced in line with their life views and conditions. Thus, I conceptualize the mothers in my study as agents having intentionality, using organic food to understand significant relationships.

In the context of neoliberalism, the circulation of knowledge and the translation of its terminology to lay people intend to create self-conscious people with “precautionary consumption” (MacKendrick, 2011) practices. The neoliberalism originates new subjects

(Rose, 1999) which are mostly self-regulating, self-controlling and self-protecting (O'Malley, 2004; Doyle, 2007). Thus, enabling food security appears mostly as a technique of governmentality around this privatized responsibility. The rise of risk discourses and the expansion of organic market with its various actors accompany this environment. In recent years, these discourses get intensified around organic feeding of children along with the discourses of motherhood and of risks. So anxiety becomes a social practice which renders mothers responsible to feed their children organic.

This study investigates how mothers respond differently to these discourses and manage their varying anxieties. It explores how they negotiate their relation to organic food and organic child ideal in the very context of their daily life, taking into account their agency of negotiating organic food discourse within their own practices. It elaborates the symbolic distinctions and hierarchies among mothers in terms of maternal performance of healthy and organic feeding. It explores how the existing discourses and ideals constitute an emotional burden and pressure both for mothers with intense concerns and involvement in organic practices and for the others. It also interrogates how mothers negotiate the multiple discourses according to their own dispositions, and whether there is a relationship between the varied perceptions of organic food discourse and mothers' different backgrounds and social positioning. With regards to this last inquiry, I ask: Do consumers of organic food differ from each other in terms of reasons they consume organic foods? What are the reasons of different practices and approaches to organic food consumption? Is organic nurturing of children a distinctive practice? Do distinct forms of organic food consumption create symbolic boundaries within these groups in the urban space?

Despite being perceived and interpreted differently, the dominant and standard definition of organic agriculture is that it is a sustainable form of agricultural production based on the "non-use of artificial fertilizers and synthetic pesticides in crop and fodder production, hormones and antibiotics in livestock and poultry production and the genetically modified organisms" (Ozbilge, 2007: 214). But in addition to the dimension of health and environment production, organic agriculture today has a significant economic dimension too. The organic food sector is still in its earlier stages in Turkey but follows a remarkable growth as the table below indicates. According to the data of Turkish Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, the number of organic producers reached at 60.797 whereas it was 42.460 in

2011 and 14.401 in 2005 as the Table 1 shows. According to the data of 2013, there were 213 different types of organic products grown in Turkey.

Year	(No)	Product types	Farmers	Production
2002		310.125	12.428	310.125
2003		323.981	14.798	323.981
2004		377.616	12.751	377.616
2005		421.934	14.401	421.934
2006		458.095	14.256	458.095
2007		568.128	16.276	568.128
2008		530.224	14.926	530.224
2009		983.715	35.565	983.715
2010		1.343.737	42.097	1.343.737
2011		1.659.543	42.460	1.659.543
2012		1.750.127	54.635	1.750.127
2013		1.620.387	60.797	1.620.387

Source: <http://tarim.com.tr/Haber/20545/Tarimda-organik-buyume-hiz-kesmedi.aspx>

Table 1

I conducted a research in May 2015 in googletrends to have the statistics of research interest on the web for news headlines with the word ‘organic’ in Turkey. Even this small graph can show the increasing interest in the ‘organic’ in recent years (Table 2). A graph which shows the change in the interest for news headlines including the word ‘organic’ for a larger period can show even more clearly this growth.

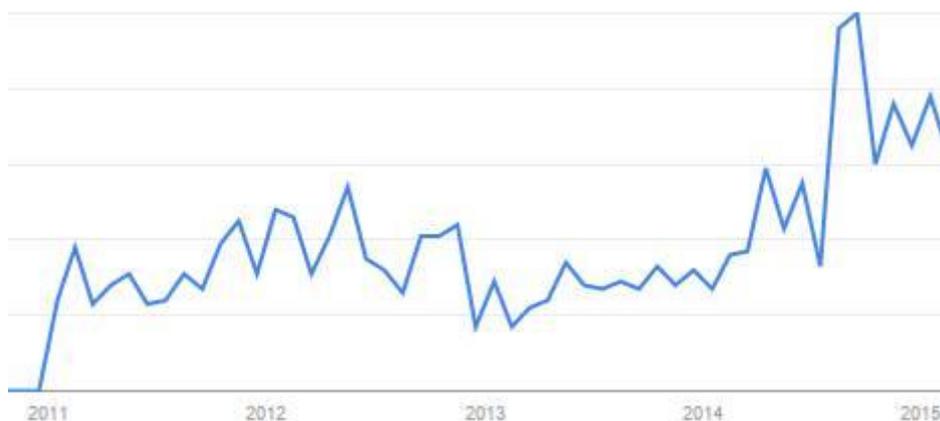


Table 2

Source: <https://www.google.com.tr/trends/explore?hl=en-US#q=organik&gprop=news&cmpt=q&tz=>

There are many actors with different interests in the organic food market and in the circulation of the knowledge regarding organic food. As the actors in the organic food market rise, the channels of access to organic food increase for certain people, varying according to knowledges and the means of purchase and motivation of each individual. For instance, organic certificated products can be found in chain organic stores such as City Farm and also in many supermarkets. Also, there are online websites of individual farmers who sell ‘natural’ food generally without organic certificate. Besides, there are products which are sold in local markets or small stores as named organic or natural. Big global companies also promote their products as non-GMO and additive-free, manipulating the discourse of healthy and organic food. While these actors create multiple discourses on organic food, risk and health etc, the ways mothers negotiate them becomes an interesting topic.

I start the thesis with a qualitative blog analysis, specifically a mother blog (*blogcuanne.com*), which has the potential to capture a multifaceted portrait by offering the chance of investigating how mothers negotiate and practice the organic feeding discourse in their daily lives through the analysis of their naturally ongoing interactions. The mainstream media news has already been the focus of framework analysis of “precautionary consumption” (MacKendrick, 2011) or “body burdens” (MacKendrick, 2010). However, there is no research with these concerns on mother blogs which are actually a window of opportunity for such analyses since the content is created by mothers rather than others speaking to them.

The blog analysis in Chapter 1 becomes inspiring for the major themes of investigation of the next chapters. Yet, the main body of the thesis is based on my fieldwork consisting of sixteen in-depth interviews with mothers having children younger than seven. I investigate in Chapter 2 the discourses of organic food around risk and anxiety, and the ideals of motherhood and organic child. Then, Chapter 3 elaborates “intensive mothering” and “precautionary consumption” as gendered practices of neoliberal governmentality in relation to mothering and risk discourses. Finally, Chapter 4 explores the dimension of structural inequalities in access to organic food and the distinctive character of organic food practices.

Methodology

To start with the main method of my research, I interviewed sixteen mothers with different education levels and household income. Since consumption practices are directly related to the household income, it is used as the main determinant of class differences. The employment status of the mothers and their education level are also evaluated together while separating the sample into two distinct groups: upper- and middle classes, and lower- and middle classes. I recruited the latter from Umraniye, a lower- and middle class neighborhood. These seven participants are mostly high school or primary school graduates and their annual household income is varied between 10000 and 30000 TL which is distinctively lower than the second group. The second group consists of nine upper- and middle class participants who are all university graduates, mostly full-time employees, and have household income between 60000 and 150000 TL (see the table in the appendix). These distinct household income intervals and education levels are chosen in order to explore whether the perception of organic food and daily organic feeding experiences of mothers vary in relation to their economic and cultural capital. I recruited the upper- and middle class mothers either through contacts from a kindergarten in Atasehir or they are employees of a private company in Kozyatagi, Kadikoy whereas the others are recruited through personal contacts and snowball sampling in Umraniye.

The interviews are guided with a semi-structured questionnaire where there are thematized and interrelated questions prepared on the basis of the main themes appeared in my blog analysis and theoretical readings. I first wanted them to introduce themselves and then start with a general question. I asked them who makes the food choices for their children and why, then investigate their personal priorities or special sensitivities around these preferences if any. Afterwards, I asked them whether they buy organic food or not, why or why not, since when, from where and why. I wanted to ask how they describe organic food after questions about their general feeding practices because I did not want them to give the 'ideal' definition of organic food and change their answers accordingly. Following these questions the interviews were more flexible in terms of the sequence of questions and focused on organic food. I investigated their sources of knowledge about organic food and their everyday life organic feeding practices. I asked them their ideal feeding practices and the

everyday realities to explore what they feel about their endeavors, whether they are satisfied or not. I also wanted them to describe their interaction with other mothers around these practices. This also helped me to explore the competition among mothers, the emotional pressure it creates, and the practices of other mothers in their entourage. Finally, I asked them ‘who is/are responsible in general for enabling the conditions for healthy nutrition of children.’ The reason why I posed this question is to investigate whether they would give a big picture rather than explaining individual commoditized solutions, explaining the necessity of environmental and food-related state regulations about food, and their personal interest or participation in environmental activism. I recorded all of the interviews and transcribed them to select and analyze the most significant common themes appeared in the qualitative data, which is related to my research questions and respective theories. The quotes are given in English in order not to disrupt the fluidity of the text but their original version is put in the annex since they give a good sense of the statements and provide authenticity.

For the blog analysis, I adopt a new technique called ‘netnography’ developed by Kozinets (2002). It is an interpretive and qualitative ethnographic method on internet, and is concerned with understanding the desires, meanings, and consumption practices of consumers through an easy access to rich content that is naturally-occurring via digital interaction among the members of online communities. It is a technique emerged and used in marketing research but I apply some aspects of it which can be very useful for this research. Although I try to be attentive to catch a more sensitizing connection with the community by paying attention to analyze their emotions as much as possible (Kozinets 2010: 167), sometimes the analysis may lack the richness of face-to-face communication with tonal shifts, body language, hesitation pauses in spite of the possibility of using emoticons. Thus, I benefit from the inspiring findings of this ‘netnographic’ analysis but elaborate them further with in-depth interviews where I have the chance of questioning deeply the similar statements of other mothers, learning their demographic background, seeing their bodily and tonal reaction etc.

In my choice of ‘*blogcuanne*’, I take into account six criteria (Kozinets, 2010: 89); namely relevancy, activeness, interactivity, substantiality, heterogeneity, and data-richness. Archival data consists of 11 blog entries and 608 comments. The data is retrieved from the beginning of April 2011 to the end of December 2014 from the blog’s archives along with the comments they had received. Then only the entries that deal with organic motherhood are chosen for the qualitative analysis by eliminating the others which do not have the keyword

‘organic.’ The posts in which the word ‘organic’ is only mentioned but not elaborated in the comments, and which do not have more than ten comments are eliminated because of the insufficient material to be analyzed. The citations from the blog are put in the analysis with English translation but the original sentences in Turkish are put in the appendix for the authenticity although a careful translation is adopted. The blog analysis elaborated in Chapter 1 is based on following questions: do mothers have specific concerns, priorities and/or motivations related to their children’s diet?; what are the sources of information accessible to them, and how do they evaluate them in their decision on the diet of their children?; how do mothers accommodate their organic food preferences to their children’s diet?; how do they evaluate their own ability to meet their priorities with regards to the organic feeding of their children?; is there any discussion in the blog posts and comments about the relationship of politico-economic and social factors with the organic food consumption? The data are analyzed by using categorization. The themes that function as the interpretative framework of this study are following: Organic child ideal as gendered burden, intersecting ideals of motherhood and organic food discourse, ‘anxiety as social practice’ through which mothers are rendered responsible, negotiation of the pressures to consume organic food through food work and mothering practices.

CHAPTER 1

“ORGANIC MOTHERING” THROUGH A MOTHERHOOD BLOG ANALYSIS AS A FEMININIZED VIRTUAL COMMUNITY

Food anxieties and the discourse of the necessity of organic food today have been circulating in the media, including television, the Internet, and the print media. Ever-growing organic food discourse creates immense information on organic food, including conflicting approaches of experts, that creates anxiety as social practice. There is a considerable increase in the individual anxiety and “responsibilization” (Osborne, 1997) of lay people, particularly women through their feeding practices of their children because of the discourses of vulnerability and dependency of children on mothers as main care-giver. The fear about unhealthy food is formulated in public discourse, and influence women’s personal engagement with ‘their’ roles of feeding their children with healthy and organic food. There is a diversity of expert knowledge that contributes to the generation of conflicting approaches to organic food and diversification of organic food practices of mothers for their children. Yet, in any case the circulation of knowledge and the translation of its terminology to lay people intend to create ‘self-conscious’ mothers with “precautionary consumption practices” (MacKendrick, 2011). Women follow these ideals of knowledge and expertise, and negotiate them to articulate their own relationship to organic food as ‘self conscious mothers.’

The communication of food risks to the lay public largely depends on the mainstream media; yet, the blogosphere has been rising as an important space of interaction. The first blogs emerged in the early 1990s and have recently been popular in Turkey, especially for five years. It is possible to create blogs for free and get in interaction easily with the other people interested in that specific blog. Mother Blogs where women usually write about their

experience with their children become one of the most influential blog categories. These platforms of self-expression provide interactions with other women who are more or less concerned with the management of this risk as ‘responsibilized’ (Osborne, 1997: 195) individuals, and sustain a network of women in a virtual community in which they listen each other actively, influence, support each other, circulate knowledge and give advices, establish emotional connection, validate each other, reflect upon their own motherhood etc. Their communication around their children as common concern goes beyond their interaction in childcare centers, kindergartens, schools through the use of blogs. Therefore, I prefer focusing on the blogosphere, specifically mothers blogs where the individualization of risk and responsabilization as mothers rise as an important phenomena with the increasing visibility of the food scare and organic child ideal.

I choose ‘blogcuanne’ for my analysis because it is one of the most popular motherhood blogs with a high number of posts and comments about organic food experience of mothers around their children’s healthy diet. It is an active site which has recent and regular interaction. There are eleven head titles in the blog and three relevant subtitles, namely ‘children’, ‘health’, ‘guest writers’, where organic food issue is mostly discussed. The discussions on organic diet of children appear nearly three times in each of these subtitles monthly with lots of comments. This popular blog can be considered as an active site followed by a large number of mothers. Although there is no information on the blog about the number of followers, the numbers about her followers in ‘Twitter’ (21.362 followers, 01/05/ 2015), ‘like’s in ‘Facebook’ (22.043 like, 01/ 05/ 2015), and her activity also in ‘Google +’ and ‘Instagram’ social media channels give clues about the popularity of her writings uploaded frequently and mostly synchronized with these social platforms.

The reason why I choose this blog instead of other social media platforms is that there is more interaction in this blog with comments where as in Facebook people mostly ‘like’ and in Twitter ‘retweet’ instead of giving comments. It is also data-rich in that sense because the data is detailed and descriptive including opinions, experiences, peer support rather than being superficial data based on thanks and praises etc. Besides, after the blogger announced in March 2011 that every mother could write their own post since then, the interaction in the blog has significantly increased because they have had the opportunity to open discussions in a large post rather than in only comments. There is a reader to reader, writer to reader, and reader to writer interaction in this blog. This makes the blog richer in content, more

interactive, and more diverse in terms of different opinions. The blogger says that her only editing is related to the use of Turkish but nothing else on the condition that they are about mothering and raising a child. Yet, because of the popularity of the blog, she makes a selection among the writings of mothers before publishing them. But it seems that this does not become an obstacle for the diversity because it is possible to see a large variety of opinions in the blog as the comments suggest. In that sense, it is a heterogeneous site where there are many participants communicating and expressing their own perspectives, rather than being a blog where only blog writer writes and the others follow. Different values on certain issues, different decisions or experiences among mothers are available in the blog as well as similar opinions or practices.

I have observed some similar mother blogs as well before making my decision. Hassasanne.com, organikanne.com are some other popular and relevant blogs but they do not cover sufficiently the criteria explained above. Especially since they rarely receive comments, they would not be a good choice for analysis. In addition, I think that focusing on only one blog can provide coherency in the collected data, and a more focused and deeper work. Since the comments are diverse, and rich in number and content, I do not think that focusing on one blog results in a narrower perspective.

Thus, this chapter is based on the findings of the discourse analysis on '*blogcuanne*', and explores how women negotiate the pressures for organic food consumption through their food work because their engagement with organic food discourse is not uniform and shaped by multiple social forces that influence the diet of their children. It also examines how food fear contributes to the gendered burden of organic feeding through intersecting ideals of motherhood and organic food.

1.1 Gendered burden: disproportionate responsibility on the shoulders of women

The 'organic child' is "an idealized notion of a 'pure' child that is kept safe from the harmful impurities of an industrialized food system" (Cairns et al., 2013: 98). This analysis reveals that this ideal reproduces the idea of care-work, including feeding the family, as women's work, and naturalizes this gendered labor. Not only women do more of this organic

food work but also the work itself is commonly associated to the femininity and mothering (DeVault, 1991).

This notion of organic child strengthens the narratives and practices of social reproduction of conventional gender relations through the centrality of women's feeding work in this ideal. There is almost no mention of fathers in the narratives of 'organic mothers' in this blog analysis. The only instance is when some mothers refer to fathers, mentioning why they cannot eat as parents the same organic products they buy for their children. Mothers speak of themselves as primarily responsible person for the planning of their children's diet and the maintenance of organic food. Thus, the organic child ideal increases the burden on women in the heteronormative family while it does not have the same effect on men. This disproportionate burden on the shoulders of women is explained further in the next discussion based on the intersecting ideals of motherhood and the organic food discourse.

1.2 The intersection of ideals of motherhood and organic food discourse

Moralizing discourses of vulnerability and dependency of child as a project never finished is combined with the figure of idealized mother who is responsible for "the moral as well as physical guardians of the next generation" (Burman and Stacy, 2010: 229). These discourses are linked to neoliberal constructions of childhood with the creation of the ideal of the organic child who must be carefully fed through individual mothers' 'right' and 'responsible' food choices. Increasing neoliberal discourse of choice and individual responsibility positions people, particularly mothers, as the private bearers of the common future (Zivkovic et al., 2010: 378). The relationship of neoliberal politics and the motherhood can be seen not only in terms of neoliberal discourse of individualization and responsabilization but also in the food sector which use the organic child ideal for the marketing of their products to mothers. As Cook suggests, "[w]e cannot 'know' motherhood without 'knowing' the consumer/commercial contexts of mothers' lives and, by direct implication, the commercial lives and contexts of children and childhood" (Cook, 2009: 318).

Mothers feel attachment to the organic child figure with the accompaniment of emotional pressure which is based on the normative expectations of mothers as caring,

devoted, selfless and protective. Thus, providing organic food for their children is considered by mothers as a maternal responsibility of protecting child's purity and health, and a distinctive standard for good mothering even though their perception of organic food, their preferences and capability of accomplishing their related choices and their practices vary.

We can observe the tone of conversation based on good and bad mothering, and all the effort to show that they are good mothers with their own way in the blog conversations. Mothers usually utilize some adjectives, e.g. good, cautious, sensitive, caring, less responsible, bad, and 'obsessed', for labeling mothers with practices other than theirs. This shows the competition in terms of maternal performance, symbolic distinction and hierarchies among mothers based on what other mothers provide, and what their children eat etc.

Yet, the pressure that the good/bad mothering discourse create is visible:

*"I wonder whether this is particular to our nation...people just talk because they are able to... Our internal voice whispers constantly that I am such a bad mother and then we approach our child with the motherhood of this kind of people"*¹

Sometimes we observe criticism in posts and comments against this language of 'good/bad mothering' and moral judgments. For instance, in her post named 'every mother should experience her own motherhood' a therapist mother says:

*"Unfortunately under the comments given to the questions asked by active women like you in social media, I encounter statements of judgment, blame, and even insult. I see that it is not healthy to feel superior than the ones who do not belong to your class by classifying people, and observe that children who take this behavior as a role model use violence against peers more often than the others"*²

There are also a few criticisms or questioning of the figure of 'super mother' by some mothers in response to mothers who tell their success of managing everything ideally in spite of their busy schedule:

*"(...) I congratulate mothers who use only organic products in the kitchen, cook by herself, and at the same time work, and also stay social. I think they are urban legends. Because I have to be cloned to have three more like me in order to catch up with that performance to reach the level they talk about"*³

(From the post named 'Anneliğini kendi kurallarıyla yaşamalı', December 16, 2014).

This post emphasizes that each mother should live her own motherhood as much as they can:

“I do not think that it is realistic to live ‘organic’ and ‘home-made’ unless you live in a village house with a poultry and barn in the backyard, and a farm nearby...I think that it increases “the stress of motherhood”, associates motherhood with guilt...Everyone should live her own motherhood, and nobody should make a mother feel more guilty and more insufficient because of her choices or given possibilities”⁴

This post receives a remarkable support by other mothers. The following is one of these supportive comments:

“As if being a mother was not hard enough, mothers do not debate themselves; now pressure, criticism from entourage, friends, families, social media...Disputes among mothers who do work/not work...and those that you have written above...I wish everybody could shut the teacher inside them up, and mind their own businesses instead of sticking their nose up to others’ affairs and judging them”⁵

What is more interesting is to see that although most of the conversations in this blog is usually based on the exchange of organic food practices and sensitivities of these women, right after this post we observe a boom of comments in which mothers tell how they try to apply their own way in a flexible way and how they even transgress the boundaries of ‘healthy’ diet for their children: *“I say this is the reality...Just between us, I sometimes eat ‘cicibebe’ baby biscuits with my kid together [laughing]”⁶* Such boom of confessions about their ‘non-organic’ food practices indicate the emotional pressure and conflict they live.

These confessions are not only given positive feedbacks but also receive criticisms from the mothers who are more committed to the ideal of organic child:

“This is an entry to comfort your conscience, and ones who also want to comfort their conscience support it. There are mothers who try to feed their kids organic and pure food not putting pressure on either themselves or their kids. Feeding ‘Cicibebe’ and normal food, these are nothing to brag for and imitate...If you are ok with those food you should keep doing but at least don’t criticize other moms who try to avoid that”⁷

Such comments show that the competition of being the better mother still exists in these conversations under the post title of ‘Each Mother Should Live Her Own Motherhood.’

These shifted statements of some mothers are highlighted also by some mothers among them:

*“If the post had the opposite thought, supporting being an organic mom, having quality time with their kids, we would see comments like “I do this, I make this all organic etc”⁸
“3-4 days ago, everyone was like I’m the most organic, most natural mom... You all got angry about the woman who made her kid eat McDonalds. Today, everyone is all like “I don’t care at all; I don’t do that crazy stuff” etc. It’s like there is nobody normal in this, but only in extremes”⁹*

(Comment given to another discussion under the title of ‘I am not a food chemist’)

But the existence of such shifted expressions of mothers from being the strict follower of healthy and organic diets to being a more flexible mother show their need of seeing their thoughts to be shared by other mothers because they want to see that they are not the only one who cannot be the “perfect” mother and that they have similar bad feeling about that.

After such posts, some women who consider motherhood bloggers responsible for the increase of ‘organic ideal’ write comments like following:

“Some mother blogs made a lot of women look like a “super mom” ...write just to show off...I don’t want to discuss but I think some people just want to show how super they are”¹⁰

“I definitely agree, it’s unfortunately nothing but just satisfying their ego and criticizing other mothers by the help of their moral and material advantage...What they do is just causing more remorse for mothers already carrying this conscience...I stopped following such people and I feel better this way”¹¹

1.3 “Anxiety As Social Practice” Through Which Mothers Are Rendered Responsible

Women have always been the primary target of preventive policies and long been the focus of responsabilization as maternal citizens in the care-giving which is conventionally considered ‘natural’ and ‘limitless.’ A variety of source of anxiety contributes to “responsibilize” mothers, i.e media, medical doctors, nurses, dieticians, childcare experts, schools. This creates an emotional burden especially for working mothers. They feel guiltier since they are usually blamed for not putting enough effort for preparing healthy and home-made food. This analysis does not aim to single out food as a unique area of maternal anxiety but to focus in this particular issue of mothers’ anxious relationship to organic food for the ‘good’ of their children.

Today not only sickness but also the risk of being unhealthy is problematized and seen as a result of individual ‘free choice’ of faulty consumption practices. Dummit explains that even "the risk of a disease comes to be seen as a disease in it" (Dummit, 2012: 7). The reaction of consumers to processed food has been rising in this context of sensationalized risks and food scare. This is why mothers are rendered responsible for maintaining the health of their children by providing them ‘good’ organic food. Following statements are good examples of sensationalized food scare:

“I prefer organic products as much as I can in order to protect my boy at least from pesticides and genetically modified products and because I lost lots of people from the family because of the cancer as a person from Black Sea region”¹²

“I respect everyone who deals with the natural alimentation and accomplishes it...I think we should. I lost my father because of the cancer. My aunt’s uterus was taken because of the cancer. My grandfather has breast cancer. We should definitely be very very careful about what we eat and drink since this bad malady lives among us”¹³

The perception of risks is socially determined. The last citation is a good example of the increased sensitivity in the post-Chernobyl period marked with the threat of cancer risk in many countries closely affected by it, including Turkey. Adryana Petryna (2002) develops the notion of ‘biological citizenship’ to describe the indirect relationship between state and citizens where state highlights the importance of our responsibility of protecting our personal health by our responsible individual choices. “Body of risk literature has studied the individualization of risk, with a strong focus on risk as a technique of governance related to the dismantling of the welfare state.” (MacKendrick, 2010: 130).

In this atmosphere of sensationalized risks and food scare in the post-Chernobyl neoliberal era, ‘responsibilized’ mothers feel a significant pressure to make the right choices for their children. Thus, not only the pressure of other mothers and of the good mothering competition but also the anxiety as social practice influences the food sensitivity of mothers and their organic food practices:

“I have always had healthy food even before the birth of my child...it is the pressure of the existence of my cancerous relatives which increased my motivation for organic nutrition rather than the pressure from my entourage”¹⁴

Anxiety and calculation have become particular characteristics of the contemporary ‘risk society.’ As Ulrich Beck’s ‘reflexive modernity’ notion suggests, people have become more and more skeptical about the effects of modernity and science in a context of increased uncertainty. The following citation from a post confirms the validity of this notion:

“It is as if the parents of our generation were having an exam...Packaged food, internet, mobile phones...All these emerged during the last 20-30 years with their known and unknown effects...We don’t know what we did is right or wrong. Maybe after 50 years...it will be proven that they influenced our health terribly or vice versa. In that case, we would get away with the anxiety we lived”¹⁵

(From post named ‘Zamane ebeveynlerinin deđişen devirle imtihani’, September 8, 2011)

This following comment may be the best example to show food scare with regards to social anxiety in the risk society:

‘I do not trust anymore any food that I consume. Are organic foods really trustworthy? I hear different things every day. GMO...Vegetables are already hormone-injected...come on, shall we starve to death? Shall we all have our own farm? How can we go on like this? I think that the idea that what we consume can cause cancer also triggers cancer...I am so hopeless about this issue unfortunately’¹⁶

The concept ‘anxiety as social practice’ is developed by Jackson and Evert, indicating “three different types of practices that accompany, frame and are affected by social anxieties” (Jackson and Everts, 2802). The practices of framing such as media and expert discourse “arrange the event,” defining the subjects and objects of anxiety. The “practices of annihilation,” are strategies to avoid “unhealthy” food or encourage “healthy” diets. Finally, there are practices that are affected by these anxieties like organic food purchase in our case. I focus in this analysis on how the latter is articulated in mothers’ organic child ideal and discussed in this mother blog community.

The “precautionary consumption” frame contributes the most to the individualization of risk and responsibility, and the marketing of organic food as a ‘natural’ alternative whereby mothers can enact their own ways of precaution for their children’s health. This analysis shows that mother blogs appear as a community where the precautionary consumption frame and organic food discourse are largely and interactively reproduced and negotiated. Understanding how mothers creatively negotiate this responsibility put on their shoulders in the daily management of feeding their children is very important in this analysis. That is why;

in the following subtitle I will investigate how they articulate the maternal anxiety in their practices of organic food purchase for their children and discuss this in this mother network.

1.4 Negotiation of the Pressures for Buying Organic Food Through Food Work And Mothering Practices

“The realm of the organic child is an important site where women both practically and emotionally negotiate neoliberal expectations about childhood and maternal social and environmental responsibility through their consumption practices, food work and intimate relationships with their children” (Cairns et al., 2013: 101).

There is a considerable work realized on emotional level by mothers along with their self-evaluation of maternal competence and their evaluation by others in relation to their organic food practices. “We observe how women actively balance competing emotions: they must manage feelings of frustration and anxiety about their child’s well-being, as well as the fear of evaluations by others should they be perceived as ‘crazy’ or ‘obsessed’” (110).

Now, I would like to investigate how different mothers negotiate these pressures and establish their own approach and relationship to organic food consumption in a variety of ways.

- Mothers who stick firmly to the organic ideal:

There are mothers who consider organic food extremely important for their children and spend maximum effort for this organic child ideal. They are ‘proud’ mothers who devote most of their time and money to organic food. This practice becomes a source of pride, satisfaction and achievement for them.

A mother with the nickname ‘organik seçen anne’ posts a detailed writing (Why organic?, December 24, 2014), explaining the definition of organic food and the necessity of the organic certification. Then she gives some information about 100% Ecological Markets and Bugday Association’s efforts for that. During the rest of the post, she explains her reasons for consuming organic with the subtitles of ‘cancer risk’, ‘taste’, ‘nutritional value’,

‘environment and sustainability’, and ‘non-GMO.’ By explaining all these, she emphasizes the importance of sacrifice that every mother should make for their children despite the price of organic food:

“I made a research on all these and then chose organic diet for my child...I was aware of the expensive price of organic food that would be an extra expenditure but I also knew that health expenditure would have a bigger share otherwise”¹⁷

She both receives support and criticisms. This first group of mothers who internalizes completely the organic child ideal is sometimes criticized by the others because of their strong emphasis on good motherhood based on their sacrifice and care for their children’s healthy diet. In the following comment, their ‘distinction’ through economic capital is criticized:

“When it comes to the ones who say ‘it is expensive for me too but I sacrifice’: if you can buy these products, you belong to another class. Otherwise, you wouldn’t afford even with the sacrifice...check your privilege”¹⁸ On the other hand another woman supports the writer: *“(...) because nothing that my money can buy is more important than our health...because I really care a lot the health of babies and children...it is possible as long as you want”¹⁹*

These comments show how some women cannot easily afford the organic food and/or ‘accomplish’ this ideal, and reveals that they are aware of such distinction. Besides, it indicates how this ideal creates a competition among mothers and self-satisfaction for many mothers who can ‘accomplish’ this ideal from their perspective.

This first group of women often faces some accusations such as being obsessed. The writer of this post also emphasizes in her post why they should not be labeled as ‘obsessed mothers’:

“we are different, I am different...but I am not ‘obsessed’. Indeed this is my life style. As everyone wants, I want people to respect my life style...Please do not define the sensitivity of me and people like me as ‘obsessed’”²⁰

-Mothers who are in-between the ideal and their reality:

They are emotionally overwhelmed mothers who try to find a place in-between this first group of women and the ones who are not much involved in organic ideal for different reasons. They see the gap between their practice and the ideal, and think that organic feeding

work is important as much as they can sustain but should be flexible and adapted to the dynamics of their everyday daily life and/or their budget:

“I try my best to give my daughter with the healthiest food if possible. But in my first trip to abroad with her I used quick food too. I didn’t push it, just acted according to conditions”²¹

“There is a difference between knowing something, trying to perform it and becoming obsessed with it. I try to control stuff if possible and if not, try not to worry. It’s hard but I try”²²

(From the post named ‘I am not chemistry engineer, February 1, 2012)

Some of these women name the first group as ‘obsessed mothers’ but some others reject the use of such stigmatization because they are also exposed to this kind of labels and mocking questions: *“I get questions like ‘Come on, did your mother feed you with organic food?’ and I hate this”²³* says a woman, then adds: *“I answer with pride ‘I’ll continue till I can’t afford anymore, my kid starts going to school and buying his own food...”²⁴*

The sacrifice can be seen in the narratives of mothers: *“I always have organic food for my kids. If there’s left some then we eat too”²⁵* Even though they cannot always consume organic food as parents, they try to provide organic food for their children and want to continue feeding them organic as much as they can.

- Mothers who are willing to ‘accomplish’ organic food ideal but cannot afford organic food at all:

These mothers cannot accommodate their ideal because of their limited budget and usually feel bad because of their lacking ‘ability’. The narratives of these mothers show that ‘good mothering’ discourse demands remarkable investments of economic capital. A woman tells this emotional constraint on her shoulder, questioning the unequal access to organic food:

“Is it possible for everyone to use organic-ecological food? Sometimes these discussions put families that can’t afford organic food in a hard situation... Have you ever panicked about being left behind in parenthood?”²⁶

This good mothering discourse and the ideal of organic child obscure the structured inequality and put more constraints on mothers with low-income because it considers not buying organic food as maternal deficiency. Similar questions and discussions can be seen not

only in terms of the inability of poor families for organic food purchase but also for some other middle class families who try to balance organic and conventional food in their children's diet.

In this group of women, some mothers just end up feeling guilty and others try to get away from this guilt by finding ways to adapt somehow their food work for their children to the organic child ideal:

*“Followers of this blog don't represent the truth in Turkey. How many people can afford to feed their kids only or mostly organic foods? I can't afford it unfortunately. All I can do is to buy fresh vegetables/meat/chicken/fish and avoid the fast food”*²⁷

These mothers adopt some possible aspects of this ideal and reject the others.

- Mothers who are critical of the possibility of organic food or the marketing strategy of food companies with regards to organic products:

*“As a consumer and a mom, I don't find sincere the firms that increasingly promote their products as ‘organic’, ‘natural’ food in their marketing”*²⁸ says a mother who questions the emphasis on ‘organicness’ and ‘naturalness’ in marketing strategy of each food company.

These women criticize the marketing of products of these companies which sensitize anxieties of mothers for providing healthy diet for their children by drawing upon the ideology of cautious and committed mothering that consider mothers as the primary responsible of the healthy product selections for their children.

Some women in this group go beyond and question the existence of organic food:

*“There's no organic food anymore. I don't believe in that after I heard from a friend who lives in the village that even they use hormones in their food. I see it as a marketing strategy. If Organic=Natural, then there is no such thing anymore”*²⁹

Such considerations of organic food only as a marketing strategy are based on the lack of trust and uncertainty in the modern society. Besides, the increased number of expert discourse on organic food makes them more suspicious because they usually do not trust experts whom they consider overvalue or undervalue some products.

In general, mothers in this blog do not criticize much organic food brands. Yet, there is a relatively severe criticism against big multinational companies that produce some organic products, e.g. ‘Milupa Follow-on Milk’. In these conversations, we can see the criticism against the experts who support such products and brands because mothers mostly think that these experts support these products in order to gain money from these advices as a part of the marketing of these products. *“Now when I think, what I cannot tolerate the most is the medical doctors who attend the press conferences for the food companies and get paid by them”*³⁰ says a mother skeptical of such expert knowledge.

In their criticisms, mothers’ already existing knowledge and their own perception of ‘natural’ and ‘organic’ food play an important role:

*“No figure of authority can make me believe that the follow-on milk is necessary and more nutritional than the natural milk...we are talking about a formula which created by human-beings by adding this or excluding that in order to make it healthier...No...Remember what Defne K said in the meeting on Friday ‘Organic Talk’, we should question everything that is packaged, shouldn’t we?”*³¹

The comments made under the post “Doğalı varken hazırına konmak” (August 17, 2011) exemplify this high criticism against ‘experts.’ For instance, a woman says *“there are many “expert dieticians” “doctors” who may sell themselves out. In newspapers, TV; they hold the columns and lie to us for money. Thank God we have social media”*³² This comment also indicates the importance of social media for women as a source of information about the communication of healthy diet among themselves.

Each mother seems following the instructions of their own pediatrician and the advices they read in books written by some ‘trustable’ experts. By doing so, they form their own position in this context marked by abundance of competing information. For example, a mother says: *“Our pediatricist said cheese and yoghurt are enough, cow milk is not necessary. I also feel ok since I finished Carlos Gonzales’ book.”*³³ They also emphasize that they have to make their own researches in this issue to have the right stance: *“We have to make our own researches, read and understand, analyze and give our decisions. Unfortunately, there is a limited number of people whom we can trust. Thanks to our mother instincts 😊”*³⁴

But to a large extent, mothers in this blog believe in the necessity of organic food consumption. So discussions are mostly either on the details like the degree of how much

‘organic mothers’ they are or the ways of practicing ‘organic’ diet in a variety of ways. Some women state that they are partially organic mothers:

*“I’m not 100% organic. There are some certain types of organic food that I consume; the rest is not always organic. Organic life should be a necessity but it’s a just a trend nowadays.”*³⁵ *“I’m a half-organic mom. I feed my kid the fruits and vegetables that we eat. I buy the meat from local butcher (I don’t live in a big city. But I buy only the organic milk, egg and the chicken. I eat the normal but always feed my kid the organic for those.”*³⁶ Some others declare that they are hundred percent organic mothers: *“We are a family that consume only organic. I believe one should eat only organic in a lifetime... Yes, I trust and believe.”*³⁷

Organic feeding of children is generally considered important for mothers but practiced with different degrees for different reasons. It is inevitable for most of them to negotiate the pressures of the ‘necessity’ of organic food consumption through their own mothering practices and own perception of organic food. Most of them are more or less aware of this inevitability and the emotional burden put on their shoulders either by the market, experts or structural inequalities in itself. But it seems that they still feel the need to adopt narratives of sacrifice and selflessness in their conversations. They sometimes reject the idea and the pressure of ‘good mothering’ but the competition of showing the ‘rightness’ of their own way still continues even in those conversations. Their relation to organic food or natural food usually appears as an important criterion of good mothering.

This analysis also reveals that the mothers’ perception of ‘organic food’ changes from one to another woman. The word ‘organic’ is usually used interchangeably with the word ‘natural’ like in the sentence *“I consume organic as much as I can afford. You know organic, natural food is expensive now.”*³⁸ People are afraid of processed food and contrast it with ‘natural’ food. The idealization of the organic food is an emotional outcome of the processed food scare too. In this context, many mothers associate automatically the organic food with natural food as it is not processed. The use of ‘natural’ food interchangeably with ‘organic’ food is criticized by a woman in the comments: *“I hear this sentence a lot from friends and family: ‘I bought this from a peasant. It’s so fresh and organic.’ This makes me laugh too much. Yes, it may be fresh but never organic.”*³⁹

This shows that although organic food is defined with the existence of organic certification that prove its ‘organicness’, it does not necessarily seem to be a criterion for many mothers in their consideration of foods as organic or not. The certification seems not as

the strongest reason for mothers in their evaluation of organic food choices. Rather, most of them use their own criterion of ‘naturalness.’ Or they may be convinced that the product they order from a farm is organic without the certificate. The reason behind this is that while some mothers think that organic certification is important for their decision and trust them, many others do not trust these certificates and thus try to provide ‘natural’ products from different channels. This is one example of such statements:

“I don’t trust organic certificates anymore because I found out that they may show a field and get the certificate and then go on their way. I only said this is Turkey and went on. I buy from a trusted field. I choose by instinct, by smelling etc”⁴⁰

I believe that the hesitation about the trustworthiness of organic certification go hand in hand with the random naming of products by many mothers as organic.

As this blog analysis also exemplifies, modern individual has the concern of subjectivity and of caring for himself/herself in line with the constant discourse of ‘knowing yourself’. In the context of neoliberal politics where responsibility of state mostly shifts to market and to individuals for safe consumption, the anticipatory information has “become intrinsic to forms of life in the contemporary liberal choices” (Dummit, p.208-209). This makes individuals feel obliged to make this calculation and negotiation of their food practices.

This analysis shows “how the figure of the organic child operates ideologically to cement women’s understanding of their individual responsibility for care-work, while also appealing to hegemonic understandings of motherhood as fundamentally involving care and protection” (Cairns and al., 2013: 113). But it also indicates how they negotiate their relation to organic food and organic child ideal in the very context of their daily life. Their agency of negotiating organic food discourse within their own practices is an important point of this analysis and will be explored further with in-depth interviews in the next chapters.

Women are not passive practitioners of the market and neoliberal ideology based on individualization and consumerism. Therefore, I adopt a feminist perspective that investigates how women negotiate the ideal of organic child as reflexive agents. I avoid the binary of heroization of mothers who adopt organic child ideal and the disvaluation of such efforts, and try to understand the ambiguous relationship of mothers with organic food and mothering discourses. Also, I contribute to the feminist perspective by drawing attention to the role of

class privileges in this gendered practice. The class differences play a significant role in the way the organic mothering practices are discussed, interpreted, and performed by women. Thus, I adopt a feminist perspective which also takes into account the class dimension. I hope that it provides a nuanced understanding of the interplay between mothers' positioning of organic food, their local cultural milieu and economic means, and the organic food discourse because the organic ideal is not absolute, uniform and uncontested.

CHAPTER 2

DISCOURSES OF ORGANIC FOOD AROUND RISK AND ANXIETY, MOTHERHOOD AND ORGANIC CHILD IDEAL

“Different discourses of experts, of course, confuse our minds. For a while, they said that formula foods are very healthy etc. Then they argued that baby foods are like this and that, with additives, causing illnesses. Now all the mothers who used baby formula mourn because of the anxiety of ‘what I fed my child, what I should do, what if something bad happens to my child.’ Thank God, I only used the pudding of these formula foods. I breastfed as much as I could because I had enough milk thanks to God. So I didn’t use. But today lots of experts make explanations about the harms of the infant formula milks. Mothers really feel confused. They feel a twinge of guilt about this” (Figen)⁴¹

“Much has changed with the technology. It is something good but many additives are used to present a product better. Many other things for extending its shelf life...Our elders were lucky. They still live long...The cancer cases were not that often. They have increased a lot and are even more and more risky. This rate of cancer cases has increased along with the rise of technology.” (Cemre)⁴²

These quotes suggest that compared to the past, today there is an increasing anxiety rising out of the uncertainty and the rise of risk sources, and conflicting and inconclusive character of expert discourses on risks. Thus, I start this chapter discussing some important perspectives in risk and anxiety literature, mainly Beck’s perspectives (1992, 1997) on “The Risk Society”, Hier’s (2003) and Szasz’s (2007) discussions on anxiety. I suggest having this discussion in framework of “mixed knowledge formats” of risks circulated through various channels, and looking at the emotional burden created for individuals, especially mothers.

I elaborate anxiety as a social practice which is “a complex combination of affective experiences, bodily reactions and behavioural responses” (Jackson and Everts, 2010: 2794) to bring the discussion to the relationship between food practices, emotions and subjectivity. I investigate food fear as an affect which circulates in relation to others’ anxiety and becomes collective. Through such discussions, I interrogate the context in which anxiety becomes as social practice which renders mothers responsible to feed their children organic. I put forward the affective dimension behind the mothers’ organic food practices in relation to risks and anxiety to show how they deal with the emotional burden put through pressures of necessity of feeding children organic in an age of anxiety and risk.

In the last part of this chapter, I investigate in detail how the anxiety issue intersects with the ideals of motherhood when it comes to feeding children. It explains well why the mothers are specifically chosen as the focus of this research and explore how women negotiate the discourses of risk and organic food through their everyday life mothering practices. I focus how mothers perceive, interpret the risk discourses in their daily lives, and respond to and negotiate the anxiety resulting from the multiplicity of discourses, the uncertainty of expert knowledge and scientific studies, and the others’ and their own evaluations on their maternal performance.

2.1 Discussion on Risk and Anxiety Literature

Ulrich Beck’s *opus magnum* “The Risk Society” discusses that we ascend “towards a new modernity” which is marked by the “the industrial fall out ... produced in the period of early modernity” (Hier, 2003: 6). Beck argues that the proliferation of risks as “. . . the unknown and unintended consequences [of modern industrial production] come to be a dominant force in history and society” (Beck, 1992: 22). Beck names this process of modernization “reflexive modernity” to explain that modernization is now dissolving its earlier version, namely industrial society, as it opposed the feudalism in the nineteenth century. Beck states that there is a relationship between production of wealth and production of risks.

“The productive forces have lost their innocence in the reflexivity of modernization process. The gain in power from techno-economic progress is being increasingly overshadowed by the production of risks. In an early stage, these can be legitimized as ‘latent side effects.’ As they become exposed to public criticism and get globalized, the risks gain a central place in our daily lives.” (Beck, 1992: 22)

The commercialization of risks, meaning financial interests of some experts in supporting food manufacturers and the rising threat of productive forces on the area of freedom to scientific researches (p.79), are other reasons for avoidance of the scientific revelation of risks. My interviewees also highlight this point, saying that some experts evaluate risks from an economic perspective in a biased manner.

“I consider this issue [organic food] as the opening of a new market. I think that people try to benefit from other people according to their interests again. They abuse the ignorance of people. Personally, I think that it not trustworthy...well, everyone pursues his/her own interests. A new market opportunity arises from each occasion, from each story” (Nazli)⁴³

Beck suggests that today the threats of risk become more and more visible to ordinary people in their daily lives, and risk perception can “be changed, magnified, dramatized or minimized within knowledge, and to that extent they are particularly open to social definition and construction” (Beck, 1992: 22–3). But he also emphasizes that the risks in the late modernity are “universal, transboundary, involuntary, and imperceptible: meaning that our ability to identify who or what might be responsible for creating and mitigating risk is complicated in a risk society.” (MacKendrick, 2011: 7). He considers (Beck, 1999: 6) this an ‘organized irresponsibility’ since we cannot distinguish and identify the multiple sources and actors as the direct reasons of various risks.

In the absence of intangible threats and certain proofs, there are many unanswered questions such as the limit of ‘low’ exposure to chemicals. “Until recently it was generally assumed that the dose-response relationship was monotonic and well behaved. That is, the lower the dose, the less likely there would be adverse health effects. It was also believed that

one could, at least theoretically, always find a threshold below which there would be no health effect at all” (Szasz, 2007:102).

There are still inconclusive results with regards to chemical exposure levels and accumulation of chemical substances. “Is chronic, low-level, multiple simultaneous exposure harmful? No one can say for sure...Exposure of hundreds of substances simultaneously at very low levels? A complete unknown, as far as (...) an educated lay person who has looked at some, though from all, of the literature, can tell. (Szasz, 2007: 112).

The intangible and imperceptible risks increase the doubt, anxiety of people. In recent years, these unanswered questions and inconclusive results of, for instance, biomonitoring studies, become more visible in public discussions, and increase the mistrust in expert knowledge. People have been questioning the possibility of such risks and criticizing today the attitudes of scientists who do not clarify these issues by presenting conclusive and definitive results instead of using absence of proof as an excuse which puts people’s health into danger. Beck also argues that scientific rationality is often blind to risks. He says that the situation of uncertainty or lack of direct proof is a kind of covert scientific permit to the rise of risks (Beck: 1992: 92). The experts sometimes avoid the awareness on risks by using the causality principle which requires the direct proof of symptoms to reveal risks.

Under these circumstances, it seems more reasonable to argue that the processes “involved in the ‘unveiling’ of risks to the wider public are neither able to achieve sociological focus independent of a constructionist approach, nor are they available for full elucidation by adopting a linear model of simple reflexivity.” (Hier, 2003: 8). Are the risks objective dangers? The inconclusive accumulated knowledge and a variety of subjective interpretations of risks show that they are not simply objective dangers. As Hier (2003) suggests, the gap between scientific and social interpretations, and the heightened sense of uncertainty increase the level of anxiety. Thus, this led people to negotiate the existing discourses in their lived experiences in a way to decrease the emotional pressure of the threat of risks:

“Indeed, we really don’t know whom to trust when these cancer experts etc talk differently. Some say that we should overly boil the milk because of the bacterias. The others argue that when we boil it much, it loses its main components which make it milk. But it is said that a lot of additives are used otherwise in the packaged milks...I am very much confused. You know...I try to buy according to which is reasonable for me” (Cemre)⁴⁴

The “mistrust is a result of confusion arising from incongruities and contradictions between messages” (Victoria O’Key and Siobhan Hugh-Jones, 2010: 525). The contradictions in the advices of experts not only create mistrust but are also source of emotional conflicts. Besides, as Lupton and Chapman (1995) argue, when people think that the scientific knowledge is flawed, conflictual or ambiguous, they often turn the individual and lived experiences as reliable informers for decisions around food. Mothers ask other mothers what they do about that issue, whether it had worked for them, and find their own style to get rid of the ambiguity and contradictions in the expert advices:

“Everyone says something else...This creates loss of trust. A professor comes and says something while the other one more specialized says something different. At the end, you do something. But then the other one comes and says something else. You just stop. You have a mind of your own. You can’t follow and do what are said. They do not meet in the same discourse somehow.” (Kübra)⁴⁵

Anxiety in Giddens’s understanding (1990, 1991) can be understood in relation to the a ‘protective cocoon’, a kind of security system developed in childhood. Children develop trust relation with caregivers to continue their daily lives. In the later period of their life, they have a tendency to develop trust in experts in order to “provide a sense of ‘unreality’, a relative feeling of invulnerability to the contingencies of the risk society” (Hier,2003:12) marked by “time-space distanciation” and the “disembedding of social relations.” It means that social relations are lifted out from specific time and places, and local context of interactions. For instance, people in cities do not know where, by whom, when, how the food on their table was produced, thus they have to develop trust relations with expert systems in the context of “absent others”, without face to face communication. This struggle to convince

them to either believe in the safety of the product sold in the market or the neighborhood market or the food presented as organic, saying that we have to trust the words of the producers and other authorities responsible for their controlling because they do not have another choice.

“You just can’t know what they put in the packages in the big cities” (Ayşe)⁴⁶ is an expression of anxiety specific to the context of “absent others”. Under these circumstances, people try to trust expert and certification systems and try to convince themselves about the safety of the food they purchase.

“I buy organic food. They say they are trustworthy and I buy. I don’t know where they are grown. But I try to do according to what is said and try to make myself believe that I do the best. I try to convince myself...” (Figen)⁴⁷

“After a certain point I trust. There is nothing to do. We can’t live with such extreme feeling of insecurity and doubt. That is a boring life. Needs must. We have to comfort ourselves.” (Sevgi)⁴⁸

Baumann (1991) highlights that the task to eliminate uncertainty is one of the main task of modernity, saying that “anxiety has become a normal, everyday condition of modern society, with more and more people living in a state of constant anxiety” (Jackson and Everts, 2010: 2792). The interviews affirm that people try to believe in the experts, negotiate it in the quotidian in a way they try to convince themselves that they have the maximum control they can to get rid of their anxiety and to have a more or less balanced emotional state. But even though they do their best; they can avoid the feeling of uncertainty and the anxiety only to a certain extent.

Beck also notices the people’s will and the attempt of constructing certitude today through their emotional practices. “Confronted with conditions of universal estrangement brought about through advanced modernization, Beck (1997) concedes that the culmination of these processes ... could alternatively assume the form of ‘counter-modernization’...Counter-

modernization stands as the cultivation or invention of a form of ‘constructed certitude’” (Hier, 2003:16).

“if modernity appeals and fights with understanding, ratio, doubt, basis and cause, counter-modernity plays on the keyboard of the orphaned and dried-up emotions...Certitude arises from and with the prevalence of a ‘magic of feelings’ (to use a modern term), an emotional praxis that sweeps away the trembling and hesitation of questioning and doubting with the instinctive and reflex-like security of becoming effective and making things effective in action.” (Beck 1997: 65)

As my interview data also suggest, it seems that “Beck’s notion of counter-modernization, as a more specified form of reflexive modernization, offers greater analytic promise” (Hier, 2003: 8). In face of doubts, in addition to the use of their reason, people also put into practice their emotions in order to construct certitude for their affective well-being. In the next part, I elaborate how they negotiate the food anxiety and affective pressure rising out of this.

2.1.1 Concluding Remarks on the Risk Literature

Apart from the risk literature discussed above, there are different perspectives which “hierarchize expert knowledge above lay knowledge by equating the latter with irrationality” in their perception and response to risk. I shall note that they are problematic since they ignore the science’s “inherent subjectivity as well as the inability to predict the synergistic effects of exposure to multiple chemicals.” (Kristina Vidug, 2011: 136). There are also arguments which consider the scientific rationality as the only source of knowledge of risks. Such an assertion is an “over-socialized conception of individuals as mere ‘risk actors’ playing a predetermined role in a culturally prescribed risk narrative.” (Hier, 2003: 10). Rather than making such a distinction around rational and irrational actors, we should see that there are “parallel claims making activities” which “do not directly dictate what the public perceives as a threat.” (Hier, 2003: 10). Thus, instead of putting scientific and lay knowledge

in competition, I suggest to look at the interaction between experts, lay people and other actors such as media.

For instance, Ungar says that “with the risk society, issues tend to be warranted more by scientific findings or claims, with scientists...Given scientific uncertainties, the likelihood that the media’s attempt to strike an equilibrium will be greater for ‘factual’ than moral claims” (Ungar 2001:277). Yet, it is obvious that the knowledge circulating via media is not purely based on scientific arguments. There is rather a mixed knowledge form presented in the TV programs of health, social media etc. This mixed knowledge comes about “through a complex chain of social interactions involving claims makers, moral guardians and the media, set in the context of socio-political change and an ensuing climate of ‘cultural ambiguity’.” (Hier, 2003: 5-6). Therefore, I believe that “rather than counterposing the ‘rational’ bases of late modern anxieties” (Hier, 2003) to moral judgments or creating a dichotomy around rational/irrational, we should investigate “the mixed/hybrid knowledge formats” of risks through various channels, which contributes to emotional burden, affective and practical negotiation of risks by lay people. In my research, mothers negotiate this hybrid knowledge formats, specifically the discourses of organic food around risk, anxiety, mothering and ‘organic child ideal’ and the emotional burden that they create, in their daily practices of feeding their children.

Given the complexity, uncertainty, and sometimes imperceptibility of risks, the intensive responsibility shouldered by mothers create a large emotional pressure on mothers. That is why I investigate in the next part how anxiety rises as a social and affective practice out of discourses of food risks and show how mothers deal with this in their organic feeding practices of their children.

2.2 The Circulation of Anxiety and “Anxiety as Social practice” Around Food

There is a rising understanding of anxiety as a part of social rather than as a purely individual defect. Recent literature on emotions considers “emotion not as biologically inherent in its form and production, but instead look at the intersubjective nature of

emotions... within the broader sociocultural realms of everyday life” (Colls, 2004: 593). Food consumers may also be “implicated in the social condition of anxiety whether or not they are personally anxious” (Jackson and Everts, 2010: 2794). It is not only related to complex doings and sayings of social life but also to complex emotions. As a social practice, it is “a complex combination of affective experiences, bodily reactions and behavioural responses” (p.2800).

Anxiety is an affect that circulates and “authenticates its existence” (Ahmed, 2004: 31) by this very act of witnessing the anxiety of other mothers’ anxiety. It is always in relationship to others’ anxiety and never private. The strength of affect “comes from the ways it registers the conditions of life that move across persons and worlds, play out in lived time, and energize attachments” (Berlant, 2011: 16). Thus, as anxiety circulates, it increases more or less the attachment of mothers to organic food in their daily practices of feeding their children in different ways.

Sara Ahmed (2004) suggests that we should elaborate emotion in terms of contact, action and reaction. It is something to be remobilized or modified. It cannot be reduced to individual aspect and it is always in relationship with collective level. They go beyond individuals by the circulation of objects of emotion. There is always an interaction between subject and object, so objects are not something external to subjects. In my research, food appears as the object of anxiety and mistrust as affects. Mothers develop the food fear as the anxiety circulates in the society, and particularly among them in line with their significant concern for the health of their children. Emotions are shaped in a specific context. Thus, it is important to understand under which circumstances the food fear circulates, is remobilized and modified. Emotions are constantly reshaped by performativity. They stick to or slide over objects and objects of emotion circulate, so does affect.

However, some emotions stick and some do not. The level of identification with the food fear is also different for people and it does not have the same influence on each mother. Anxiety works in such an interactive way that it sticks in different ways. Emotions are “self-reflective, involving active perception, identification and management on the part of individuals ... as created through this reflectiveness” (Lupton, 1998: 16). This is why food fear is not lived in a homogeneous way in each mother and this may be one of the reasons why their relationship to organic food is different from each other. For this reason, I try to

understand the relation of anxiety as affect and subjectivity to new possibilities and articulations in everyday performative practices of feeding their children in this specific context of 'risk society' where anxiety appears as a social practice.

Lupton also suggests that there is a significant relationship between food practices, emotions and subjectivity. She argues that "...the adoption of a dietary regimen represents an attempt to alleviate anxiety, both around the nature of food one eats, but also around one's subjectivity. In the face of this emphasis on self-control and ascetic denial, however, there are also the important meanings of food as contributing to the project of the self" (Lupton, 1996:155). As Atkinson says "by eating 'natural' foods, the consumer is offered virtue" (Atkinson, 1983: 16). Thus, the incorporation of unhealthy food is considered as one's lack of knowing what is himself/herself. "The act of incorporation of such food then becomes problematic for the equilibrium of the subjectivity of the consumer" (Lupton, 1996: 89). It is again important for the mothers who purchase organic food to feed their children.

The fear of artificially evolves around this struggle to establish one's subjectivity around his/her own food practices. "An individual's choice of food is therefore a potent sign to others and oneself of that person's degree of self-control, self-esteem, knowledge of nutrition, commitment to bodily health, awareness of the origin and constitution of food and level of spirituality" (Lupton, 1996: 93). My interviewees compare constantly their feeding practices of their children and their sensitivity to feed organic, considering this as a part of their one's personality: careless mother, knowledgeable mother etc. and question their self-control, their commitment to the bodily health of their children and their subjectivity. One even says: "*While having this interview with you, for example, in fact, I have questioned myself whether I should feel guilty for not being such a strict organic mother.*" (Figen)⁴⁹ This shows how anxiety as a strong emotional state is directly related to one's subjectivity. They establish a strong link between the way they feed their children and how they perceive their 'self' and the others, and the success of their motherhood.

"Many observers (e.g Bauman, 2006; Furedi, 1997; Svendsen, 2008) have noted how our current anxieties give rise to a pervasive 'culture of fear' whose management comes at a considerable cost in terms of our personal and political freedoms" (Jackson and Everts, 2010: 2804). My interviewees say that they have to make sacrifices to feed their children with

healthy food. For instance, in order to avoid snacks, they do not buy any snack for themselves. Or there are ones with fewer budgets who have to give up some other priorities when they rarely buy natural eggs or organic fruit puree to their little kids. Because of the emotional burden this culture of fear creates, they try to find their own way to provide some safe and healthy food for their children.

“For example, we try to buy village eggs. My brother is in Sakarya. I try to bring some when I go there. There is a little local market named organic where they sell village eggs...But eggs are quickly consumed foods. We cannot make it...Now we do like this: we consume eggs only in their breakfasts. And only the little ones consume village eggs. In any case we have already eaten a lot in the past.” (Cemre)⁵⁰

“Even a small organic fruit puree costs 3.5 lira. That is the reason why. Its conventional counterpart cost around 1.35 in ordinary markets...If I buy the organic, only my little child can eat but my other kids can’t. Or I buy three instead of buying the organic one.” (Cemre)⁵¹

Bigo (2002) draws our attention to the ‘political economy of fear’ in which certain sources of anxiety is triggered on purpose. Some of my interviewees also say that there are some experts who talk in TV programs and newscasts in order to manipulate the purchase of some products. As they indicate, there are multiple sources of knowledge with different basis of legitimacy, with sometimes contradictory arguments. It is important to note here that consumers are not simply shaped by these discourses.

In the context of competing sources of expert knowledge, there is a circulation of multiple discourses which are then appropriated by consumers mostly according to their material conditions. In the case of organic food purchase for children, cultural capital of mothers is also important in how it is understood, practiced and reappropriated. Thus, even in wide-spread circulation of organic food knowledge in media-saturated environment, mothers negotiate discourses of risk and anxiety, discourses of mothering and organic child ideal in their own practices of feeding their children and deal differently with the food anxiety and emotional pressure to feed their children organic.

2.3 While “Shopping Our Way To Safety”

“Shopping Our Way to Safety” is the title of the book of Szasz (2007) which draws our attention to “the small safe zones within a larger polluted industrial landscape” (Johnston, 2008: 465) by individual commoditized solutions. He develops the notion of “inverted quarantine,” which means assembling “a personal commodity bubble for one’s body” (p. 97). But “there are absolute limits, and it is not possible to achieve, or even approach complete protection” (p.173-4). Szasz explains that inverted quarantine strategies are limited in protecting people from the toxins of contaminated air even when a person buys everything organic. It is almost impossible to buy everything organic even for a upper middle class individual because of the magnitude of money and effort to be spent. None of the mothers I interviewed can buy everything organic or to tell with Szasz’s words, they cannot “implement the full program of...using *all* the inverted quarantine products available, all the time” (p.173).

Yet, as the search of organic food increases, the material and psychic costs also rise exponentially. “Practicing inverted quarantine on such a scale requires...constant and repetitive acts of monitoring, avoidance, separation, and enclosure” (p.193). My interviewees also highlight the emotional burden and pressure that this intense involvement in organic practices or their significant concern about feeding organic their children create. One of my interviewees even says “*most of us have become paranoiac like me*” (Zeynep). They also draw my attention to how they try to repress the anxiety:

“I do not go over this issue with a fine-tooth comb because I believe that it makes you go off the deep end. You have to pay three times to buy it but still do not feel at ease. On the other hand, if you can’t buy, you don’t feel relieved because you ask whether you feed the child bad food. That’s why I try to keep my attention in moderate levels as much as I can.” (Figen)⁵²

Mothers try to have a moderate relationship with organic food purchase because it is mostly not affordable to be a strict ‘organic mother’ and/or being strongly committed to the ‘organic child’ ideal. This creates a significant emotional burden for mothers. They feel uncomfortable when they cannot provide organic as they wish or/and when they violate even a bit the rules of organic diet of their children. Therefore, many of them try to convince

themselves to have a moderate and balance attitude toward organic food purchase to feel better.

In his book, Szasz (2007) elaborates the issues of pesticides, genetic modification, food processing from the perspective of scientists, regulators and consumers in the USA. Similar perspectives can be seen in Turkey. By drawing upon Szasz's detailed discussion on these, I will now briefly discuss the competing authorities on these issues in Turkey from consumer perspective to show the current context in Turkey which helps understanding the source of anxieties of my interviewees and their affective negotiation of different discourses within their feeding practices of their children.

Today science and technology become both the reason and the solution of anxieties. "Rather than the Enlightenment replacing fear and superstition with rationality and scientific knowledge, such fears have been displaced to new sites of anxiety" (Jackson and Everts, 2010: 2801). Because of the active role of technology in food production our daily food consumption practices are also marked by some fears such as artificial fertilizers, growth hormones, coloring agents, chemicals, antibiotics and technological processing in general. As Adryana Petryna explains with the notion of 'biological citizenship, today there is an indirect relationship between state and citizens where state becomes not the main actor but a supervisor. This context of neoliberal politics which gives regulatory responsibility to the citizen-subjects in their food practices also contributes to the increase in social anxieties.

One of the controversial topics related to food safety is the pesticide exposure. There is an exposure level considered to be safe by state, and unreliable or risky by many consumers. It is deemed adequate according to the state, and the firms do not want it to be lowered. Besides, people eat many different foods, thus, end up eating a mixture of pesticide residues instead of being exposed to only the level of pesticide an individual food carries. People are also worried about the more harmful effect of pesticides on children because of their possible inability of detoxifying pesticides. Along with this sensitivity, my interviewee says that she buys from "İpek Hanımın Ciftligi", a popular online sale site, especially because they do not use pesticides but instead some specific herbs to protect products. There is also a little suspicion that even there is no intention of use of pesticides, the soil may already be contaminated with pesticides and other industrial chemicals from previous applications.

Also, there is a huge distrust and worry about genetically modified foods. It creates far more awareness and resistance in Europe. The European activists call them ‘Frankenfood’ as Szasz tells, “evoking the allegory of technological feats escaping our control” (Szasz, 2007: 140). Yet, the industry seems successful at not listing the GM ingredients on the package of foods in Turkey as the safety regulations let them to do so. Thus, the issue becomes less visible for many people while shopping. But all of my interviews with higher material sources have a significant concern about GM food since they can buy alternative foods.

Mothers are anxious especially about potential hazard in animal and animal by-products. Chicken, eggs and milk are the products they are quite afraid to buy from ordinary supermarkets. They strongly emphasize that the animals should freely wander around in the nature while growing up rather than being confined to small cages or factories. The ones who are able to afford buy organic chicken and eggs and the others do not prefer much to buy chicken and try to buy eggs from neighborhood markets.

“In order to trust the safety of a product, we need to see its certificate. For example, the eggs of City Farm, the organic eggs of Keskinoglu...But this summer Okan will stay in the Prince Islands. So we either have to carry the eggs of Farm City one by one or my husband will shop and bring them there because there is no organic certificated egg on the island...So his stay on the island this summer makes me anxious because of the egg problem.” (Melis)⁵³

There is a huge mistrust in what the animals are being fed and whether growth hormones or antibiotics are used in order to send them to the market as soon as possible to gain more profit.

“Chicken grown under natural conditions, their eggs etc. But as I said we do not often have the natural conditions for these as it was in the past. Before, chickens used to grow up, I don’t know, in a long period but now people make them grow in a month as if they were machines.” (Figen)⁵⁴

The circulation of knowledge of animals being fed with animals’ parts and animal wastes such as chicken feathers creates a remarkable scare especially about chicken consumption. Many mothers among my participants highlight that they do not usually feed their children chicken or they try to buy it organic if they buy.

“Although there are a lot of discussions that question the organicness of the chicken that we consider organic, I buy organic eggs and chickens of a few brands.” (Figen)⁵⁵

“I am concerned about the organic food especially around chickens. Chickens grow up in a very short period. They are said to be produced with growth hormone. That is why I avoid feeding my child chicken.” (Tülin)⁵⁶

Another important fear of mothers is processed foods. Many types of food undergo processing during which some substances are added in order to increase flavor and delay the expiration date. My interviewees tell that they try to avoid buying packaged foods for their kids as much as possible. Many of them are mostly sensitive about the additives in packaged milk and yoghurts, thus prefer buying milk from the milkman they trust and make their own yoghurt. Almost all of them try not to buy snacks such as chocolate and chips for their kids because of the fear of industrial processing.

These fears are strengthened everyday by frightening news and increase the demand to buy organic. The anxiety of mothers rise significantly when they cannot buy organic or only buy to a certain extent because of a variety of reasons, mainly their limited budget but also large amount of time and effort needed.

2.4 The Nostalgia of Past and Nature

Nostalgia is an aspiration for the past “or a fondness for tangible or intangible possessions and activities linked with the past, and is experienced when individuals feel separated from an era to which they are attached (Davis 1979; Holbrook 1993)” (Sierra and McQuitty, 2007: 99). It can be defined as “a preference (general liking, positive attitude or favorable affect) toward objects ... from when one was younger or from times about which one has learned vicariously, perhaps through socialization or the media” (Fairley 2003: 287-288).” It is an affect which “may influence attitudinal and emotional responses to stimuli associated with that era” (Sierra and McQuitty, 2007: 100).

In my interviews, the symbol of ‘nature’ is emotively connected to notions of ‘purity’ and goodness, and is brought into a nostalgic discourse around the healthiness and wholesomeness of rural life” (Lupton, 1996: 86) and/or the ‘past.’ The notion of the ‘golden’ age of ‘natural living’ on the rural land (Lupton, 1996: 96) appear with the nostalgic narrative

of the good taste and smell of the food they used to eat in their childhood. Most of my interviewees say that they feel sorry that their children are unlucky because they cannot really eat fruit, like off the tree. Especially the ones who used to live in a village narrate these with a great sense of nostalgia.

“There [in the village] one can find, for example, small tomatoes, pretty little ones. Their smell is good and their inside is dry. When you look at it, you understand it...tiny and crunchy cucumbers are the organic ones...For our children, for our health, these fruits and vegetables that we consume in the city are not good at all compared to the ones in our hometowns.” (Ayşe)⁵⁷

The mothers in my interviews constantly establish a distinction between the food in the city and the food in the village. The latter is almost automatically considered natural whereas the former is associated with hormones, genetic modification, and the risk of illnesses. The dream of nature appears as an important theme in the interviews. There is nostalgia of village when they talk about the pleasure of eating delicious and healthy food and constant references to the safety of foods in the past.

They also often make reference to their elders who lived in the villages, saying that they died in later ages whereas children die because of this risk environment today. The emphasis they make on the negative effects of the technology and industry is also very common because they feel separated from this era. As Jenkins states, many of my interviewees say “it seems the more industrialized our society, the more unbalanced our diet and the more susceptible we are to the diseases of civilization” (Jenkins, 1991:11).

“It is harmful for our kids too. In the past, illnesses were not that common. When the children eat fruit and vegetables, even though we put them in water mixed with vinegar for a while, they get infection from somewhere. From where? We think that it is because of the food we eat. The children of my sister in our hometown do not get sick as much as mine get. My sister says ‘you live in a warm house, so how can you make the kids get sick?’ I say it is because of what they eat. They don’t eat organic like you do. We really would like to feed them as such but it is not possible to make it while living in a big city like Istanbul.” (Ayşe)⁵⁸

In these discussions over ‘healthy’ and ‘unhealthy’ food, as Lupton also argues, they privilege “‘nature’ and rural living over ‘culture’ and urban living.” “The dominant appeal of health foods is their imputed ability to restore purity and wholesomeness, to retreat from the complexities of modern life to an idealized pastoral dream of the ‘good life’”(p.89). According to Sierra (2007), “the feeling or mood that accompanies nostalgia has the capacity

to affect preferences for possessions that generate nostalgic responses (Holak and Havlena, 1998)” (p.100). This explains well why most of the mothers in my interviews say ‘natural village egg’, ‘village chicken’ instead of saying ‘organic’ even though I ask them their organic food practices, using the wording ‘organic’. If they have the opportunity to order them from a village, they feel more comfortable to buy them from an organic store.

“I don’t buy organic eggs because I feed my child natural eggs, from the chickens walking around freely...My father send me from the South since he usually stays there. He sends me natural chickens like this and I can make chicken soups...well his eggs and chickens are all natural.” (Melis)⁵⁹

It is also obvious that this is started to be used as a marketing strategy by sellers to design a village atmosphere even they sell them in an ordinary shop. The village atmosphere created in a high-class shopping mall in Istanbul, “Kanyon”, is an example for a marketing strategy which benefits from this nostalgia. “Marketers are in a position to offer products that strengthen consumers’ nostalgic responses (Holbrook and Schindler 1994). Nostalgia is an intriguing and prevalent phenomenon that can affect consumer behavior and produce a competitive advantage when exploited effectively” (Sierra, 2007: 109).

Along with the increasing uncertainty and risks, there is a constant reference to words processed/artificial and natural in opposition. Lupton argues that “the continual opposition of processed/artificial and ‘natural’ foods is a response to uncertainty. If we can believe that a food is ‘natural’, then we feel better about eating it. In the context of a climate of risk and uncertainty, being able to hold on such binary oppositions and their moral associations makes it easier to live one’s everyday life” (Lupton, 1996: 92). In that sense, people constantly define ‘natural food’ from their own perspectives. Most of my interviewees name the food grown in the villages as automatically natural. They often name them organic, but mostly consider them safer and healthier than organic, thinking that organic farming can still serve the mass production when compared to a small poultry-house in a village.

“Imagine chickens growing up in meadows, wandering around freely. These are the natural chickens. Organic is more like systematic. For example, they build a natural-like organic farming atmosphere. But in the former, this natural atmosphere is by itself. I think this is the difference between ‘natural’ and ‘organic’. Let’s say in an organic farm they have 100 chickens. They make 1000 eggs. It is more like City Farm. They use more technology in the organic farming.” “When it comes to what we call natural, it is more kind of a boutique

production. Well, you have a little poultry house, and you have 30-40 chickens. That is natural for me. Organic is more like a serial consumption.” (Melis)⁶⁰

There is still a little doubt about there might be the use of pesticides for instance or that the soil might be already contaminated even in the villages.

“I don’t know if we can trust them. Well, after all, we try to manage it all by our endeavors. They say this is healthy and a village product came from such and such villages. But we also hear that we have additives in village products too. In that case, we become neutral to anything and thus feel anxious. I would feel relieved to buy and believe the safety of a product only and only if someone I know grows it in his/her own garden. Otherwise, I can’t feel that comfortable.” (Arzu)⁶¹

“But we don’t know the soil and what might be inside. We don’t know if there was something harmful before, whether what matters is its being in a village or not. We don’t know any of these.” (Arzu)⁶²

Some mothers say that they can only trust the product of their own and their friends and relatives, grown in their village garden. But they also still keep buying from stores, order from villages, or buy from supermarkets.

CHAPTER 3

“INTENSIVE MOTHERING” AND “PRECAUTIONARY CONSUMPTION” AS GENDERED PRACTICES OF NEOLIBERAL GOVERNMENTALITY IN RELATION TO MOTHERING AND RISK DISCOURSES

“You know ‘we are what we eat.’ We live in bad times. You know the diseases that the long life shelf products, packaged products cause. We read, see, and watch a lot. So we believe that a good diet is very important. That is why I try to buy products which are as much as natural or organic.” (Sevgi)⁶³

“Now the children are in our control. It is a period when they eat what we choose, and when their body is shaped. I think that their diet is so important (...) we should take control of this and give attention to their nutrition.” (Sevgi)⁶⁴

“You do it because you would like to do it for your kid. You never say [to the father] ‘you are going to buy these this time.’ Never. You do it willingly.” (Tülin)⁶⁵

These three quotes from my interviews exemplify briefly how neoliberal ideology encourages us to take the individual responsibility of ‘choosing’ the right products for the health and safety of our own and our children as vigilant and self-conscious individuals. They also exemplify how mothering ideals as selfless and caring are related to this privatized responsibility, and shows the necessity of questioning further these practices from gender perspective.

Therefore, in this chapter, I elaborate the “precautionary consumption” (MacKendrick, 2011) as a gendered practice in relation to “intensive mothering” practices of women around organic nurturing. While doing so, my aim is not to present mothers as ‘passive dupes’ who unconsciously practice the neoliberal maternal ideology. Instead I try to explain the

“culturally constructed sub-text” (Sachs, 1996: 632) of discourses of feeding children in order to indicate how mothers negotiate and reappropriate “the hidden script” (p. 663) which is embedded in them. So I explore how mothers negotiate the risk discourses and the emotional pressures they create in relation to their negotiation of motherhood ideology because the organic feeding of children as a “precautionary consumption” is situated at the intersection of risk and motherhood discourses.

The motherhood ideology is based on the societal expectations which render mothers the main responsible person for the healthy eating of the children as well as for the general carework. Through normative common sense notions of mothers as caring and protective, the responsibility for choosing organic food for their children appears as a distinctive standard for good mothering. This ideal of motherhood becomes even more obvious and distinctive in the Turkish culture in which mothers are expected to be devoted, selfless and self-sacrificing not only during the childhood of their children but even during their whole life. I explain how mothers are rendered responsible for managing the “intensive mothering” in the division of labor and how they deal with this responsibility, giving voice to the mothers in my interviews. Also, in order to show how they negotiate all these discourses and the emotional pressure they create, I explain how their organic feeding practices vary in relation to their organic food perception, their risk perception and anxiety, affective reaction to dominant discourses of motherhood and healthy diet, their cultural and economic capital.

The ideology of “precautionary consumption” is consistent with the neoliberal ideology since it “draws our attention away from the universality of risk, and the responsibilities of the state for managing body burdens as a collective risk” (MacKendrick, 2011: 123). The individuals provide their self-protection and manage the exposure to contaminants in foods through their privatized responsibility.

The shift from welfare state towards the free market capitalism with neoliberal ideology since 70s (Harvey, 2005) results in the deregulation, the privatization of public services, and the increased collaboration between private companies and state (Iıcan 2009). This causes the empowerment of the market as the main institution responsible for the distribution of services and commodities.

Along with the neoliberal ideology, we observe a lack of powerful discourse which gives importance to state regulation for the welfare of its citizens and there is a strong emphasis on the freedom of autonomous consumer choice for their own welfare (Rose, 1999). Rose uses the notion of “privatization of risk management” (1996: 58) and explains that citizens are defined “as active individuals seeking to ‘enterprise themselves,’ to maximize their quality of life through acts of choice” (Rose, 1996: 57) in neoliberal context. The discourses of risk are also problematized as a consumer problem. Thus, the management of risks is realized more in the individual level and private institutions than the state as a regulatory apparatus. As the neoliberal governmentality literature suggests, neoliberalism creates new subjects (Dean 1997; Rose 1999; O’Malley 2000) which are mostly self-regulating, self-controlling and self-protecting. As MacKendrick suggests, individual responsibility appears as a technique of governmentality which “replaces formal institutional practices concerned with managing collective risk problems.” (MacKendrick, 2011: 71).

The concept ‘governmentality’ is first developed by Foucault, and elaborated further by various theorists such as Peter Miller, Nikolas Rose (1999), and Mitchell Dean (1999) in framework of “neoliberal governmentality.” The neoliberal governmentality is not directly imposed, “but operates through the embodied actions of free subjects—often by exercising choice in the market.” (Cairns and Johnston, 2015: 3). As Dummit says, the creation of self-conscious people by the circulation of knowledge through various channels and its translation to lay people constitute a major role in that. So “extending this conception of power as productive and embodied to the context of neoliberalism” the studies of neoliberal governmentality explore “how conduct is shaped not only by formal political rationalities, but also by the mundane ways individuals govern themselves and others in everyday life” (Cairns and Johnston, 2015: 3)

“While governmentality studies tend to emphasize embodied surveillance and discipline, neoliberalism also operates at the level of emotion, as structural problems are individualized as private burdens that are felt in everyday life” (Cairns and Johnston, 2015: 3). The risk avoidance and health management in food choices “becomes viewed as a moral enterprise relating to issues of “self-control, self-knowledge, and self-improvement” (Lupton 1999, p. 91) in neoliberal governmentality, and create a significant affective burden on lay

people. This is why I investigate mothers' negotiation of the emotional pressure that the discourses of risk, "precautionary consumption" and "intensive mothering" create. The connection between the politics of food and health, the market, the effects of new knowledge-power forms, consumer culture, and "the modes of subjectification through which subjects work on themselves qua living beings" (Rabinow, 2006: 215) are important topics to be investigated around the notion of neoliberal governmentality and constitutes the main topics of this research.

Through my research on organic feeding practices of mothers, I try to prevent from a totalizing approach that uniformly produces disciplined subjects, thus "conceptualize power as productive and corporeal, but focus [my] analytic lens is on women's lived experiences of negotiating" (Cairns and Johnston, 2015: 5) the multiple discourses around mothering, risk, and organic food. But the findings of my research do affirm the influence of neoliberal discourses and of the existence of neoliberal governmentality perspective in their daily life food choice.

My interviews show that mothers themselves also think that they are the ones who should do their best to protect their children from risks through healthy food choices. They internalize the duty to have the individual capacity of control for maintaining the health of their children through their food choices "as active, responsible, rational, and autonomous actors...They have, in Osborne's terms, been 'responsibilised (1997: 195)'" (Vidug, 2011: 319).

The "intensive mothering" ideal overlaps with the "precautionary consumption" (MacKendrick, 2011) ideology because they both render mothers individually responsible for the health of their children, with the emphasis made on the 'consumer agency'. This ideal of "intensive mothering" (Hays, 1996) puts children at the center and renders mothers main caregiver responsible for spending intensive time, effort and material sources by 'unselfish nurturing.' Besides, as the mothers engage more in the "intensive mothering" ideal, it becomes in their eyes a more "demanding enterprise" (Hays 1996: 159) for them since it requires specialized knowledge and abilities.

This mentality is closely linked to the moralizing discourses and conceptualization of children as vulnerable and dependant. We should keep in mind that “childhood is a social creation and, although ‘truths’ about childhood may appear to have the status of objective fact, in reality they reflect specific social and political preoccupations and concerns (Lawler, 1999).” (Murphy, 2007: 105). Thus, the idea that children are like parents’ life-long project is a repercussion of neoliberal ideology which is transformed into a burden on the shoulders of especially women in the form of an intense protection and feeding of children for their healthy development and survival. “Ideologies of motherhood are therefore predicated upon knowledges of childhood, and, in particular, of the needs of children” (Murphy, 2007: 106) in line with the ideology of neoliberalism.

I observe almost no evidence in the narratives of the mothers in my interviews that they resist the privatization of responsibility and the additional burden that the neoliberal maternal ideology puts on their shoulders. They negotiate the discourses of the ideal motherhood and the organic feeding in their lived experiences, yet, internalize this responsibility of taking care of the healthy diet of their children and managing the food risks such as chemicals and genetic modification as if it was their ‘natural’ duty. “The modern risks such as “chemical body burdens can be considered a relatively new form of risk—of which mothers have only very recently become aware—yet interviewees’ descriptions of their routines reveals how the domain of responsibilities considered normal and acceptable to mothering expands easily and seamlessly to accommodate new tasks and new accountabilities” (MacKendrick, 2011: 70).

Few of my interviewees add that the state should also enable the conditions for healthy food maintenance by related food regulations but none of them deny this responsibility of managing food risks ‘given’ to mothers in the division of labor.

“You accept this after a while. It doesn’t matter to me that much. Maybe the father leave this responsibility to you maybe because he trusts you and he thinks that in any case you take care of the kid. He is aware of our attention of not feeding everything and avoiding certain foods...But it is not a problem. You do it because you would like to do it for your kid.”
(Tülin)⁶⁶

This statement is consistent with the “intensive mothering” ideal which is based on the idea of devoted and conscious mother who is willing to exercise such an intense effort that they consider worth doing.

When I ask them to reflect upon the fathers’ role in the childcare, specifically organic feeding of their children, most of them tell me how fathers support their efforts for careful organic choices and trust their preferences. These mothers appreciate this verbal and moral support and say that they take this responsibility voluntarily.

Some of them state that their husbands do not want them to be intensively engaged with organic feeding, and complain that fathers break the rules of healthy diet and ‘even’ bring snacks for children. They explain they also have to deal with this situation to convince fathers to support their effort.

“They are the mothers who are always interested in the diet of children. We usually argue over this with their father. One day he comes with jelly tots in his hands. He says ‘but I bought them just for once because they wanted them so much.’ But you did the same just three days ago too.” (Figen)⁶⁷

“It is only me. I am the only one responsible for [the health diet of my children]. Their father buys snacks; chips etc. We have argued over this issue for two years. I once started to get angry. He doesn’t know. He doesn’t care.” (Nazli)⁶⁸

Even the working mothers say that fathers cannot take care of children since they work, to explain why mothers take the responsibility. Mostly they do not question why working mothers do their best to find enough time and spend intense effort for this task. Almost all of them use the sentence ‘since the mother usually cook at home, they are the mothers who take the responsibility to deal with the organic feeding of the children. It seems that mothers’ singling-out in the management of children’s diet starts with their pregnancy during which they give utmost importance to what they eat and drink, have medical advice and controls, and it continues with breastfeeding period. This makes the path of responsibility for mothers to care for nurturing afterwards. Then this internalized responsibility of care work and nurturing brings more responsibility with the rising attention paid for organic feeding practices along with risk discourses and expert advices.

“About the issue of child rearing, and about the diet of the child, of course the mother [takes the primary responsibility]. How can a father get involved in this? He is not always with the child. Well, the mother manages compulsorily all the communication with the medical doctor in person until the baby starts supplementary foods. Then it continues and the mother starts taking care of everything. The father is not involved that much.” (Arzu)⁶⁹

It is important to emphasize here that both mothers are middle and upper class individuals because the lower class mothers, when they try to buy natural food and avoid snacks, it is harder them to get the fathers’ support. This might be related to the cultural capital of fathers because the middle and upper class fathers are more involved in organic food discussions, read and hear more about this.

On the other hand, while comparing mothers’ attitude with fathers’, some of my interviewees explains that fathers are far more flexible and do not want to be involved in this organic feeding issue.

“Fathers say ‘leave them alone’ though. They are mostly the husbands of the very cautious mothers, doubting thomas. Fathers get bored too. They feel themselves in a mold. It is hard for a man to be imprisoned in a mold. I think neither insisting on buying this and that organic and bothering them nor being so flexible and careless. Both side should be like this. I just started [supplementary foods] but I try to do this. Frankly speaking, I am not a doubting thomas.” (Yeşim)⁷⁰

There is a lack of recognition that the motherhood and fatherhood are socially constructed just like the social roles of women and men in general. Also, we see that “intensive mothering” can be morally judged by fathers and the other mothers, although it already creates such a hard work for women.

“Recently my son ate honey and molasse that he never ate before. I call everyone and say ‘shall I cut a rooster to celebrate it?’ because I became so happy. I cannot be happier as if I won the lottery. His father thinks this is not a big deal and he is like so what?...Mothers are more like...I don’t know maybe it is because of the motherhood feeling given by the God...but of course everyone doesn’t have it.” (Kübra)⁷¹

When I ask the mothers whom they consider responsible for the feeding of the children, all of them say ‘of course me, the mother’ and consider this as a kind of ‘natural’,

‘instinctive’ duty. Most of them emphasize the ‘special bond’ between the mother and the child.

“But the mother is the one who has all the control over the child, who knows him/her the best, whom the child looks at her eyes and listens to her words. The child looks at her and the mom at him/her. It is such a bond between them that it is the mother who knows what the child wants and does.” (Melis)⁷²

Most of them also try to justify the basis of their more attention than fathers, saying that fathers do not know much about cooking, nurturing and caring for the child.

“Of course the responsibility is mine. Their healthy diet. The father brings the food but it is my task to put it in the oven and cook it. He knows nothing about this...If I ask my husband to cook a soup for me when I am sick, he can’t. But I know how to cook. I take this responsibility. My husband only knows buying and selling, and I know cooking and serving(...) I know how many times I broke plates in the sink because I couldn’t feed my daughter [as I wish]. With all my motherhood instincts...” (Ayşe)⁷³

The domestic sphere and care work are accepted as the field of responsibility of mothers, both by working mothers and stay-at-home mothers that I interviewed, although the degree and the definition of this responsibility may vary.

The children become objects for ‘colonizing the future’ because the future is “continually drawn into present” (Giddens, 1991: 3). The mothers feel the duty, moral and emotional pressure of maintaining the future and present health of their children by “precautionary practices” in the present to use the ‘opportunity’ of controlling the diet of their children in early ages which they consider very important for their healthy growth.

“I don’t know the future...how...I don’t know. We say everything is for our health. But then...We try to buy the best products but I don’t know if they are...” (Arzu)⁷⁴

“While they are now in our control and in their period of growth, we should take control of this” (Sevgi)⁷⁵

This internalized and ‘taken as for granted’ responsibility adds though a significant emotional pressure on mothers. Mothers also contribute to the emotional burden created on the shoulders of other mothers. They say that they do not judge others but just feel guilty when they see mothers offering better options, e.g homemade biscuits that working mothers cannot always cook or organic chicken that is expensive for low class mothers. Although all

of them say that they do not judge the other mothers because each mother wishes the best for her child, they feel the competition among themselves and some of them also use adjectives such as obsessive and doubting.

“I bring there [to the kindergarten], for example, fruit puree I bought. It seems they give a kind of despising look probably because it is not home-made. Actually it happened like this...I don't think like them. I choose intentionally organic ones, organic fruits. But when I went there with my mom, my mother felt these looks and said 'normally we feed them home-made one at home...'” (Tülin)⁷⁶

“One of my friends feeds like word for word. She is like 'she didn't eat her fruit today. Oh, she has to! but she needs to eat her puree...' I was never like this. After my son's first age, more precisely after the breastfeeding, it has been more flexible. He still eats everything. His weight and height are fine, and his growth seems good. Ok he is not a big child. But he is the average in everything. So I am not that much obsessive.” (Melis)⁷⁷

The despising looks of the others, the attribution by the others as obsessive are some of the moral judgments that the mothers are exposed.

They also face the “moral danger” (Lupton, 1993: 425) of being considered as a failed mother and a failed individual because of the “failure to live up to the neoliberal ideal of the rational, responsible individual” (Murphy, 2000: 296) when they do not act exactly according to the neoliberal maternal ideology in their organic food practices for their children. Mothers do give importance to the discourses around motherhood, organic food, risks etc. The discourses of motherhood and organic food influence, to an extent, their organic foodwork as a particularly recent and gendered practice in the service of “facework” through their mothering practices. According to Goffman, “every definition of a social situation contains roles that are normally and regularly expected. Goffman considers roles as bundles of activities that are effectively lanced together into a situated activity system” (Kenneth Allan, 2011: 332) He suggests that in order to have a social encounter, people have to present a self (Allan, 2012: 61). In this process, face represents people's affective attachment to the roles that is considered positive in the eyes' of the others. Face-work is the management of this impression people give others since each interaction is a kind of risk to self. It “can be seen to vary on a continuum from role distance to role embracement. In role distance, one manages impression in such a way as to simultaneously lay effective claim a self that is more than the

role communicates. In role embracement, the individual disappears within the virtual self. Such work idealizes the situation and its roles. (Allan, 2012: 75).

Allison (1991), in her article on Japanese mothers and *obentos*, also shows that *obentos*, labour-intensive lunch boxes, that mothers prepare everyday to their little children are considered as a quality of their motherhood, their commitment to their children's educational performances, and the expression of their love for their children. Conversations about *obentos* and tips for preparing them appear as important topics for mothers, and a mother can be marked as a bad mother because of a superficially made *obento*. Thus, the food work of mothers through preparing nice *obentos* becomes their face-work as the organic feeding of children does. I argue that many mothers find themselves more or less in a face-work during their "foodwork", meaning in their food-related practices including food planning, shopping, cooking (Beagan et al. 2008). Through face-work, they try to manage the impression that they give as 'good mother' capable of feeding their children in an appropriate and ideal way to be appreciated.

However, this does not mean that mothers simply live their everyday life word by word according to these discourses. Besides, there is no single homogeneous discourse about these issues, and the mothers also participate in the production of these discourses, sometimes by reproducing them but also converging them, negotiating and reappropriating them. They are not simply passive practitioners of these discourses. "Nor do they unquestioningly accept the interpretation of their behaviours as evidence of maternal inadequacy. Rather they account for their behaviours in ways that actively resist the definition of their behaviours as irresponsible or imprudent" (Murphy, 2000: 298).

Most of my interviewees, especially those from upper- and middle classes, say that they feel comfortable with their feeding practices and satisfied with their own motherhood. They try to justify the 'rightfulness' of their own way. They highlight that even though they sometimes feel uncomfortable because of the intense risk discourse and the external pressure that the others, especially other mothers, create, they see themselves as a good and prudent mother who does her best for her children.

“In fact, as I said, there is of course a competition. ‘I do like this and that’. And everyone is right from her point of view. I do the same for example...I am always the best because I try to be the best for my kid at the end.” “You only do your best. You try to offer the best you can. If you have the means, you try to buy the high quality food.” (Tülin)⁷⁸

She adds that she is satisfied with what she can offer to his little baby: *“It is maybe related to your material conditions. But I already buy the best I can” (Tülin)*

“This is about the inner peace of the mother as in all issues. I do like this. And I feel myself better like this. This is how I see this situation. I don’t know..how can I say? Everyone wants the best for his/her child but this is totally about whether you feel relieved. I believe that somehow I grow my children up in a health way.” (Figen)⁷⁹

Most of them convince themselves that they personally do the best of what they can do materially and morally. Indeed one of them ‘confesses’ that she tries to convince herself about that to feel better:

“Not a strict manner under each circumstance. Sometimes like this, sometimes not. If I bother myself a lot with this issue then I become unhappy. Or when I become flexible, then this bothers me a lot. But if I say somehow ‘Okay, I do my best to a certain extent but after a point this kind of a balance is fair enough’ then I can also feel comfortable...because you deal with a lot of things in a day and struggle for many things inside. Rather than feeling bad when you cannot make it, it is better to convince yourself [laughing]” (Sevgi)⁸⁰

This statement alone shows perfectly how mothers try to deal with the emotional pressure and the moral judgments coming from outside, and the hard work of strict organic diet program.

When I ask one of my interviewees to what extent she can enable the organic feeding she would like to offer, she says: *“Well, I think I provide seventy, seventy five per cent, counting snacks and everything. I think I provide and it’s a good rate actually.” (Melis)⁸¹*

As I explained above, the mothers in my interviews tell me that they are satisfied with their feeding of children. But while evaluating this information, we should also take into account that they do not only try to establish good image of themselves for themselves but also for me, the interviewer. Their explanations of to what extent they are satisfied with their organic feeding practices may not be how they feel exactly but my presence as an interviewer might create the pressure to present the information as such. One of my interviewees who

give very sincere answers to my questions confesses that she might have given me a bad impression and also starts questioning her own feeding practices, with the feeling of emotional pressure of being open to the moral judgments of the ‘other’: *“Now, in this interview for example...I gotta tell you, I thought if I should feel guilty about not being such a strict organic mom.” (Figen)⁸²*

Besides, all of my middle and upper class mothers reply the question about the level of satisfaction with their own organic feeding practices with the information that they feel lucky because they have the material sources to offer more or less the ideal diet they would like to offer. The mothers with lower household income seem less involved in organic food discourse and practices, yet, most of them follow the experts on TV and feel the anxiety rising out of risk discourses.

“You know there is a cancer expert, a man with a long hair...He shows up in the TV program ‘Doktorum’...I also follow Canan Karatay as occasion serves. But you know everyone speaks differently. I don’t know whom to trust. I think long and hard and do whatever I find reasonable.” (Cemre)⁸³

They also feel more limited by their insufficient income to maintain a natural diet:

“For example when I cannot make it, this makes me feel sad. Let me give you an example from my friend Nazlı. She is supported by her family more than we are. Even her sausage is brought from the butcher whom she knows in her hometown. I sometimes ask whether I could spend more attention, whether I should do more” “Well, people with better subsistence can benefit from them....most of the people cannot pump money into this. (Cemre)⁸⁴

The symbolic boundaries that the organic feeding of children creates will be further investigated in the next chapter.

To sum up, as Rose indicates, my research shows that mother try to “bridge the gap that opened up between their own behavior and the neoliberal ideal of the autonomous, self-reliant, prudent woman who suppresses her own needs and adopts calculative attitude to her baby’s well-being in the light of expert advice (Rose, 1993)” (Murphy, 2000: 318). They manage to have this balance through their affective and practical negotiation of dominant discourses in their daily life food-related exercises.

Now, I would like to exemplify how the mothers negotiate specifically the organic food discourses within their daily life realities through the practices of feeding their children. First of all, it is important to note that their perception and definition of organic food vary. Most of the mothers in my interviews use the words ‘natural’ and ‘organic’ interchangeably and consider them same: *“For me, the organic food is the food that is natural, meaning fruits and vegetables grown in natural conditions, naturally grown chickens and their eggs etc”* (Figen)⁸⁵

But some mothers value and trust the ‘natural food’ more than the ‘organic food.’ They think that the organic food may not be necessarily natural but they are just close to be natural: *“Organic is at least with lessened additives. Of course not 100% additive-free. Not at all. It is on the way of being natural. I don’t think it is natural.”* (Selin)⁸⁶

“I mostly try to buy natural products. I provide them by ordering online from rural farms. I have done like this for a long time. But there are some difficulties to access and to afford these natural products. It is hard to maintain sustainability in that. So instead I buy compulsorily organic products too.” (Sevgi)⁸⁷

The mothers who make a distinction between organic food and natural food explain that ‘organic food’ sold in large amounts in big organic farm plants are still closer to mass production when compared to ‘natural food’ grown in the small garden of a village. They do not name unhesitantly organic food ‘natural’, yet, they mostly use the word ‘natural food’ exchangeably with ‘organic food.’

“When it comes to what we call natural, it is more kind of a boutique production... Organic is more like a serial consumption” *“His eggs or chickens are generally natural. I mean organic too.”* (Melis)⁸⁸

I also realize that some of the mothers trust less the organic certificated production as also observed in the blog analysis because of the flexibility of control and surveillance mechanisms. They usually prefer ordering online from village farms.

“The issue of organicness is far more detailed. I met in a seminar a woman who used to work in the Turkish Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock. She told us not to trust 100% the certificate on organic products. The ministry can easily give it to many firms which meet a few criteria...I learned that if a company proves that it makes organic production by showing a small part of its field, its activities in the large field is not strictly controlled.” (Sevgi)⁸⁹

“After having read an article on the website ‘ipekhaniminciftligi’, I think that organic farming is not that much ‘organic’. In the organic farming they use organic seeds but they also say that there is an organic pest control. However, in the farm of İpek hanım, there are no pesticides but instead some herbs which protects the crops from insects. In their words, they make a farming like their fathers and mothers did in the past and their products are like how we used to eat in our childhood...There were no additives before.” (Begüm)⁹⁰

Sevgi and Begüm often order natural village products from ipekhaniminciftligi.com. I realize in their narratives, including the ones right above, a similar narrative to the owner of this website and this popular farm in Nazilli. She also emphasizes that she does not have to name her products organic because she grow them just like the elders have done for generations. Also, just like Sevgi, she explains that one can take a organic agriculture certificate by showing her small land but farm on a larger land with all artificial substances to have a larger harvest. She explains, that is why she did not prefer taking this organic farming certificate. She highlights that she does not seek for more financial gain so does not need to use fertilizers or any other artificial substances.¹ It is written on the website that one can even understand the naturalness or ‘organicness’ (although not a word she prefers in general) of her products from their smell and taste:

“I don’t need to prove the quality of my products. How the grandpas and grandmas of mountain villages produced the “organic of organics” for hundreds of years, i did the same. When you open one of the paper bags and smell it or taste it you will understand better what I exactly want to say.”⁹¹

My interviewees generally trust organic certification although they cannot always buy organic certificated products but they prefer ‘natural village products’ more. I know that most of the middle and upper classes mothers I interviewed have already ordered from such villages, especially from “İpek Hanımın Ciftligi”. But even the ones who order regularly from them say that it is not possible to have all the foods of their children from these villages. They

¹ http://www.ipekhanim.com/ipek_hanim_ciftligi/sorular_%26_yanitlar.html

complete their diet from the products that buy from organic stores, from neighborhood markets and ‘even’ from supermarkets although they do not prefer much. None of my participants provide all of the products from these farms or any other villages, or from organic stores. Since they cannot provide a complete organic diet they wish, even the ones who implement an intense but ‘incomplete’ organic diet feel anxious with varying degrees but state that this is the best they can do and try to feel better.

There are also mothers who consider the products they buy from local neighborhoods organic. These are mostly the mothers with a lower household income, yet, there is also one participant with a high income who thinks that the products of neighborhood markets are also organic, thus she usually buys from the same seller whom she trusts in her local market:

“I prefer organic. Or buy from local markets- since I think they are organic too, the ones I buy from the local market...” (Tülin)⁹²

In general, if mothers somehow trust that a product is natural, either because of its certificate or because they are ordered or sent from a village, bought from ‘reliable’ sellers of neighborhood bazaars; they feel more comfortable about their ‘motherhood duty.’ But almost all of them believe that village products are more natural and even safer than organic certificated food. The dream of village and nature that I elaborated above is remarkable in their narratives so their search for a ‘natural village food’ as the best product choice for their children’s health. Even if they cannot provide everything ‘natural’ from a village or organic stores, almost all of the mothers from middle and upper classes spend maximum effort to provide at least village eggs and chicken, or buy them from organic aisles. Lower class mothers are also willing to purchase village eggs but rarely provide them through their personal contacts or small markets in their neighborhood. The anxiety of mothers decrease as they purchase more organic food though does not end. Even the mothers giving more attention to organic feeding distance more or less from intense organic practices as they children grow up, especially after their third age. This focus mostly shifts to the attention to avoid snack food consumption. For instance, they start to let their children eat a few baby biscuits but not more, have more flexibility in the consumption of conventionally grown vegetables, and continue to provide organic or natural eggs and chickens as much as possible. Their flexibility disturbs them emotionally with varying degrees but they manage to deal with

this, convincing them that they should stop intense organic care to balance their own inner peace.

The emotional burden created by the organic nurturing through “intensive mothering” is a significant theme appeared in my research whereas in MacKendrick’s study on chemicals, “absent from the interviews were themes of fear, anxiety and uncertainty in relation to selecting the appropriate commodities of self-protection” (MacKendrick, 2011: 108). She suggests that interviewees perceive the practices of chemical avoidance as “more emancipatory than burdensome because “an aware shopper can indeed feel protected, assuming they have access to these commodities” (p.108). My research indicates that none of the mothers who have access to organic or natural food feels complete safety for their children’s health. Although the ones who are more engaged in organic food practices feel better, the affective burden that these organic mothering practices create is significant.

3.1 Organic Food in Turkey Today: An ‘Inverted Quarantine’ Commodity or Beyond?

This research suggests that the purchase of organic food in Turkey is still mostly a “precautionary consumption” to create “small safe zones within a larger polluted industrial landscape” (Johnston, 2008: 465) as Szasz argues. I observe mostly a “political anesthesia” (Szasz, 2007) about this issue today in Turkey in spite of food fear and intense anxiety. In the narratives of all the mothers in my interviews, food fear for future appears as an important theme, yet, the participants do not seem equally concerned about the environment. Some of them indicate that the environment is getting worse, decreasing the food safety. However, none of them are activists politically concerned with environmental problems and access of all to organic food. Therefore, today organic food consumption in Turkey becomes an “inverted quarantine” commodity for most of the consumers- all of the mothers in my interviews- which are health seekers rather than being activists. Szasz’s main argument is that the practices of ‘inverted quarantine’ decrease the public discussion of environmental problems and the urgency to take necessary actions by the states. Szasz asserts that “political anesthesia is the important unintended consequence of mass practice of inverted quarantine”

(p. 195), and my fieldwork confirms this claim. When I ask my interviewees the people whom they consider as the responsible authorities for the healthy diet for the children in general, the first words that I hear are mothers and fathers, although all of them complain about the risks that conventionally grown food carries into their bodies, the unhealthy environment, and agricultural context in which foods are grown. They think that there is nothing but their own ‘right’ individual choices of food for their children that can save them from threats.

Only a few of them say briefly that state should take necessary actions for food safety but their criticisms do not go beyond complaints as well.

“Everybody is responsible. First, we don’t raise our voices. Don’t raise our voices...In 2007, I mailed to Abdullah Gül about this issue. But no action was taken. Everybody is responsible. Prime Minister, the President...They all know. They are aware. I mailed, wrote. Not responded. I didn’t even see, what I wrote, on the site. And they talk about transparency.” (Nazlı)⁹³

The reason why the neoliberal governmentality appears as the only perspective of individuals in this research may be considered first the result of the limits of my participant sample consisting of sixteen mothers. But neither do I see a collective politicization as a significant perspective in my blog analysis in which I analyzed 11 blog entries and 608 comments. Yet, MacKendrick’s case study on mothers’ avoidance practices of chemical burdens in Canada indicates that “food commodities (certified organic foods, “local” foods, and “fair-trade” certified goods) are among the most highly politicized for consumers concerned about social justice and environmental degradation” (2011: 82). She shows that there is also a consumer-citizenship perspective in Canada, which considers food choices as expanding opportunities for political expression” (2011, 108). Although these sensibilities are still politicized mostly around commoditized solutions in the context of neoliberalism by today, inspiring from Ahmed’s (2010) arguments, I believe that this politicized stance in Canada shows indeed the potential of the fear for the future health of children and the environment to be converted to a productive political tool.

Sara Ahmed (2010) argues that the fear first leads to the intensification of threats and then points the emotions to threatening objects which are supposed to produce them. As she suggests; “pointless emotions are not meaningless or futile; they are just not directed towards the objects that are assumed to cause them” (Ahmed, 2010:198). Anxiety can help us

eliminating the real causes for the anxiety when the fear for future gets intensified and we point our attention to the real threatening source of the anxiety. As she explains, when the anxiety is focused on losing the future, it can lead to collective politics. Thus, I believe that it has the potential to direct our efforts to involve in an activism rather than adopting commoditized solutions, and that “anxiety as a social practice” has the potentiality to be deployed as a source of a collective movement with the demands of having easy and equal access to healthy and ethical food by all people. At this point, it becomes crucial to question why we observe mostly a “political anesthesia” around food today in Turkey although mothers have intense anxiety and fear for the future of their child. What makes it more difficult for mothers in Turkey to point their anxiety to the cause of intensified threats to convert their anxiety and fear for future to a political movement? Why are individuals in Canada more engaged in searching for a means for political expression to struggle against environmental and food-related risks and for the collective good, where as in Turkey even such an endeavor is less visible? There are some activist groups which try to create awareness in Turkey about the positive environmental impacts of organic agriculture, drawing attention to environmental degradation and the risks of industrial food. However, the impact of their struggle and the number of activists seem limited. I believe that the main reason might be the differences in the political atmosphere and culture in Turkey and Canada, and specifically the cultural approach of citizens with regards to environmental and political activism. I see that in the context of tense political atmosphere in Turkey where some human rights are violated, the freedom of expression is limited, and people are tried to be repressed by force, most people have reserve attitude in activism. They prefer demanding other basic needs although food and eating are also fundamental needs and practices of their daily life, and access to healthy food should be a basic right of all. People are concerned with food risks but especially low-income and lower middle class families with lots of children are more concerned with other food-related practical urgencies, such as offering daily sufficient food to their family with a subsistence wage of 949 TL by May 2015. Hence I believe that this “apolitical” attitude towards food activism is related to the specificities of political, economical and cultural characteristics of Turkey, and some comparison with other countries in that regard would be interesting to be further investigated in future researches.

CHAPTER 4

ORGANIC FEEDING AS A DISTINCTIVE PRACTICE

Although mothers try to create small safe zones for their children through their “precautionary consumption” practices as shown in the previous chapter, there is a structural inequality in their access to the organic or natural food in the urban space. There is a “creative adaptation” of the dominant organic eating repertoire through which mothers rethink organic eating issue “to fit their material conditions as well as alternate cultural repertoires” (Johnston et al., 2011: 312). Yet, this does not deny the fact that organic feeding becomes a distinctive practice. In that regard, along with Bourdieusian perspective, I investigate the relationship between organic food decision-making with economic and cultural capital, and explore how symbolic boundaries are drawn through such practices.

The organic food is a “multifaceted cultural repertoire rather than a monolithic practice” (Johnston et al., 2011: 295) and there are multiple perspectives on organic food. I have a nuanced understanding of how mothers draw from organic food discourse and work these ideas differently into their feeding practices of daily living. Thus, I do not study only privileged mothers or self-defined ‘organic mothers’ but mothers from different educational backgrounds and income levels. The fieldwork does affirm the idea of having such a sample because it shows that a group of interviewees has heightened access to some themes of organic feeding discourse and the other ones appear more distanced from certain discourses.

My interviews with nine women from middle and upper classes and seven women from low class show that implementing an intense organic diet is hard to manage for many middle class mothers. They also negotiate the discourses related to organic feeding of children. Yet, there is a significant structural inequality in the access to organic or natural food for lower income mothers. Taking into account the limited number of participants in my

interview sample, I cannot argue that this analysis is representative. However, it is important to listen to the narratives of these mothers from different income levels, which indicate this inequality, and show the various practices of lower income mothers to negotiate the organic food discourses to fit them to their material conditions.

There are multiple discourses on organic food discourses. Grass-roots activists offer a broader perspective on organic food including ecological dimension. Powerful economic actors such as big corporations circulate information in favor of their interests and market their food as the safest products. There is a significant circulation of expert knowledge of which perspectives and interests related to organic food consumption differ. Various interpretations of organic food discourses by consumers create numerous perspectives and descriptions of organic food. Thus, discourses on organic food contain many contradictions and influence how mothers form their own understanding and practices of organic feeding of their children.

In organic food discourse, we see that the structural inequalities are obscured, and privileged way of consuming food (especially organic certificated food) tend to be -discussed as if it was 'classless'. However, low income and many middle class individuals cannot buy organic food with maximum efficiency, healthfulness, reliability and distinction (DeVault, 1991: 200, 226; Johnston and Baumann, 2010: 189-193). Therefore, the "intensive mothering" around organic feeding practices does not only require intense efforts of mothers but also middle class resources such as financial security (Fox, 2009). I argue that middle class working mothers can exercise "intensive mothering" around organic nurturing to a larger extent because they earn their own money which brings them more flexibility to insist on organic feeding practices. The "middle-class norms and standards of good mothering continue to serve as the gold standard of mothering, against which mothers of all social classes are evaluated" (MacKendrick: 2011: 69-70). But since organic food is a privileged, stratified, and commoditized solution for "precautionary consumption", low-income mothers are evaluated in a structural inequality. Even when they buy products considered natural for them, there is a "social value attached to organic food according to venue" (Costa et al., 2014: 234), e.g markets, neighborhood markets, village farms, special organic stores etc. Apparently, low-income mothers cannot buy from privileged vanues such as special organic

stores, thus the value attached to their practices is lower in the symbolic stratification of social values of each 'natural' consumption form.

My interviews reveal that there is a class dimension in the purchase of organic food as a commodified solution. Privileged consumers have more income to buy from niche markets and may have more access to organic food stores, which are mostly located in wealthy neighborhoods. Cost concerns constitute a central place in organic eating repertoires. It is seen at all levels of income in my sample of interviews with different degrees, although mostly in low income mothers. In this case, some mothers develop strategies for buying 'organic' on their budget.

Almost all of the interviewees with a limited budget have no practices of buying organic food from organic food sections of supermarkets or from organic stores. They try to satisfy their will of buying organic for their children by shopping from neighborhood markets and rarely by buying products named 'village eggs' etc. The fact that only a small proportion of consumers can buy organic certified food shows that "inverted quarantine solutions" (Szasz, 2007) are available only to people with higher economic capital. While the mothers with limited budget mostly says that they cannot afford buying organic brands or natural products, the others are also aware of the fact that their practice of buying as much as organic as an inverted quarantine commodity requires high amount of money, and that it is quite hard for the others with less economic sources.

The organic food discourse is lived and practiced by mothers with "varying degrees of privilege" (Johnston et al., 2011: 296). The privileged is maintained not only in terms of the income of families (although it is a very important determinant) but also the mothers' cultural capital (including their knowledge on organic food) and social capital. By social capital, I do not only mean network of mothers who buy organic from organic food stores but also mothers' social connections of providing 'natural' food from some small villages or villagers. I use 'organic' in my wording because almost all of them use 'organic' as the equivalent of 'natural' and of the products sent to them from villagers and villages they know.

Food decision-making is not only shaped by economic privilege (or economic capital in Bourdieu's terms) and simple cost and benefit logic but also by cultural capital as Bourdieu

names. It involves distinctive cultural signals and internalized dispositions (Bourdieu, 1984). The cultural capital influences which foods are mostly valued and consumed by different social classes and which foods are unfamiliar to some people. The knowledge on the multiple discourses and expert advices on organic food in Turkey and abroad gained through books, social media etc, also constitute an emergent form of cultural capital. In this research, I realize that even though all my interviewees have some things to say about organic food and their cautious practices, the ones with low income have less to tell about their organic food practices in particular. They mostly tell the home-made foods, the 'natural' yoghurts and fruit juices they prepared, their efforts to avoid their children's snack food consumption and to feed more vegetables etc. They have less knowledge about organic certificated products, almost no knowledge about special organic stores and ecological markets. Their anxieties and their struggle for avoiding the risks as possible constitute the main axis of these interviews although I interview my participants with the same thematic interview guide. This difference shows the role of cultural capital in the organic food practices, and draws our "attention to emergent forms of cultural capital, which, whilst preserving the relational and exclusionary qualities of cultural capital as dissected in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1986), need not simply be understood through the contours of traditional high culture" (Prieur & Savage, 2013: 250). I hope that my focus on cultural differentiation of the meanings given to organic food and on the differentiation of priorities between mothers with varying cultural capital can contribute to this perspective.

DeVault argues that 'for families with more resources, food becomes an arena for self-expression, (...) in poor families, feeding and eating themselves are the achievement' (1991: 201). A crucial element of cultural capital in organic food discourse is knowledge of organic food politics, different actors within, 'true' knowledge of what organic food is and what foods are healthy to consume. But it is important to emphasize at this point that in most cases, opinions, awareness and knowledge on organic food or briefly attitudinal support for organic food cannot be translated into organic food practices (routines, habits, purchase) in their 'ideal' forms (Auger and Devinney, 2007; Devinney et al., 2006, Starr, 2009: 923), e.g buying regularly organic certificated products. This puts forward the limits of having only the cultural capital in leading organic food purchase because of some other considerations, mainly the budget of the family which can be consecrated to organic food.

One of my participants graduated from computer programming is a stay-at-home mother with a relatively limited household budget. She describes herself as a very curious and inquisitive person. She is highly interested in healthy eating discourses and even contributes them by writing as a blogger. She tells me that she sometimes takes a look on organic food brands in the supermarkets although she has never bought from organic food aisles, emphasizing that the prices are not affordable.

“I’m like this since my childhood. My family used to go out for example, i used to read encyclopedia at home. Now encyclopedia is gone uncle google came instead, answers whatever I ask good or bad.” “I saw, wandered the other day for example [organic aisle]...Went and looked. A tiny jar of jam. If you want to have breakfast with it, cannot get out with a bill less than a 200 TL. A tiny jar of jam costs for example 18-22 TL” (Nazlı)⁹⁴

Also, the concept of cultural repertoire (Lamont, 1992; Swidler, 1986; Tilly, 1993) can help us see how actors creatively adopt elements of organic food discourse and draw from elements of a broader culture in their daily life while they justify or make sense of their food decision-making process. “Like a ‘set’ comprised of multiple songs, a cultural repertoire is composed of a varied set of understandings, thoughts, habits, values, routines and ideas. Actors understand their actions by employing different elements of cultural repertoires; what they draw from depends on the situation, as well as their access to different repertoires” (Johnston et al., 2011: 298). Culture is a repertoire or tool kit from which one can select tools to explore new ways of acting (Swidler, 2001: 24) but it is important to note that influential economic and political forces also shape cultural repertoires in a way that people’s knowledge and opinion about food do not always match up with their daily food practices. In short, they have “significant agency in selecting the cultural tools that shape how and what they eat, even though they cannot completely control the cultural repertoire available to them” (Johnston and Cappeliez, 2012: 52).

Therefore, organic eating repertoire is not a result of a static culture but it is multifaceted and dynamic. As Tilly emphasizes, repertoires “do not descend from abstract philosophy or take shape as a result of political agenda; they emerge from struggle” (1993: 264). These words are important for my research on organic food repertoire of mothers with different economic and cultural backgrounds because as shown in this and previous chapters even most of the mothers with lower economic and cultural capital struggle for adapting

somehow their food purchase to feed their children ‘natural’ food in their own way and according to their own understanding of organic food.

It is important to add here that organic food repertoires that this research explores are limited to the characteristics of the current context of Istanbul, a specific urban location at a given time because organic buying practices and perspectives differ geographically and they are contextual. Istanbul, as the most crowded and the biggest city of Turkey with its limited green area and polluted air, hard to live by because of much other urgency of its habitants creates its own anxious mothers who are mostly confused about what and where to buy food for their children.

“Now, well, everywhere became a pile of concrete. Cars are everywhere. As we see cars are everywhere. It’s because of their thing. We are exposed to exhaust gases, whatever. Unhealthy anyway. These diseases increased because of that.” (Emine)⁹⁵

“The children of my sister in our hometown do not get sick as much as mine get. My sister says ‘you live in a warm house, so how can you make the kids get sick?’ I say it is because of what they eat. They don’t eat fresh organic like you do.” “Sometimes we think about going back to our homeland for our kids” “They say you will look through that and that and those features...We cannot find. When we go to a supermarket, after buying breakfast stuff, detergent etc. we buy vegetables and go out. We don’t have time to examine etc. we don’t. We buy and go out.” “I cannot go to every market to find a fruit or a vegetable” (Ayşe)⁹⁶

Lamont explains ‘symbolic boundaries’ as “conceptual distinctions that we make to categorize objects, people, and practices” (Lamont, 1992: 9). The recognized schemes of perception and appreciation are the manifestations of power relations in people’s mind, thus serve as a symbolic distinction. “Goods, practices and manners are distinctive signals or symbols of different positions in the social order. Moreover, the symbolic power of goods depends on the quantity and the kind of capital necessary to obtain them, and more generally, on the scarcity of the capability required for their attainment” (Costa et al., 2014: 229).

As Paddock argues, “distinctions are not only an inherent component of the material artefact of the foods themselves, but are activated through social action – the ways in which they are consumed and talked about” (Paddock, 2015:3). Bourdieu suggests that the mutual recognition of each other also contributes social distinctions which are “symbolic transfigurations of de facto differences, and, more generally, ranks, orders, grades, and all

other symbolic hierarchies” (1985: 735). I argue that organic food and organic feeding practices are distinctive signals of the symbolic power and that there is mutual recognition of each other among the mothers of the same socioeconomic group, who share similar experience of consuming organic food from similar places with more or less similar reasons.

One of my middle class mothers says *“Everybody doesn’t buy organic. They cannot afford. Of course there are difference in the cost between what we normally buy and organic.”* (Begüm)⁹⁷. Middle class mothers also know that it is a stratified commodity and they have the privileged access to them to a certain degree but certainly more than low classes.

Lower classes are certainly aware of such a distinction between themselves and middle classes in access to these privileged products:

“Ones who has better financial situation may take advantage but...most cannot. Only ones in the local market are organic to us. Cannot afford. The smallest jar of fruit puree costs 3 and a half liras.” (Cemre)⁹⁸

The different levels of engagement of mothers (level of practice and of knowledge) with the dominant organic food discourse draw such symbolic hierarchies and contribute to distinction of some from the others. For instance, low-income mothers in my research do not know any specific organic food brand and online organic food shopping sites, and do not shop from organic stores or buy organic food brands in the supermarkets. Only two of my interviewees know the existence of ecological markets in Istanbul, yet, have never shopped there. On the other hand, all of my participants from middle and upper classes give me specific names of organic brands they prefer, the names of online food shopping sites from where they order foods etc. This different levels of knowledge around organic food brands, organic certificated products, online shopping sites etc. also create symbolic boundaries as well as their practices do.

Also, Lamont explains that ‘individuals define their identity in opposition to that of others by drawing symbolic boundaries’ (1992: 233) and defines three types of symbolic boundaries: socioeconomic, cultural and moral. Cultural boundaries are ‘drawn on the basis of education, intelligence, manners’, while moral boundaries are ‘drawn on the basis of moral character’ (1992: 4). Among my interviewees, cultural boundaries appear through talk of the

familiarity with organic and quality food, while moral boundaries appear with the wording such as ‘careful/responsible and careless/irresponsible mothers’, ‘obsessive mothers.’

In order to understand the sense of differentiation and distinction of mothers through feeding practices of their children, as elaborated throughout the last two chapters, I analyze which ideas and practices are mostly performed or minimized by whom, who has the largest access to organic eating, what tensions are seen and what creative practices are adopted by different mothers in their relationship to organic food. I believe that this boundary work that mothers carry out through their food choices for their children should be further investigated in detail.

The economic and cultural privilege facilitates the access to organic food repertoire. Mothers with lower economic and educational background seem to have less access to this repertoire, although this does not necessarily mean that they have no knowledge on organic food discourse or no interest in organic food. My in-depth qualitative interviews show the symbolic boundaries created and reproduced through food choices and explore the relationship between socioeconomic backgrounds of mothers, their different knowledge, interest and engagement with varying and alternating ‘organic’ feeding repertoires. Yet, it should not be understood as that all mothers from middle and upper classes have exactly the same descriptions and practices of organic eating. Indeed, this is one of the points that this thesis challenges by indicating mothers’ negotiation of multiple discourses.

There is a remarkable literature on “omnivorousness” which elaborate the declining distance between high and low culture in food consumption. It seems to support a more inclusive notion of what is considered prestigious food. But I believe that people do not search for less distinction. As many study show (Bryson, 1996; Emmison, 2003), high-status consumption is becoming more and more diversified and experienced in newly selected forms. For instance, some organic food themes such as reliability and naturalness of food seem potentially inclusive and egalitarian - seemingly more accessible to public as some works on omnivorousness suggest – for food selection. Yet, it is hard to maintain these criteria today for many people in the cities without the help of significant economic and/or cultural capital, which legitimize and reproduce distinctions. My interviewee from low-class states that she cannot completely follow the advices of experts because of the difficulties to

implement their advices in the city with a limited budget, and create her own way of providing healthy food for her children.

“This is what I can afford so I do this. I mean if we could afford, i’d like to do more but how! I don’t know they say something like avacado or avocado whatever they say, I don’t know where to find. I will go to the market and see it and buy because the doctor said it’s good! I cannot search for an avocado, a fruit or a vegetable in every market in a big city that’s why i don’t mind. If i can make it, I try to make my children eat at home. I did my part, I say; I know what I put inside my soup, meal or cakes. I try not to make them eat outside.” (Ayşe)⁹⁹

As explained above, most of the mothers at each level of income and educational background are aware of the limited capacity of lower class mothers to feed their children organic, as they have been aware of the unequal chances of buying, for example, avocado pear. We see that many women consider the products they buy from local markets as reliable and natural, often naming them organic. One may see on the surface that food culture is now more egalitarian by looking at this but it is hard to argue that all can have easy access to the dominant ‘ideal organic food’ practices. Some of my interviewees say that they try to buy what experts describe as organic but cannot afford it and find these alternative ways, adding that the ideal is only for rich people. The restricted household incomes constrain the access of mothers to organic food brands or online natural food purchase from village farms. Hence they develop other strategies to minimize their children’s exposure to chemicals, coloring agents, additives etc. For instance, they make their own yoghurt; prepare home-made fruit juices and jams, make their parents bring some fresh fruits and vegetables from their villages if possible.

“In the end these juices have additives. We are trying to save as much as we can. Picking from our garden...” “We make juice for example, organic. For example, I make peach or plum marmalade in summer getting the seed off and all. In winter for example, I mix that marmalade in the water and drink like juice. Meat products, we get them ready for the fridge during feast of sacrifice.” (Demet)¹⁰⁰

Organic food is presented as a consumer choice but highly restricted for some people. Although they also do their best to provide healthy food, some of the low income mothers who wish to buy these desirable products do not feel the same sense of empowerment that the mothers with better income experience to a certain extent. This also contributes drawing symbolic boundaries as a result of obscured structural inequality. This suggests that, as

Johnston and Baumann (2007) also argue, that recent omnivorous literature needs critical interrogation because it may obscure the structural inequalities and status distinction in food selections.

“Work on omnivorousness is generally characterized as part of a ‘post-Bourdieu debate’ (Vander Stichele and Laermans, 2006) because it challenges Bourdieu’s posited homology between culture and class” (Johnston and Baumann, 2007: 170). Yet, I do believe that Bourdieu’s emphasis on symbolic distinction reproduced through consumption practices is still relevant when it is not simply conceptualized through the contours of traditional high culture. The purchase of organic certificated products is as an emerging distinctive practice which is complex, dynamic, negotiated and constantly reshaped. Along with Johnston and Baumann’s suggestion (2007: 198), I argue that in order to understand new fields of symbolic distinction, rather than simply looking at the hierarchy between cultural genres, e.g as caviar and rice as high class and low class foods, we should explore the hierarchy *within* cultural genres, e.g organic certificated food brands and foods sold as organic in neighborhood markets. The distinctive mark put on the quality of organic food is reproduced by various authorities such as experts and media, and contributes to the symbolic boundaries created through food practices.

“Operating in a dialectical tension with democratic ideology, an ideology of status and cultural distinction operates implicitly...The status attained through cultural appreciation is framed as a matter of individual tastes and lifestyles” (Johnston and Baumann, 2007: 173). Yet, in order to establish an equal access to natural and organic food and prevent them from “becoming ‘yuppie chow’ ... that map onto class hierarchies (Guthman 2003:55), we require active and ongoing citizen attempts to democratize and defetishize the food system” (Johnston et al, 2009: 523).

But these hierarchies still exist and make it important to investigate the issue of distinction with a nuanced reading and analysis of eating practices. In the context of overt neoliberal values such as individual choice, self-reflexivity, governmentality, and covert ideology of distinction, I suppose that it is interesting to get inspired from Bourdieu and Foucault to consider organic food as an emerging field of power relations around knowledge and discourse. It is not a field in which mothers practice their feeding of children according to discourses ‘imposed’ as a result of power relations. Yet, it is based on the dialectic of culture

in action – how mothers *are both influenced* by knowledge, multiple discourses and pressures to feed their children organic, *negotiate* them and *reshape* them through their food work and mothering practices.

CONCLUSION

Organic feeding as an example of the privatized responsibility of managing food risks is consistent with the neoliberal ideology. The discourses of food risk are seen as a consumer problem and add extra burden of care-work on mothers. The individual responsibility of mothers for taking care of their children's healthy diet through their organic feeding appears as a technique of neoliberal governmentality with the emphasis made on the 'consumer agency.' Organic food as a "precautionary consumption" puts a disproportionate burden on the shoulders of women, and becomes a gendered practice in the heteronormative family in relation to "intensive mothering" practices around organic nurturing. Mothers are seen and consider themselves as the primary person responsible for the management of their children's healthy diet. Along with the intersecting ideals of motherhood and the organic food discourse, their maternal competences are evaluated both by themselves and the others in relation to their organic food practices. Thus, it draws moral boundaries through attributions such as 'careful/responsible and careless/irresponsible mothers', and 'obsessive mothers'. Besides, their intense mothering is sometimes judged by fathers and other mothers in spite of the burden of the hard work already put on women's shoulders.

Mothers feel the affective pressure which is based on the expectations of mothers as devoted, caring, protective and selfless, and of the food anxiety. However, the competing sources of expert knowledge and multiple discourses are constantly negotiated by mothers. My analytic perspective on women's lived experiences of negotiating these multiple discourses show that the power is productive but not simply imposed and directly reproduced by individuals. Although mothers in this study do not deny the responsibility of managing the healthy diet of their children and the food risks, they negotiate to a large extent the discourses of risk, mothering and organic food through their own feeding practices according to their

everyday life realities and perspectives. They also manage differently the food anxiety and the emotional pressure increased with the emphasis on the need for organic nurturing in early ages of the children for their future and present health. Therefore, there is no single way of managing this as well as no unique and totalizing discourse on these issues. Mothers participate in their production, not only by reproducing them but also converging them, negotiating and reshaping them as active agents in their own practices.

Mothers from middle and upper classes have increased access to some themes of organic feeding discourse, e.g organic certification, local ecological markets, and special organic stores. This knowledge or distance from certain themes of discourses and practices is related to the cultural capital of mothers as well as their economic capital. However, the economic capital of mothers is particularly important in the organic feeding practices because the intense efforts of mothers are not sufficient without an enough family budget to be consecrated to organic food which is quite expensive. Thus, organic food as a commoditized solution is also a privileged and stratified technique of neoliberal governmentality. An intense organic diet is hard even for middle and upper classes, thus creates burden on mothers, especially for low-income mothers in a structural inequality obscured in many organic food discourses. Even when low-income mothers try to buy organic, they cannot buy from privileged venues such as organic stores, thus the different levels and forms of engagement of mothers also draw symbolic hierarchies and distinction. This makes organic feeding a complex, dynamic, and emerging distinctive practice where there is a mutual recognition by mothers having similar experience of organic feeding and purchase, similar concerns and knowledge on organic food.

Multiple interpretations of organic food discourses result in various perspectives of mothers on organic food. The words ‘organic’ and ‘natural’ are usually utilized interchangeably but ‘natural’ food is more valued than the ‘organic’ food since the organic food is considered more systematic and bigger scale. While organic is seen closer to be natural, natural food is mostly associated to the products grown in villages in little amounts. The dream of nature, the nostalgia of past and the longing for natural village products grown in a similar way their elders used to crop appear as important themes in the interviews. This may be specific to the characteristics of Istanbul as the most crowded urban space of Turkey

with its dirty air and the limited green area. Thus, the anxiety of mothers in Istanbul, their concerns and practices should be given meaning in this specific context.

In this context, mothers are surprisingly indifferent to environmental activism and seek for a better commoditized option for healthy food through their 'right' individual choices, hence situated in a 'political anesthesia' as Szasz suggests. While individualized responses are more visible in such a context, it would be interesting to explore the differences in political engagement in food activism of consumers, and to explore the collective forms of mobilization that some NGOs in Turkey try to lead in organic movement, compare their activities and motivations with the ethical and green consumption movements in other countries. The position of the farmers in organic agriculture, their perspectives and engagement in organic farming can also be investigated further in this research area. It is important to examine the position of different actors in organic food consumption and production in Turkey from a sociological point of view because both consumers and producers are decisive in the history and the future of our access to healthy food.

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APPENDIX 1 Table. Description of Interview Participant Sample

Name (Pseudonyms)	Marital Status	No.of Children	Employment Status	Occupation	Education Level	Household Income/annual ₺
Selin	Married	1	Unemployed	At home with her child	University	80000-90000
Arzu	Married	1	Employed (full time)	Service Sector	University	60000-70000
Begüm	Married	1	Employed (full time)	Service Sector	University	70000-80000
Figen	Married	2	Employed (full time)	Architect	University	140000-150000
Melis	Married	1	Employed (full time)	Service Sector	University	70000-80000
Tülin	Married	1	Employed (full time)	Service Sector	University	140000-150000
Yeşim	Married	1	Employed (full time)	Engineer	University	80000-90000
Zeynep	Married	1	Unemployed	At home with her child	University	80000-90000
Sevgi	Married	2	Unemployed	At home with children	University	90000-100000
Nazlı	Married	3	Unemployed	At home with her child	College (2 years)	20000-25000
Nilgün	Married	2	Unemployed	At home with children	High School	25000-30000
Cemre	Married	3	Unemployed	At home with children	High School	10000-15000
Emine	Married	2	Unemployed	At home with children	Primary School	10000-15000
Kadriye	Married	1	Employed (full time)	Baby sitter	High School	25000-30000
Ayşe	Married	2	Unemployed	At home with children	High School	25000-30000
Demet	Married	1	Unemployed	At home with her child	College (2 years)	20000-25000

APPENDIX 2. Original Quotes in Turkish

1 “Sadece bizim milletimize mi özgüdür merak ediyorum ...ağız olan konuşuyor işte...Devamlı iç sesimiz ne kötü aneyim diye fısıldar sonra da çocuğumuza o tip insanların anneliğiyle yaklaşıyoruz.”

2 “Maalesef, sizin gibi sosyal medyada aktif annelerin sorduğu soruların altındaki yorumlarda yargılama, suçlama hatta aşağılama ifadelerine rastlıyorum. İnsanları klasifiye ederek, kendi sınıfına ait olmayanlardan kendini üstün hissetmenin sağlıklı olmadığını, bu davranışı rol modeli alan çocukların yaşdaş zorbalığını daha sık uyguladığını görüyorum”

3 “... Mutfakta tüm ürünleri organik kullanıp, kendi pişiren, aynı zamanda çalışan, aynı zamanda sosyal olan tüm anneleri tebrik ediyorum. Kendileri bir şehir efsanesi bana göre. Zira ben anlattıkları seviyeye gelebilmek için kendimi klonlatıp 3 adet daha oluşturmalıyım ki bu performansa yetişebileyim.

4 “Bir köy evinde, arkada kümes ve ahır, yanda bostan olmadıktan sonra söylendiği kadar “organik” ve “ev yapımı” yaşanabilirliği gerçekçi bulmuyorum.. “annelik stresini” arttırdığını, anneliği suçluluk duygusuyla eşleştirdiğini...düşünüyorum...Herkes anneliğini kendi kurallarıyla yaşamalı ve bir anne tercihlerinden ya da imkanlarından dolayı kendini daha suçlu, daha yetersiz hissettirilmemeli”

5 “Anne olmak yeterince zor değilmiş, insan zaten yeterliliğini sürekli sorgulamıyormuş gibi; bir de etraftan, arkadaşlardan, ailelerden, sosyal medyadan baskı, eleştiri. Çalışan/ çalışmayan anne kavgası,.. sizin yukarıda saydıklarınız vs ... Keşke herkes içindeki öğretmeni bir sustursa, başkaları yerine kendini terbiye! etse de üzerine vazife olmayan işlere karışmasa, kimseyi yargılamasa!”

6 “iste realite budur diyorum. Laf aramızda bizde oğlumla karsilikli goturuyoruz cicibebeleri:)))”

7 “bir vicdan rahatlatma yazısı olmuş ve vicdanını rahatlatmak isteyenler de alkışa tutmuşlar. Katkısız yiyecekler yedirip...mümkün olduğunca doğal olanı yaşatmaya çalışıp da hiç de strese girmeyen,çocuğunu strese sokmayan anneler var...ama cici bebe yediriyorum,mama veriyorum diyerek bunlarla övünmenin de bir manası ,özenilecek bir tarafı yok... için rahat yediriyorsan yediriyorsundur da bari mümkün olduğunca bunlardan kaçınan anneleri eleştiri bombardımanına tutma bari.”

8 “...yazı tam tersi olsaydı günümüz annelik kurallarına uyan organik besleyip, kaliteli zaman geçiren bir anne yazısı olsaydı altında bende şöyle yapıyorum, şunu organik yapıyorum, kendim mayalıyorum tarzında bir çok yorum okuyacaktık.”

9 “3-4 gün önce “hemen hemen herkes en organik -en dogali- benim yarisındaydı. Hemen hemen herkes sutcu adresleri degistirdi, ... umursamaz-tembel kadin cocuguna MCDonalds yediriyor falan diye bir yaygarakopmustu.Bugün ise “yok ben hic kasmıyorum, oyle

psikopatliklara girmiyorum”... diyenlerimiz oldu....Yani sanki hic birseyin ortasi da yok gibi”

¹⁰ “anne blogları bir çok insanın ”süper anne” imajını üzerine giymesini sağladı, bazı blogger’lar...gösterişçiliği yansıtıyorlar...Amacım kavga çıkartmak değil ama bazı insanların sadece ”süperliklerini” göstermeye çalıştıklarını düşünüyorum.”

¹¹ “Kesinlikle katılıyorum, maddi ve manevi şartların kendilerine verdiği rahatlıkları kullanarak ,aynı şartlara sahip olmayan annelerin yapamadıklarını eleştirmek kendi egolarını tatmin etmekten başka bir şey değil maalesef...Zaten her zaman vicdan yapan annelerin içlerini acıtmaktan başka bir şey değil yaptıkları...Böyle insanları takip etmeyi bıraktım ve daha iyi hissediyorum bu şekilde....”

¹² “en azından gdo’lu ürünlerden ve tarım ilaçlarından oğlumu korumak için ve en önemlisi ailemden birçok kişiyi kansere kurban vermiş bir Karadenizli olduğum için organik ürünleri elimden geldiğince tercih ediyorum.”

¹³ “Doğal beslenme ile uğraşan ve başarabilen herkeze saygı duyuyorum.. Uğraşılmalı diye düşünüyorum. Ben babamı kanserden kaybettim. Teyzemin rahimi kanserden dolayı alındı. Dedem göğüs kanseri. Bu illet bu denli aramızda yaşarken yediğimize içtiğimize çok ama çok dikkat etmemiz gerekmekte.”

¹⁴ “ben çocuğum olmadan önce de sağlıklı besleniyordum... çevre baskısından daha çok kanserli yakınlarımların varlığının baskısı organik beslenmek konusund aitici motivasyon oldu bende şahsen.”

¹⁵ “Bizim nesil anne-babalar bir imtihandan geçiyor adeta...Paketlenmiş gıdalar, internet, cep telefonları... Bunların hepsi son 20-30 senede çıktı ortaya. Haliyle bilinen bilinmeyen etkileri de... Bunlarla nasıl başa çıkacağımızı, neyi ne kadar kısıtlamamız gerektiğini bilmiyoruz. Neyi doğru, neyi yanlış yaptık...Belki bundan 50 sene sonra ... insan sağlığını nasıl da olumsuz etkilediği kanıtlanmış olacak. Ya da tam tersi, bu kadar endişe yanımıza kar kalacak.

¹⁶ “benim artık azıma soktuğum hiçbir besine güvenim kalmadı. organikler ne kadar güvenilir? diğerleri için hergün başka birşey duyuyorum. GDO’su bi türlü,...sebzeler zaten hormonlu ilaçlı e kardeşim aç mı ölelim kendi çiftliğimizi mi kuralım. nasıl gelecek bu hayat. bence birde yediklerimizin içindekilerden kanser olacağımız düşünceside bence kanseri tetikliyor...bu konuda malesef çok umutsuz bir noktadayım.”

¹⁷ “Ben, tüm bunları araştırıp, çocuğumu organik beslemeyi seçen bir anneyim... Ben organik gıda seçerken bunun bütçemizin gider hanesinde ekstra bir kalem olacağını farkındaydım. Ancak sağlık harcamalarının daha büyük bir meblağ oluşturabileceğini de biliyordum.”

¹⁸ “Bana da pahali ama ben fedakarlık ediyorum” diyenlere gelince, Eger o urunleri alabiliyorsanız, kusura bakmayın ama farklı bir ekonomik sınıfa aitsiniz, yoksa fedakarlıkLa bile olsa alamazdınız... “check your privilege”.

¹⁹ “...Çünkü paramın satın alacağı hiçbir şey sağlığımızdan önemli ya da elzem değil...Çünkü tüm bebeklerin, tüm çocukların sağlıklarını gerçekten çok önemsiyorum...Yeter ki insan istesin...”

²⁰ “...farklıyız, farklıyım. Ancak “takıntılı” değilim. Bu da aslında benim yaşam tarzım. Ben de herkes gibi yaşam tarzıma saygı duyulmasını istiyorum...Ben gibilerin gıda konusundaki hassasiyetini lütfen “takıntı” olarak tanımlamayın”

²¹ “kızım ... mümkün oldukça en sağlıklısını yesin diye elimden geleni yapıyorum. Ama kızımın ilk yurtdışı tatilimde hazır mamalardan da kullandım,yani kısaca şartlar neyse ona uydum,şartlar bana uysun diye zorlamadım hiçbirşeyi.”

²² “Bir işini doğrusunu bilip uygulamaya çalışmakla doğrusuyla kafayı bozmak arasında fark var.. ben diyorum ki, kontrol edebildiklerimi, kontrol edebildiğim kadar kontrol etmeye, edemediklerim hakkında da endişelenmemeye çalışıyorum. Zor oluyor, ama uğraşıyorum.”

²³ “amaaaannn sende, siz de mi organik tavukla büyüdünüz?” şeklinde küçümseyen hatta dalga geçen tavırlar alıyorum.. Ve sinir oluyorum”

²⁴ “Herkes göğsümü gere gere şöyle cevap veriyorum ben : Elimin yettiği yere kadar, elimden geldiği kadar, okula başlayana kadar, harçlıklarıyla kantinden tavuk döner satınalana kadar..”

²⁵ “Bulduğum her fırsatta aldığım organik sebze meyveyi önce çocuklarıma yedirmek için ayırıyorum, kalırsa biz de yiyoruz”

²⁶ “herkesin organik-ekolojik” ürünleri kullanmasına da imkan var mı? Bazen bu tartışmalar en temelde cocunun karnini doyurabilme ihtiyacında olan aileleri çok mu zor durumda bırakıyor... Acaba ebeveynlik konusunda geri mi kaldım diye paniklediğiniz anlar oldu mu?”

²⁷ “Bu blogu takip eden anneler Türkiye gerçeğini yansıtmıyor bence. Çocuğun tamamen veya çoğunlukla organik gıdalarla beslenmesinin maliyetine Türkiye'nin % kaç katlanabilir acaba.... organik besleyemiyorum maalesef, yapabildiğim taze sebze/et/tavuk/balık ile ona yemekler yapmak, hazır/katkılı gıdalardan uzak durmak”

²⁸ “bir tüketici ve anne olarak son zamanlarda sayıları fazlasıyla çoğalan “organik ürün”, “doğal ürün” pazarlaması yapan firmaları samimi bulmuyorum ben.”

²⁹ “organik gıda kalmadı artık, köydeki arkadaşlarımız kendi yediklerine bile hormon kullandıklarını söylediğinden beri varlığına inanmıyorum pazarlama taktiği olduğunu düşünüyorum. organik= doğal ise yok artık öyle bişey”

³⁰ “düşündümde en çok icime sinmeyen bu tip basın toplantılarına firma adına katılan ve firmanın kendilerine para ödediği doktorların açıklamaları güvenmiyorum.”

³¹ “Beni hiç bir otorite devam sütünün gerekli olduğuna ve doğal olandan daha yararlı olduğuna ikna edemez... bir formülden bahsediyoruz insanın yarattığı formülden onu çıkar

bunu ekle daha da sağlıklı olsun yok...ne demişti Cumartesi günü Organik sohbetlerde Defne K pakete giren herşeyi sorgulamak lazım öyle değil mi?”

³² “Kendini satabilen tırnak içinde “uzman diyetisyen”, „doktor”, gibi onca insan var. Gazetelerde, TV’lerde köşe başlarını tutmuşlar, aldıkları paralara göre bize yalan söylüyorlar. Çok şükür sosyal medya var.”

³³ “doktorumuz peynir ve yoğurdun yeterli olacağını, ayrıca inek sütü vermeme gerek olmadığını söylediğinden, ayrıca Carlos Gonzales’in kitabını da hatmettiğimden dolayı içim rahat.”

³⁴ “Kendimiz araştırma yapmak, okumak anlamak, analiz etmek ve kara vermek durumundayız.Maalesef güveneceğimiz insan sayısı az.Annelik içgüdülerimiz sağolsun:)”

³⁵ “%100 organik değilim. Mutlaka organik tükettiğim belli başlı gıdalar var, onların dışındakileri illaki organik almıyorum. Organik yaşam bir gereklilik olmalı ancak şu sıralar daha çok bir trend olarak ilerliyor bence”

³⁶“Yarı organik anneyim. Çocuğuma kendi yediğimiz meyve ve sebzelerden veriyorum ve eti de yöresel kasaptan alıyorum (büyük şehirde yaşamıyorum). Ama süt, yumurta ve tavuğu mutlaka organik alıyorum. Kendim normalini yiyorum ama çocuğuma bu üç gıdanın mutlaka organikini yediriyorum”

³⁷ “Tamamıyla evde organik beslenen bir aileyiz...hayat boyu organik beslenilmesi gerektiğine inanıyorum.... evet ben güveniyorum, inanıyorum.”

³⁸ “elim ve maddi imkanlarım yettiğince doğal besleniyorum. malummm organik yani doğal beslenme de artık pahaluu...”

³⁹ Beni tanıyan kişiler, ailem, akrabalarım, vs., onlardan şu cümleyi çok duyuyorum. “köylüden aldım taptaze organik”. Çok güldürüyor bu cümle beni, evet taze olabilir ama asla organik değil.”

⁴⁰ “Artık organik sertifikasına güvenim yok çünkü bir tarla gösterip onun üzerinden sertifika alıp yollarına devam ettiklerini öğrendim. Burası Türkiye olur dedim geçtim. Güvendiğim bir tarladan alıyorum sadece önsezilerimle bu güzel kokuyor falan diyerek sebze alıyorum.”

⁴¹ “[Uzmanların] farklı farklı söylemleri tabii ki kafa karıştırıyor. Bir dönem bebek mamalarının çok sağlıklı, şöyle böyle olduğunu söylediler. Sonra çıkıp bütün bebek mamaları şöyledir, böyledir, katkılıdır, şu hastalıklara sebep olur diye şey yaptılar. Şuan bebek maması veren bütün anneler yaşlarda. Ben çocuğuma yedirdim, ne yapıcım ne edicem, ya bişi olursa diye. Çok şükür ben sadece muhallebisini yaptım sadece toz halinde o bebek mamalarının. Emzirebildiğim kadar emzirdim, sütüm vardı çok şükür. O yüzden kullanmadım. Ama şimdi onlarla ilgili bir sürü uzman açıklama yapıyor, o devam sütlerinin zararlarıyla ilgili filan da. Gerçekten de anneler kafa karışıklığı yaşıyorlar. Vicdan yapıyorlar.” (Fulya)

⁴² “Teknolojiyle beraber çok şey deđiřti. Teknoloji güzel biři ama. Bir ürünü güzel göstermek için başka katkı maddeleri katıldı. Raf ömrü uzun olsun diye başka başka şeyler... Bizim büyüklerimiz de çok şanslıydı. Çok çok da yaşıyorlar...Kanser o kadar yoktu. Şimdi çok fazla arttı. Gittikçe daha da riskli. Teknolojiyle beraber bu kanser oranı arttı.” (Çiğdem)

⁴³ “Ben bunu [organic gıda] yeni bir pazar açıldı diyorum. İnsanlar üzerinden yine bir çıkar sağlanıyor diye düşünüyorum. İnsanların bilgisizliğinden faydalanyor diye düşünüyorum. O o tarafa çekiyor, bu bu tarafa çekiyor. Ben pek güven verici bulmuyorum...yani o kadar herkes çıkar peşinde koşuyor ki. Her şeyden bir pazar oluşturulmuş. Her söylentiden bir pazar çıkıyor.” (Nesrin)

⁴⁴ “Ya gerçekten o kanser uzmanları filan çıkıp konuşunca kime inanacağımıza şaşırdık açıkçası. Kimi çıkıyor açık sütün içinde bakteri oluşuyor, çok fazla kaynatılması gerekiyor, çok fazla kaynatınca da hiç bir süt özelliđi kalmıyor süt özelliđi deniliyor. Ama diđer türlü de korunması için çok fazla şey katılıyor deniliyor paket sütün içine...Çok kafam karışıyor. Hani..hangisi mantıđına uyarsa onu almaya çalışıyorum.” (Çiğdem)

⁴⁵ “Her kafadan bir ses çıkıyor...Güven kaybı oluyor. Bir profesör çıkıyor böyle diyor, öbürü daha uzmanlaşmış başka biři diyor. En sonunda birini yapıyorsun. Sonra biri daha çıkıyor. Hepsini bırakıyorsun. Kendi kafana göre gidiyorsun. Uygulayamıyorsun. Hepsi ortak bir dilde buluşamıyor nedense.” (Kübra)

⁴⁶ “Bilemezsin büyük şehirlerde paketlerin içine ne koyduklarını” (Ayşe)

⁴⁷ “Organik alıyorum, güvenilir diyorlar alıyorum, nerde yetiştiđini bilmiyorum ama dedikleri gibi yapmaya çalışıyorum ve iyi yaptıđıma kendimi inandırmaya çalışıyorum, kendimi ikna etmeye...” (Fulya)

⁴⁸ “Yani artık bir noktadan sonra da güveniyorum. Yapacak birşey yok. O kadar da güvensiz ve şüpheyle yaşanmıyor. O da çok sıkıcı bir hayat...Mecburen. Kendi kendimizi rahatlatmak zorundayız.” (Semra)

⁴⁹ “Şimdi seninle röportaj yaparken mesela...acaba bu kadar katı organikçi anne olmadıđım için kendimi suçlu mu hissetmeyelim diye düşünmedim deđil.” (Fulya)

⁵⁰ Mesela köy yumurtası almaya çalışıyoruz. Sakaryada kardeřim var gidince ordan getirmeye çalışıyorum. Direkt orda organik pazar diye küçük bir pazar kuruluyor. Köy yumurtaları satılıyor orda...Yumurta çok çabuk tüketilen biři ama yetişemiyoruz...Artık şey yapıyoruz. Sadece kahvaltılarında. Daha küçük olanlarında köy yumurtalarını. Biz nasılsa yedik zamanında.” (Çiğdem)

⁵¹ “En ufak bir meyve püresi kavanozu 3 buçuk lira. O yüzden. Marketlerde 1.35 filan...Bir de bu (en küçüđü) yiyor ama diđerleri yiyemiyor. Yada bu fiyata üçüne de biři alabilirim.” (Çiğdem)

⁵² “Çok da böyle didik didik bakmıyorum. Çünkü bunların insanı zorladığını düşünüyorum. Almaya kalktığımda üç katı para vermen gerekiyor, için rahat etmiyor. Almadığımda acaba ben kötü bir şey mi yediriyorum diye için rahat etmiyor. O yüzden ben olabildiğince, ne diyeyim orta standartlarda tutmaya çalışıyorum” (Fulya)

⁵³ “O sertifikayı görücez, ona güvenicez. Mesela City Farmın yumurtası var, Keskinoglunun organik yumurtası var... Ama bu sene haftaiçi adada olacak Zeki. Dolayısıyla yumurtaları taşıyacağım tek tek ve yahut eşim gidecek...Cityfarm yumurtalarını dolduracağız oraya. O şekilde, çünkü adada satılan yumurtaların hiçbirinin organik şeysi yok...Dolayısıyla o beni biraz tedirgin ediyor adaya bu yaz gittiğimizde Zekinin yumurta şeyi”(Melina)

⁵⁴ “Doğal şartlarda büyümüş tavuklar, yumurtalar vs. Ama şimdi dediğim gibi yani eskinin doğal şartları pek de fazla kalmadı. Eskiden tavuklar bilmem ne kadar zamanda büyürken şimdi bir aylık süreçte tavuğu makine gibi büyütüyorlar” (Fulya)

⁵⁵ “Her ne kadar bir sürü şey dolansa da, o organik zannettiğin tavuklar organik mi sanıyorsun diye tartışmalar dolansa da etrafta, ben bir kaç markanın tavuk ve yumurtalarını organik kullanıyorum” (Fulya)

⁵⁶ “Özellikle mesela tavuk beni organik konusunda düşündürüyor. Tavuklar çok kısa sürede yetişiyor, hormonlu vs diye şeyler var. O yüzden tavuk yedirmekten kaçınıyorum” (Tuba)

⁵⁷ “Orda [köyde] mesela küçük domatesler oluyor, küçük ufacık. Kokulu olur. Büyük domates de içi kuru kuru olur. Belli olur zaten görünce anlıyorsun...küçücük salatalıklar, çıtır çıtır olanlar organiktir...Çocuklarımız için, sağlığımız için...memleketlerde yediğimiz sebze meyvelere göre burdakiler hiç iyi değil.”(Ayşe)

⁵⁸ “Şimdi çocuklarımız için de zararlı. Eskiden bu kadar hastalık yoktu. Çocuklar bir sebze meyve yese, sirkeli suda bekletsek bile bir yerden mikrop kapıyorlar. Nerden kapcaklar? Yediğimiz gıdalardan diye düşünüyoruz. Memleketteki benim ablalarımın çocukları benim çocuklar kadar hasta olmuyor. Ablam diyor ‘bacım sıcak evde de duruyorsun, nasıl hasta ediyorsun çocukları?’ Yediklerinden diyorum. Sizin gibi taze taze organik.. Çok isteriz de yedirmeyi, İstanbul gibi büyük şehirde olunca olmuyor.” (Ayşe)

⁵⁹ “Organik yumurta almıyorum çünkü ben doğal yumurta veriyorum. Bildiğin yürüyen tavuktan...Bu bana güneyden bir köyden geliyor, babam gönderiyor, babam orda olduğu için genelde. Tavukları da o şekilde gönderiyor bana. Doğal tavuk. Dolayısıyla ben tavuk suyuna çorbalar...işte yumurtası, yada tavuk eti genelde hep doğal yani”(Melina)

⁶⁰ “Organik biraz daha...doğal işte yürüyen doğal, kırdaki yetişmiş tavukları düşünün hani yani..organik yetiştirmecilik biraz daha sistem kuruyorlar mesela, doğal ortam yaratmaya çalışıyorlar ama burda doğal ortam kendiliğinden gidiyor. Farkı o organikle doğalın bence...Mesela atıyorum organik çiftliklerde yapıyorlar, 100 tane diyelim tavukları var o yüz tane tavuklardan atıyorum 1000 tane yumurta üretiyorlar. Biraz daha City Farm gibi, biraz daha teknolojik şeyler kullanabiliyorlar organikte” “Doğal diyince, biraz daha butiktir doğal.

Yani işte minik bir kümesin olur, 30-40 tavuğun olur, odur doğal benim için. Organik biraz daha seri tüketim geliyor bana.” (Melina)

⁶¹ “Onlar da ne kadar güvenilir bilmiyorum yani. Sonuçta, eee, kendimizi kendi çabamızla bişiler yapmaya çalışıyoruz. Sağlıklı diyorlar bunları şurdan burdan geldi diyorlar, köy ürünü filan ama köy ürünlerinde de katkı şeylerinin olduğunu duyuyoruz. O zaman da çekimser kalıyoruz yani... Öyle duyduğumuz için de tedirginiz. Ancak ve ancak neye inanırım; tanıdığım birinin bahçesinde gerçekten kendi yetiştirir, ondan aldığım zaman içim rahat ediyor. Başka türlüüne rahat edemem.” (Arzu)

⁶² “Ama toprağı da bilmiyoruz yani ne olabilir. Daha önceden ... toprağın içindeki zararlı bişi var mı yok mu, köyde olması mı önemli, hiç bilmiyoruz” (Arzu)

⁶³ “Hani ‘ne yiyorsak oyuz’. Zaman da çok kötü, hani paketli ürünlerin, uzun ömürlü raf ürünlerinin sebep olduğu hastalıklar; hani bir çok şey okuyoruz, görüyoruz, izliyoruz. O yüzden iyi beslenmenin çok önemli olduğunu düşünüyoruz. O yüzden olabildiğince doğal, olabildiğince organik ürünler almaya çalışıyorum” (Semra)

⁶⁴ “Şu an çocuklar bizim kontrolümüz altında bizim seçtiğimiz şeyleri yedikleri bir dönem. Vücutları şekilleniyor. Bence beslenme çok önemli (...) gıdalarını kontrol edip beslenmesine önem vermeliyiz.” (Semra)

⁶⁵ “Bunu yapıyorsun çünkü bunu yapmak istiyorsun çocuğun için. Yaa bu sefer de sen al bunları diye bir şey olmuyor hiç bir zaman... İsteyerek yapıyorsun.” (Tuba)

⁶⁶ “Bunu artık kabulleniyorsun. Bana çok fark etmiyor. Belki de baba sana güvendiği için sana bırakıyor, bu işle nasılsa anne ilgileniyor diye. Ama o da bilincinde hani herşeyi yedirmediğimizin, bazı şeyleri yedirmekten kaçındığımızın farkında... Ama bu bir sorun değil, yani bunu yapmak istiyorsun çocuğun için. Tuba)

⁶⁷ “Anneler hep düşüyor bu konuya. Bunun çok kavgasını yapıyoruz babayla. Geliyorlar bir bakıyorum ellerinde jelibon paketleri. Ama çok istediler de bir seferlik aldım. Ama sen bu bir seferi 3 gün önce de yapmıştın” (Fulya)

⁶⁸ “Ben sadece ben sorumluyum. Babamız alır cips şu bu. Ben saklarım. Bir gün çıkrırız, yerler, biter. İki sene kadar tartıştık biz bu konuda. Ben çok sinirlenmeye başlamıştım bir ara. O bilmez, önemsemez” (Nesrin)

⁶⁹ “Çünkü çocuğun sonuçta yetiştirmesiyle ilgili, bu şey konusunda yani, beslenmeyle ilgili, tabi ki anne. Yani baba ne kadar şey olabilir ki, baba her zaman annenin çocuğun yanında olmuyor. Sonuçta çocuk doğduktan sonra biliyorsun ek mamalara geçene kadar zaten mecbur anne doktorla bire bir konuşuyor, ondan bütün o şeylerle anne ilgileniyor. Baba bence çok fazla bunda etkili değil.” (Arzu)

⁷⁰ “Rahat bırak filan diyor gerçi babalar. Çok pimpirikli annelerin kocaları genelde. Onlar da sıkılıyor. Kendini bir kalıbın içinde hissediyor. Erkek için de kalıbın içinde olmak zor. İlla

şunu alcaksın bunu alcaksın demek. Ne çok aşırı sıkıcaksın çok organik diye tutturmıcaksın ne de çok rahat olacaksın. İki taraf da böyle olmalı. Ben daha yeni başladım tabi ama bunu yapmaya çalışıyorum. Aşırı pımpirikli değilim açıkcası.” (Yonca)

⁷¹ “Bal pekmez yedi. Hiç yemediği bişi. Herkesi arıyorum ben şimdi horoz mu kessem napsam. Yemeyip de bir anda yiyince. Milli piyango çıksa o kadar sevinmem. Babası aman yemesin nolcak...Anneler daha çok şey...Allahın vermiş olduğu bir annelik duygusu mu diyeyim...herkeste yoktur tabi de.” (Kübra)

⁷² “Ama çocuğun bütün hakimiyeti, bütün çocuğu tanıyan, çocuğun dinlediği kişi, çocuğun gözünü içine baktığı kişi. Çocuk anneye bakıyor, anne çocuğa bakıyor, öyle bir bağ var ki arada, çocuğun ne istediğini ne yaptığını anne biliyor.” (Melina)

⁷³ “Bana tabiki. Sağlıklı beslenme. Baba alıp getiriyor ama onu ocağa koyup pişirmek bana düşüyor. Ne anlayacak...Eşime ben hastayım kalk çorba yap desem alıp bilemez ki ben bilirim. Onun sorumluluğu bende. Eşim sadece alım satımı bilir, ben de pişirmesini sunumunu...Ben lavabonun içinde bardak tabak kırdığımı çok bilirim, kızıma [istediği gibi] yediremedim diye. Kendi annelik içgüdümle...” (Ayşe)

⁷⁴ “Bilmiyorum ilerde nasıl ... ne bileyim her şey sağlık için diyoruz. Ondan sonra, herşeyin iyisini kullanmaya çalışıyoruz ama ne kadar şey bilmiyorum...” (Arzu)

⁷⁵ “Şuan kontrolümüz altındayken ve çocuk gelişme dönemindeyken beslenmelerini kontrol altına almalıyız.” (Semra)

⁷⁶ “Ben oraya [oyun grubu] mesela hazır meyve filan götürüyorum. Biraz kınayan gözlerle bakıyorlar sanki hazır meyve diye. Hatta şöyle oldu... Ben öyle düşünmüyorum, onların da organik olanlarını seçiyorum, organik hazır meyveleri seçiyorum özellikle. Ama mesela annemle gittiğimde annem şey yapmıştı böyle ‘evde normalde normal meyve veriyoruz da...’” (Tuba)

⁷⁷ “Bir arkadaşım da öyle, mot a mot; bugün meyvesini yemedi, ay meyvesini yemesi lazım, ay! püresini yemesi lazım ayy..ben hiç bir zaman böyle olmadım yani. İşte 1 yaşından sonra, daha doğrusu anne sütünü kestikten sonra daha düzensiz; yine düzenli her şeyini yiyor, kilosunu iyi boyu iyi,büyümesi iyi gibi duruyor, hani çok iri bir çocuk değil, orta kendi şeyinde ortalamasında Zeki. O yüzden böyle hani şey yapmıyorum, çok böyle takıntılı.” (Melina)

⁷⁸ “Aslında bir yarış var tabi dediğim gibi. Ben şöyle yapıyorum ben böyle yapıyorum. Ve herkes kendine göre doğru. Onu ben de yapıyorum mesela...kendime göre ben her zaman en iyiyim sonuçta, çocuğum için en iyisi olmaya çalışıyorum.” “Sadece elinden geleni yapıyorsun..Elinden gelenin en iyisini sunmaya çalışıyorsun. İmkan varsa eğer onun için en kalitelisini almaya çalışıyorsun.” (Tuba)

⁷⁹ “Bu her konuda olduğu gibi annenin tamamen annenin kendi iç rahatlığıyla ilgili. Ben bu kadar yapıyorum. Bu kadarıyla kendimi iyi hissediyorum şeklinde görüyorum ben bu durumu. Bilmiyorum bu çok şey bir konu, nasıl diyeyim. Herkes çocuğu için en iyisini ister ama

tamamen içinin rahat etmesiyle ilgili. Ben bir şekilde çocuklarımı sağlıklı büyüttüğüme inanıyorum.” (Fulya)

⁸⁰ “Her zaman hep katı surette böyle değil. Biraz öyle biraz öyle. Ben de kendimi çünkü bu konuyla çok sıkarsam ben de mutsuz oluyorum. Yapamadığımda bir esneklik gösterdiğimde çok rahatsız oluyorum. Ama bir şekilde tamam ben bir yere kadar yapabiliyorum ama bir yerden sorna da bu denge otursun o kadar da bişi olmaz dersem ben de rahat ediyorum...Çünkü bir sürü şeyle uğraşiyor insan gün içinde bir sürü konuda kendi içinde çabalıyorsun. Ulaşamadığın anda da kendini kötü hissetmektense kendi kendini ikna etmek daha mantıklı [gülüyor]” (Semra)

⁸¹ “Yaniii, yüzde yetmiş, yetmiş beş sağlayabildiğimi düşünüyorum, abur cuburu sayınca herşeyi içinde düşünürsek, sağlayabildiğimi düşünüyorum ve bence iyi bir oran aslında” (Melina)

⁸² “Şimdi seninle röportaj yaparken mesela ... bu kadar katı organikçi anne olmadığım için kendimi suçlu mu hissetmeliyim diye düşünmedim değil.” (Fulya)

⁸³ “Bu kanser uzmanı var ya hani kanser uzmanı, uzun saçlı bir beyfendi... 'Doktorum'a çıkıyor...Bu Canan Karatay var, onu dinliyorum fırsat buldukça. Ama işte hepsi farklı şeyler söylüyor. Ben de kime inanacağımı bilmiyorum. Ölçüyorum, biçiyorum aklıma hangisi yatarsa...” (Çiğdem)

⁸⁴ “Mesela yetişemediğim yerde üzülüyorum. Yapamadığım şeyler olunca. Gene Nesrin'den (arkadaşı) örnek vericem. Bize göre daha çok destekleniyor. Sucuğunu bile memleketinde tanıdığı, bildiği kasaba yaptırtıp getiriyor. Bazen diyor hani acaba ben daha mı fazla özen gösteremiyorum. Daha mı fazla bişiler yapmam gerekiyor diye” “Artık durumu daha iyi olanlar ondan yararlanabilir ama...yetişemiyor çoğu kişi. Bize anca pazardakiler organik...Para yetişmez” (Çiğdem)

⁸⁵ “Benim için organik gıda doğal olan gıda. Yani doğal şartlarda yetişmiş sebze meyve, doğal şartlarda büyümüş tavuklar, yumurtalar vs” (Fulya)

⁸⁶ “Organik en azından katkı maddelerinin en aza indirilmiş. Tabiki yüzde sıfır değildir. Tabiki sıfır değil. Doğal olabilme yolunda olan. Doğal olduğunu ben düşünmüyorum.” (Selin)

⁸⁷ “Daha çok doğal ürünler almaya çalışıyorum. Bunu şehir dışındaki çiftliklerden sipariş ediyorum. Çok uzun süre öyle yaptım. Bu hem erişilebilirlik açısından hem maddi açıdan bir takım zorlukları var doğal ürüne ulaşmada. Bunun sürekliliğini sağlamak. O yüzden mecburen tabi organik ürün alıyorum.” (Semra)

⁸⁸ “Doğal diyince, biraz daha butiktir doğal...Organik biraz daha seri tüketim geliyor bana”
“...işte yumurtası, yada tavuk eti genelde hep doğal yani, organik de yani, doğal yani”
(Melina)

⁸⁹ “...organik konusu daha detaylı bir konu. Şöyle ki bir seminerde çalıştığım bir bayan vardı Tarım ve Köyişleri Bakanlığında çalışan. Bize dedi ki organik ürün alırken üzerindeki organik ibaresine yüzde yüz güvenmeyin... Organik ibaresine bakanlık çok az bir gereksinimi sağladıktan sonra bir çok firmaya verebiliyor...çok büyük bir arazisi olan firma bunun küçük bir alanında organik ürettiğini beyan ederse, kalan alanda ne yaptığı konusunda çok sıkı denetimler olmadığını öğrendim” (Semra)

⁹⁰ “... ‘ipek hanımın çifliği’nde de bir yazı okumuştum, o yüzden de organik tarımın organik olduğunu çok düşünmüyorum. Organik tarımda da organik tohum var ama hani organik ilaçlama da var diyor. Ama ipekhanım’da ilaçlama yok, onun yerine o böcekleri koruyacak otlar var. Onların deyimiyle, anam babam usulü diyordu onun tarımı, eskiden yapılan, bizim küçükken yediğimiz şeyler...Eskiden katkı maddesi yoktu”(Bengu)

⁹¹ “Benim, ürünlerimi ispat etme gibi bir derdim yok. Yüzlerce yıldır dağ köylerinin dedeleri, nineleri nasıl ‘organiğin de organiği’ üretim yaptıysa, aynı yolu izledim... Kesekağıtlarından birini açıp şöyle bir kokladığınızda, tattığınızda tam olarak ne söylemek istediğimi daha iyi anlayacaksınız zaten.”

⁹² “Organik olmalarını tercih ediyorum. Ya da pazardan alıyorum- ki onların da organik olduğunu düşünüyorum, pazardan aldıklarımın...” (Tuba)

⁹³ “Herkes sorumlu. Birincisi biz sesimizi çıkarmıyoruz. Sesimizi çıkarmıyoruz ... Ben Abdullah Gül’e kadar mail attım bu konuyu 2007 senesinde. Ama herhangi bir girişim kesinlikle olmadı... Herkes sorumlu, başbakan, cumhurbaşkanı. Bunların hepsi biliyor. Bunlar bilinçli. Ben mail attım, yazı yazdım. Cevap yazılmadı. Kendi yazdığımı bile görmedim sitede. Bir de şeffaflık derler...” (Nesrin)

⁹⁴ “Ben çocukluğumdan beri böyleyim. Anneler oturmaya giderlerdi mesela ben ansiklopedi okurdum. Ansiklopedi gitti google amca geldi, ne sorsam cevap veriyor iyi yada kötü”
“Gördüm, geçen gün gezdim mesela [organik reyonlar]...Gittim baktım... Küçücük bir reçel. Kahvaltı yapmaya kalkışsanız 200 liradan aşağı çıkamazsınız. Küçücük bir reçele mesela 18-22 lira” (Nesrin)

⁹⁵ “Şuan yani her taraf beton yığınınına döndü. Her taraf araba. Gördüğümüz üzere her tarafta araba var. Onların şeyinden kaynaklanıyor. Egzos dumanına maruz kalıyor, işte ne bileyim. Her türlü sağlığa zarar. Bu hastalıklar biraz da ondan da çoğaldı.” (Emine)

⁹⁶ “Memleketteki benim ablalarımın çocukları benim çocuklar kadar hasta olmuyor. Ablam diyor ‘bacım sıcak evde de duruyorsun, nasıl hasta ediyorsun çocukları?’ Yediklerinden diyorum. Sizin gibi taze taze organik (değil)..” “Düşünüyoruz, bazen memleketimize gidelim mi diye düşünüyoruz çocuklar için” “Şunu şunu bakacaksınız ve şu özelliklerine bakacaksınız diyorlar ya... bulamıyoruz ki. Bir markete gidince kahvaltılığı, deterjanı vs aldıktan sonra

yeşilliği de alıp çıkıyoruz. Vaktimiz yok, araştıracak vs. vaktimiz yok. Alıyoruz, çıkıyoruz”
“bir meyve olsun bir sebze için tek tek market arayamam büyük şehirde” (Ayşe)

⁹⁷ “Herkes organik almıyor. Alamaz da zaten. Tabi normalle aldığımız organik arasında fiyat farkı var” (Bengu)

⁹⁸ “Artık durumu daha iyi olanlar ondan yararlanabilir ama...yetişemiyor çoğu kişi. Bize anca pazardakiler organik...Para yetişmez...En ufak bir meyve püresi kavanozu 3 buçuk lira” (Çiğdem)

⁹⁹ “Benim bütçem bunu elveriyor bunu yapıyorum. Yani elimizden gelse yapmak isteriz de nerde bulcaz. Bilmem bişi avakado, avocado, bişiler diyor mesela nerde bulcaz. Gidicez bi markette görcem, bunu iyi dedi doktor diyip alcam. Ben bir avokado olsun, bir meyve olsun bir sebze için tek tek market arayamam büyük şehirde diye kafama da takmıyorum kendi şeyim olduğu sürece çocuklarıma kendi evimde yedirmeye çalışıyorum. Benim elimden çıktı diyorum, içine koyduğumu biliyorum diyorum çorbamda olsun yemeimde olsun pastalarım da olsun. Dışarda yedirmemeye dikkat ediyorum”(Ayşe)

¹⁰⁰ “Neticede bu meyvesularının içinde katkı maddesi var. Hani koruyabildiğimiz kadar korumaya çalışıyoruz. Kendi bahçemizden toplayıp...” “Mesela meyve suyu yapıyoruz, organik olarak. Mesela ben yazın şeftali yada eriğın marmelatını yapıyorum komple çekirdeği filan çıkartıyorum. O marmelatını kışın mesela suda karıştırıp meyve suyu gibi içiriyorum”
“Et ürünlerini ya kurbanda filan önceden dolaba hazırlıyoruz” (Duygu)