



Community Supported Fisheries: Diverse Strategies of Direct Sales Practices in Istanbul's Small-Scale Fishing Cooperatives

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Abstract

Purpose: This article aims to understand diverse forms of direct sales practices of small-scale fishers in Istanbul, Turkey. The research focuses on small-scale fishing cooperatives in Istanbul and examines their livelihood strategies from the perspective of Community Supported Fisheries models.

Design/Methodology/Approach: We have used qualitative research methods and conducted 34 in-depth interviews with representatives from 19 small-scale fishing cooperatives in Istanbul as well as from NGOs, researchers and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

Findings: We found that small-scale fishers and their cooperatives are suffering from economic, ecological, and political pressure of industrial fisheries and industrialized food system, and they use diverse forms of livelihood strategies in order to confront these challenges. In Istanbul, we scrutinized these diverse models and examined their benefits, challenges, and limitations as well as discussed their links to different Community Supported Fisheries practices from around the world.

Originality/Value: The study thus contributes to literatures on agricultural and fisheries economics, political economy, and small-scale fishing governance with a specific focus on community supported models used in agriculture and fisheries.

Key words: Community Supported Fisheries, small-scale fisheries, direct sales models, fisheries governance, Istanbul, Turkey

Topluluk Destekli Balıkçılık: İstanbul'daki küçük ölçekli su ürünleri kooperatiflerinin doğrudan satış pratiklerinde çeşitli stratejiler
Özet

Amaç: Bu makale İstanbul'daki küçük ölçekli balıkçıların benimsedikleri çeşitli doğrudan satış pratiklerini ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir. Araştırma İstanbul'daki küçük ölçekli su ürünleri kooperatiflerine odaklanmakta ve onların geçim stratejilerini literatürde oldukça yeni bir alan olan Topluluk Destekli Balıkçılık modelleri perspektifinden incelemektedir.

Tasarım/Metodoloji /Yaklaşım: Araştırmada nitel yöntemler kullanılarak, İstanbul'daki 19 su ürünleri kooperatifinden temsilciler, sivil toplum örgütleri, araştırmacılar ve İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin tarım ve balıkçılık ile ilgili uzmanlarından oluşan 34 kişiyle yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşme gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Bulgular: Araştırma bulguları ile küçük ölçekli balıkçıların ve kooperatiflerinin, özellikle de endüstriyel balıkçılık ve endüstriyel gıda sistemi karşısında maruz kaldıkları ekonomik, ekolojik ve politik güçlükler tartışılmış ve bunlar sebebiyle başvurdukları geçim stratejileri ve satış modelleri değerlendirilmiştir. İstanbul özelinde kullanılan farklı doğrudan satış modelleri ve pratikleri incelenerek, bunların balıkçılara yararları ve sınırları tartışılmış, bulgular küresel Topluluk Destekli Balıkçılık pratikleri literatürüne referansla incelenmiştir.

Özgünlük/Değer: Bu makale tarım ve balıkçılık ekonomisi, politik ekonomi ve küçük ölçekli balıkçılık yönetişimi literatürlerine ve özellikle de tarım ve balıkçılıktaki topluluk destekli modeller perspektifine odaklanarak bu literatüre katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Topluluk Destekli Balıkçılık, küçük ölçekli balıkçılık, doğrudan satış modelleri, balıkçılık yönetişimi, İstanbul, Türkiye

1. INTRODUCTION

Small-scale fishers (SSFs) around the world are significant primary food producers, yet, they are marginalized social actors, whose economic activity and culture are widely unknown by the general public. In the current global context, where marine ecosystems are severely threatened, many fish species have gone extinct, and fish stocks are being used unsustainably, small-scale fishers' contribution to food production, food security and employment plays an important role as they provide about 40% of global fish catches and employ approximately 90% of individuals working in the capture fisheries sector (FAO, 2015; FAO 2022). SSFs often use less destructive fishing gears and methods, smaller amounts of fossil fuel, yet employ a higher number of individuals, and showcase lower inequality within their communities, in contrast to their industrial counterparts (Pauly, 2018). As such, especially in the last two decades, small-scale fisheries has attracted much attention from agricultural and fisheries economists, marine scientists and social scientists (St. Martin, 2005; Pauly, 2006; Jentoft and Eide, 2011; Campling et al. 2012; Levkoe et al. 2017).

The aim of this article is to contribute to the literature on SSFs by focusing on emerging socio- economic alternative models, called Community Supported Fisheries (hereafter, CSF) (McClenachan et al., 2014; Bolton et al., 2016). CSF is a direct sales model established mainly in North American small-scale fisheries since the 1990s, where urban consumers are provided by fish boxes after their pre-payments made to the SSFs. Currently, the adoption of this alternative economic model is expanding in Europe and other parts of the world, as SSF communities face ever increasing economic challenges worldwide (Campbell et al., 2014; Godwin et al., 2017). Similar initiatives do exist in Turkey among SSF organizations as well, even though they do not use the specific term for their direct sales efforts. In this context, we aim to expand the growing literature on the CSF by identifying and analyzing already existing direct sales experiences and initiatives of small-scale fisher cooperatives in Istanbul, Turkey. This will help us understand how and to what extent different CSF models can be an alternative source of income and a social and solidarity network for SSF people, their cooperatives and communities in Turkey. Direct sales initiatives can be promising for overcoming the political and economic domination of middlemen in the fish supply chain, which undermines SSF communities' livelihoods and survival by creating an ever expanding debt cycle for small-scale fishers. Therefore, we also aim to explore the potential that direct sales initiatives bring for them in this respect (for a detailed discussion on the role of middlemen, see Ertör-Akyazı, 2020).

The first part of the study thus uncovers both collectively and individually organized attempts of SSFs' direct sales initiatives in Istanbul, as usually both exist simultaneously and have their particular challenges (Ertör-Akyazı, 2020). Even though small-scale fishing cooperatives are legally entitled to sell the fish they catch in the Istanbul Wholesale Fish Market, in practice, this cannot be implemented, and currently, no fishing cooperative in Istanbul has its own stand there (communication with the director of Istanbul Wholesale Fish Market, 2019). Instead, they frequently have to sell the fish they catch to middlemen who operate in the Wholesale Fish Market, and “the fish changes hands at least three times before reaching the final consumer” (Ertör-Akyazı, 2020, p.54). However, some of the fishing cooperatives still can sell the fish directly to consumers by putting up a fish stand (tezgah) open to public in the cooperative's own space. This possibility usually depends on whether the local authorities allow this and whether there are any conflicting legal competencies in place in that district with respect to the regulation of food sales and fishing cooperatives. Therefore, legal and institutional challenges of the SSF cooperatives as well as the alternatives they propose—and in some cases are able to put in practice—are also highlighted in this article.

The article is structured as follows. In the next section, we discuss the theoretical framework focusing on the political economy of small-scale fishers and CSF model. The third section explains the methodology employed for conducting this research. The fourth section summarizes the results of the research and categorizes different direct sales initiatives of SSF people and their cooperatives in Istanbul. The last section discusses the findings to uncover the role of different direct sales initiatives in Istanbul's SSF cooperatives and concludes.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The definition of small-scale fisheries depends on the ecological characteristics and fisheries regulations of each region, but in many places—especially in Europe and Turkey—it refers to fishing boats smaller than 12 meters (Ünal et al., 2022). A broader understanding of small-scale fishing refers to its artisanal, labor-intensive and subsistence fishing features, with low-tech equipment (Smith and Basurto, 2019), as opposed to globalized, capital-intensive, and industrial fisheries (St. Martin, 2005).

According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), approximately 116 out of 120 million workers directly dependent on commercial capture fisheries are from developing countries, where 47% of the total workforce is composed of women (FAO, 2017). About 90% of these individuals working in the capture fisheries are characterized as small-scale fishers (FAO, 2022). The rapid expansion of global food markets reconstructs food systems politically and economically, and creates a set of political and economic trends based on enclosures of land and seas, privatization and deregulation, which are also evident in the ongoing transformation of small-scale fisheries (Pinkerton, 2017). In this process of consolidation of the hegemony of the corporate food regime (McMichael, 2009; Plahe et al., 2013), large-scale, industrial fisheries use fewer, larger, and presumably more efficient vessels, displacing small-scale fisheries and increasing SSFs' vulnerability to maintain their jobs, livelihoods, and traditional fishing grounds and cultures (Pinkerton, 2017).

Campling et al. (2012) indicate that in the social sciences literature, there is a reductionist approach towards fisheries. Within this approach, fisheries have been taken merely as a “technical act of catching fish”, in need of technological fixes and better management (Campling et al., 2012, p.178). However, a small but critical literature—usually from political ecology, political economy, and critical geography fields—is investigating the power relations in fisheries (Kurien, 1998; Mansfield, 2004; Haller and Merten, 2008; Jentoft and Eide, 2011). In this literature, a growing attention is devoted to SSFs, their struggles, initiatives, and alternative food networks. Nevertheless, to date, small-scale fishers—as important social actors of food politics, food justice and food sovereignty—were not able to establish a solid space in the social science literature (for an analysis of their political agency and transnational movements, see Sinha, 2012; Ertör, 2021; Mills, 2022).

Within the recent global 'rush to the sea', as recently embodied within the international 'Blue Growth' agenda, SSFs are threatened with even further marginalization and neglect, since Blue Growth and Blue Economy approaches usually focus on new technological and capital-intensive sectors that have a high economic growth potential (for a discussion on and critique of such strategies, see Barbesgaard, 2018; Ertör and Hadjimichael, 2020). In this context, especially from a food justice and food sovereignty perspective, studying a diverse set of SSF communities and their contribution to food provision, based on co-managed and community-supported models enhancing the capabilities and agencies of local actors is of utmost importance.

The recent interest in fisher struggles and movements together with the already existing theory and practice on Community Supported Agriculture (hereafter, CSA) networks—as actors of the food sovereignty movement (Alkon and Mares, 2012) forms the basis of existing academic studies on different CSF models in North America. This literature conceptualizes CSF as one of the recent responses to socially and ecologically destructive practices of industrial fisheries and to corporate food regime, which—building on the experiences of CSA networks—aim to establish long-term democratic, just, and sustainable relationships between consumers and small-scale fishers as well as with the surrounding ecosystems.

Initially, CSF had been conceptualized as a socio-economic model involving the pre-payment by consumers and delivery of seafood directly from small-scale fishers to consumers (Witter and Stoll, 2017). However, more recently, other alternative direct sales methods have been suggested to be part of the more diversified CSF strategies (Bolton et al., 2016; Godwin et al., 2017). Therefore, the advance payment based model is now understood as being just one form of different CSF initiatives. Other forms of direct sales from fishers to consumers such as direct retail shops opened up by fishers themselves can now be considered as novel versions of these initiatives. In fact, it has been argued that retail markets may be preferred by consumers even more as they offer the possibility for consumers to shop on an “as needed-basis”. These models can also be more beneficial for fisher organizations as they can increase sales and financial sustainability of the system (Godwin et al., 2017, p.378). Hence, it has been argued that rather than the exact sales method, one needs to consider the common values and norms shared by fishers to identify whether a system can be identified as a CSF or not. These values can include, among others, transparency, accountability, traceability of the fish, opportunities to enhance community building and advocacy for small-scale fishers, and recognition of small-scale fishing cultures and traditions (Witter and Stoll, 2017), the existence of which we briefly explore in SSF cooperatives in Istanbul in this article.

The existing literature on the CSF is mainly composed of analyses focusing on the experiences in North America, particularly, the US and Canada (Brinson et al., 2011; Campbell et al., 2014; Bolton et al., 2016). Most of this literature points out that fishers and consumers together have the potential to create a value-based seafood supply chain, designed to be more resilient and beneficial for themselves and for the health of marine ecosystems. Among the urban social actors, an increasing number of individuals started to demand sustainably produced, locally sourced fish due to ecological and social concerns. For instance, Local Catch, Dock to Dish, Sitka Salmon Shares, Catchbox are some of the examples of CSF networks in the US, aiming at producing local, healthy, low-impact seafood with direct sales arrangements (see their websites⁵). This literature focuses on the unifying and divergent characteristics of CSF programs to define and understand this relatively new concept.

Similar initiatives do exist in Europe and Turkey, however, they are not yet studied in systematic scientific studies. Recent civil society initiatives (see the Erasmus+ project “Deck to dish: Community Supported Fisheries” coordinated by URGENCI, URGENCI 2020) identified that there is a new resurgence of localized food systems and bottom-up initiatives not only in North America, but also in Europe. These initiatives aim to strengthen the relations of communities with fish and fisher people, remove the dominance of middlemen who exploit fisher people, and establish a food production and consumption system which is more informed, transparent, just and sustainable (TNI, 2020). Therefore, this investigation and systemization of models and initiatives in Istanbul, Turkey, will help to improve this knowledge basis.

Briefly, five main elements that unite the CSF programs are identified in the literature: (i) transparent chain-of-custody from boat to plate, (ii) increasing access to locally-caught seafood, (iii) fair price for fishers, (iv) mutual engagement of fishers and community members, and (v) stewardship of marine resources by fishers and consumers (Local Catch, 2013; NAMA, 2017). Nevertheless, there are many initiatives in different geographies that comply with these or similar features, without specifically using the term “CSF”. The literature therefore lacks an investigation of direct sale models and—existing or potential—CSF initiatives in other regions, such as Europe and Turkey, which characteristics they have, and on which values they are based.

In terms of agricultural and fisheries policies and agro-food systems in Turkey, the neoliberal era has been a period during which many of small producers' incomes declined, their income insecurity and level of debt increased, and a significant part of them had to quit agriculture and fishing. Small producers have been therefore marginalized by neoliberal environmental and agricultural policies (Aydın, 2010; Keyder and Yenal, 2013; Aysu, 2014; Atasoy, 2017). Its manifestation in fisheries happens in quite similar terms. However, the literature on fisheries economics and politics focusing on small-scale fisheries in Turkey from a political economy perspective is very limited. Few related studies focus on fisheries economy (Göncüoğlu and Ünal, 2011; Ünal and Ulman, 2020) and fisheries governance (Berkes, 1986), but usually with limited in-depth analysis of structural power relations linked with neoliberal transformations in rural and semi-rural contexts (for an exception see, Knudsen, 2009). Recently, Ertör-Akyazı (2020) has pointed out the struggles of small-scale fishing cooperatives in Istanbul from a historical perspective and analyzed how their positions oppose Blue Growth ideals and how and why they advocate sustainable and equitable small-scale fisheries.

In a global context where the seafood production has become increasingly globalized and industrialized, local food systems and the information on where the food comes from and how it has been produced, have been gradually disappearing. However, recently, the impacts of climate change, overfishing and illegal fishing, extinction of several marine species, emergence of invasive species, and significant marine pollution have begun to be felt more intensely. These impacts brought a recent awareness regarding the significant gap in the existing knowledge about small-scale fishers, the technology and gears they use, their production processes, organizational structures, injustices they face due to industrial fishers' activities, and legislations in favor of industrial fishing. This led to an increasing interest and new efforts in the civil society, especially by those who are mobilized in food justice and food sovereignty networks, to understand these dynamics related to SSFs and strengthen such networks in the field. However, this interest is not yet supported sufficiently by academic knowledge, research, and scientific guidance.

Against this background, this article will help to fill the gap of knowledge in the existing literature by contributing to the academic discussion on the political economy of fisheries as well as on agrarian change—with a specific focus on discussions around food systems and the role of CSFs. The exploration of small-scale fishers' roles in Istanbul in terms of CSF initiatives will provide a bridge between the existing limited international literature focusing on experiences North America, some recent interest on initiatives in Europe, and what is happening in the Eastern Mediterranean and the coasts of Turkey.

3.MATERIAL and METHODS

This study employs the following qualitative methods to identify and analyze different forms and models of CSF in Istanbul, Turkey. First, a thorough desktop research was conducted to review the most up-to-date scientific literature on small-scale fisheries, food sovereignty, food justice, and CSF initiatives. In addition, the literature on fisheries governance in Turkey with a specific focus on the impacts of industrial fisheries and power relations on SSFs was reviewed. The recent communiqués on the regulation of commercial fisheries (2020/20)ⁱⁱ and on traditional coastal fisheries (2021/29)ⁱⁱⁱ published in the Official Gazette of the Turkish Republic and other relevant official documents have also been reviewed in order to understand the legal context for the operations of SSFs in Turkey (for a specific analysis of the legal structure concerning the SSFs in Turkey, see Ünal et al., 2022).

The second main method we employed was carrying out in-depth interviews with the heads and members of fishing cooperatives in Istanbul. More specifically, during June and July of 2021, we visited and interviewed the heads and individual fisher members of 19 fishing cooperatives in Istanbul, which are members of Istanbul Birlik, and in total, we interviewed 34 representatives with significant expertise on the SSF (see Table 1). The cooperatives we selected had predominantly small-scale fishers as their members. The only exception was Rumeli Kavağı Cooperative where industrial fishing activities dominate, despite having, in addition to industrial fishers, several small-scale fishers as members.

Table 1. In-depth interviews conducted in Istanbul

Institution	Interviewee ID	Role
Yeniköy Fishing Cooperative	#1	Head of the coop
Beykoz Fishing Cooperative	#2	Head of the coop
Kınalıada Fishing Cooperative	#3	Head of the coop
Üsküdar Fishing Cooperative	#4	Head of the coop
Kadıköy Fishing Cooperative	#5; #6; #7	Head of the coop and two members
Garipçe Fishing Cooperative	#8	Head of the coop
Rumelikavağı Fishing Cooperative	#9; #10; #11	Head of the coop, former head of the coop, one member of the coop
Burgazada Fishing Cooperative	#12	Head of the coop
Eminönü Fishing Cooperative	#13	Head of the coop
Fatih Fishing Cooperative	#14	Head of the coop
K. Mustafapaşa Fishing Cooperative	#15; #16; #17; #18	Head of the coop & three members of the coop
Eyüp Fishing Cooperative	#19	Head of the coop
Beyoğlu Fishing Cooperative	#20; #21	Head of the coop; member of the coop
Bakırköy Fishing Cooperative	#22	Head of the coop
Zeytinburnu Cooperative	#23	Head of the coop
Ağva Fishing Cooperative	#24	Head of the coop
Anadoluhisarı Fishing Cooperative	#25; #26	Head of the coop; former head of the coop
Kartal Fishing Cooperative	#27	Head of the coop
Association of Istanbul Fishing Cooperatives (Istanbul Birlik) & Güzelce Cooperative	#28	Head of the Istanbul Birlik, Head of Güzelce Coop
Istanbul Planning Agency, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB)	#29	Researcher, expert on food systems
Yerküre Research Cooperative	#30	Researcher, expert on food systems
Istanbul Wholesale Fish Market	#31	Representative
Sarıyer (and Istanbul) City Council, İBB	#32	Representative
Istanbul Farmers' Market	#33	Representative of İBB
Fisherwomen's Association (Kadın Balıkçılar Derneği)	#34	Representative

The third method we used was participant observation. We organized and participated in an online workshop on the CSF initiatives in Turkey, with the participation of representatives from Istanbul Birlik (i.e. the Association of Istanbul Fishing Cooperatives - İstanbul Bölgesi Su Ürünleri Kooperatifler Birliği in Turkish), Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (Istanbul Planning Agency), Istanbul Wholesale Fish Market, direct sales initiatives from the Aegean fishing cooperatives, and consumer cooperatives in Istanbul. The full list of workshop participants is provided in the Table 2. In this workshop, we first made a presentation on CSF models and global examples, which was followed with a moderated discussion on their opportunities and challenges. We also used participant observation methods by collaborating with a European Civil Society Organization called URGENCI and other NGOs in the project "Deck to dish: Community-Supported Fisheries" (coordinated by the CSA platform URGENCI). The main objective of this project was to identify different CSF initiatives in Europe, and one of the main fisher groups involved was Istanbul Birlik. The notes that we took during the in-depth interviews, workshop and project meetings have been transcribed and analyzed through open coding methods.

The study was approved in 2020 by the Institutional Review Board for Research with Human Subjects (SBINAREK) Ethics Committee of Boğaziçi University No: 2020-53.

Table 2. List of workshop participants

Institution	Participant ID	Role
Yeniköy Fishing Cooperative	#1	Fisherman & Board member of Istanbul Birlik
Güzelce Fishing Cooperative	#2	Fisherman & Head of Istanbul Birlik
Istanbul Planning Agency (IPA)	#3	Researcher & representative of IPA
Mediterranean Conservation Society	#4	NGO representative working on commercialization of local fish
Salkım Consumer Cooperative	#5	Member of the coop
BÜKOOP Consumer Cooperative	#6	Member of the coop
Istanbul Wholesale Fish Market in Gürpınar	#7	Representative of the company (İSYÖN) managing Istanbul Wholesale Fish Market
Academic working on fisheries	#8	Researcher

Istanbul has been chosen as the focus of this study, since Istanbul Birlik as an umbrella organization of SSF cooperatives in Istanbul is a well-organized and politically active organization, which rendered the identification and in-depth analyses of direct sales initiatives of SSFs in Istanbul possible.

4.RESULTS

Current situation and challenges for the SSFs in Istanbul

Istanbul is a metropolitan city with about 16 million inhabitants, surrounded by the Sea of Marmara, the Black Sea and the Bosphorus Strait. The Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus Strait are considered important biological corridors for marine species, as they connect the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea. Yet, marine ecosystems and biodiversity in the Sea of Marmara are suffering under urban and industrial pollution, as well as overfishing and illegal fishing (Özsoy et al. 2016; Demirel et al. 2022). These problems have been worsened with the population boom and internal migration, especially after the 1980s (Keyder, 2010). As a result, the Sea of Marmara lost 56% of its commercial species over the last 50 years (1967-2016), i.e. 22 taxa became commercially extinct (i.e. their catch declined by 80-99%), and in addition, 19 further marine taxa which had been part of catch statistics in the past, do not appear in these statistics anymore (Ulman et al., 2020).

The latest mucilage outbreak in the summer of 2021 has been an alarm call for the degradation of the Sea of Marmara. Marine scientists argue that this has been a result of direct and indirect anthropogenic impacts such as climate change, urbanization, industrialization, eutrophication and increased impacts of industrial fishing (Özsoy et al., 2016; Demirel et al., 2022). Accordingly, unreported and illegal fishing by industrial fishers has been worsening the problems of the decline of the fish populations and habitat degradation.

Although the intensification of industrial fishing methods defines the main tendency of fisheries in Istanbul and the Sea of Marmara since the 1970s (Can, 2013), a large number of small-scale fishers in Istanbul still maintain their traditional practices. A recent survey indicates that there were about 1,640 artisanal vessels in Istanbul, as of 2016 (Karakulak and Yıldız, 2016). However, small-scale fisheries in Istanbul are severely affected by marine pollution, high input costs of fishing activities, illegal fishing, and economic power of middlemen (Ertör-Akyazı, 2020). Further challenges arise due to the fact that small-scale fishing cooperatives in Istanbul are often unable to sell their fish catches at a fair price. The latest figures from the Turkish Statistical Institute indicated that in Turkey, as of 2017, almost 50% of total marine fisheries catches were marketized by middlemen, whereas only 1% could be sold via fishing cooperatives directly to consumers in Turkey (TURKSTAT, 2019).

Small-scale fishers in Istanbul are mostly organized in fishing cooperatives operating in their neighborhoods. There are two pre-conditions for becoming a member of a fishing cooperative: (i) having a fishing license, and (ii) residing in the neighborhood of the cooperative. There are 51 fishing cooperatives in Istanbul, 36 of which are organized under Istanbul Birlik. Istanbul Birlik was founded in 1980 and represents about 2,500 small-scale fishers in Istanbul. Most members of Istanbul Birlik adopt artisanal fishing techniques, using a small, traditional fishing vessel (the length of which usually ranges between 6 to 10 meters) equipped with low-tech gear, and requiring labor-intensive fishing methods. It is important to note that fishing is generally not the primary source of income for most of its members. Fishers often need to diversify their income sources as fishing incomes have substantially decreased in the last decades for small-scale fishers. Most fishers receive retirement benefits from the government, supporting their worsening fishing incomes.

Different sales channels used by the fishing cooperatives in Istanbul

Individual fishers and fishing cooperatives in Istanbul attempt to bypass the economic exploitation by middlemen by diversifying their sales channels. The sales mechanisms that we encountered during the interviews can be categorized into three main categories: (i) sales via intermediaries (middlemen/commissioners), (ii) sales in the Istanbul Wholesale Fish Market in Gürpınar (via kabzımlars who also act as middlemen), and (iii) direct sales (sales to small local fish markets and restaurants in the district, sales through personal contacts of fishers, sales from the fishing boat in touristic districts of Istanbul, direct sales to final consumers on a fish stand—tezgah in Turkish—within the cooperative, and sales of grilled/cooked fish in a very simple, small restaurant within the cooperative) (see Table 3). Rumeli Kavağı Cooperative was the only one where fish was sold via auctions—mezat in Turkish. The exceptional status of this cooperative can be traced back to the domination of industrial fishing activities there, as a result of which the amount of fish caught is much larger than in the rest of the cooperatives that we interviewed.

The third category, namely, collectively organized fish stands and restaurants within cooperatives, can constitute an important channel to generate a decent income for fishers compared to other sales practices. However, wherever this cannot be organized by the cooperative, fishers resort to the first two categories of sales, and they often shift from one sales method to another whenever their prospects of getting paid is better; yet, these type of shifts were evaluated by our respondents as being irregular, unpredictable, unfair, and insecure. Yet, only seven of the 19 cooperatives under investigation in this study could arrange their own fish stands as a direct sales method within their cooperatives (Beykoz, Güzelce, Kadıköy, Kınalıada, Rumeli Kavağı, Üsküdar, Yeniköy), and only two cooperatives (Üsküdar and Yeniköy) were found to run, in addition to fish stands, a small and simple fish restaurant within the cooperative. One of the cooperatives (Zeytinburnu) had to temporarily close its fish stand due to organizational problems. Small-scale fishers in the rest of the cooperatives were mainly using their local and personal contacts for fish sales and were obliged to sell the rest via individual commissioners and more formal commissioners in the Wholesale Fish Market of Istanbul. It is important to note that two more cooperatives that we did not visit are currently in the process of setting up their own sales stands (Selimpasha and Karaburun). In addition, two cooperatives located in touristic districts of Istanbul (Ağva and Garipçe) were found to sell their fish directly from their own boats to local tourists, as these are located in touristic districts of Istanbul.

Table 3. Sales channels for SSF coops interviewed in Istanbul

Name of the cooperative	Wholesale Fish Market	Middlemen	Direct sales					
			Sales to local fish markets	Sales to local restaurants	Sales via personal contacts	Sales from boats (in touristic districts)	Direct sales stand within coop	Fish restaurant within coop
Ağva	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Anadolu Hisarı	X	X	X	X	X			
Bakırköy	X	X	X	X	X			
Beykoz	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Beyoğlu	X	X	X	X	X			
Burgazada			X	X	X			
Eminönü	X	X	X	X	X			
Eyüp	X	X	X	X	X			
Fatih	X	X	X	X	X			
Garipçe	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Güzelce	X	X	X	X	X		X	Closed
Kadıköy	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Kartal	X	X	X	X	X			
Kınalıada			X	X	X		X	
K. Mustafapaşa	X	X	X	X	X			
Rumeli Kavağı	X	X	X	X	X		X (auction)	
Üsküdar	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Yeniköy	X			X	X		X	X
Zeytinburnu	X	X	X	X	X		Tempo - raily closed	

According to the Cooperative Constitution (*Kooperatif Ana Sözleşmesi* in Turkish), fishers are to sell their catch to the fishing cooperative they are a member of, and then issue an invoice/receipt in return. Yet, most fishers that we interviewed do not prefer to give their catches to their cooperatives, because of the uncertainties regarding whether the cooperative will be able to sell the fish at a just price. The sales channels used by individual fishers differ therefore on a daily basis, depending on the type of fish they catch, the amount of fish they catch, and how much other members of the cooperative catch and which mode of sales would bring more income each specific day depending on the market conditions. For instance, interviewees indicated that a fisher who typically sells the fish to the Istanbul Wholesale Fish Market in Gürpınar may sell from a boat in the touristic districts of Istanbul's Black Sea coast if he goes fishing there on a Saturday or Sunday. On the other hand, if a customer with personal contacts offers to buy the fish he caught at a higher price, he can stop selling to the restaurant even if he has a semi-contractual relationship with the restaurant (e.g. Eminönü and Garipçe Cooperatives). Therefore, in practice, the functions of most cooperatives are restricted to merely logistical and bureaucratic processes such as providing a shelter, port rental, and renewal of fishing licenses, rather than the marketization of fish.

The most important factors explaining this permanent switch among these sales patterns have been reported as (i) whether the cooperative has its own direct sales stand, and (ii) the degree of the reliability of the sales capacity of the cooperative. The more the fisher believes that the cooperative has the capacity to sell the fish at a fair price, the more he chooses to give the fish directly to the cooperative.

More effective direct sales initiatives: fish stands, fish restaurants, and the future potential of Coop Shops

Among the sales mechanisms discussed above, fish stands and fish restaurants within cooperatives stand out as promising strategies to overcome the unpredictable and falling incomes of small-scale fishers. Direct sales also constitute a more environmentally-benign option for sustainable fisheries management since it has the potential to reduce the environmentally adverse impacts of seafood production as well as its distribution and consumption (McClenachan et al., 2014). Moreover, direct sales stands are often associated with increased information provision to consumers about what they eat, implying traceability, and have the potential to generate a positive impact on the local economy.

In contrast, selling the fish caught via middlemen shrinks the share of small-scale fishers within the value chain and lowers their income. According to the estimates of Istanbul Birlik, the fish caught changes hands at least three times before reaching the consumers, and at least one third of the final fish price is received by middlemen (Ertör-Akyazı, 2020). A recent study confirms this and indicates that one third to one half of the final consumer price has been received by individual fishers, whereas most of the rest goes to middlemen and retailers in Istanbul depending on the fish species being sold (Kaygısız and Eken, 2018). Yet, except for seven cooperatives that we interviewed (i.e. Beykoz, Güzelce, Kadıköy, Kınalıada, Rumeli Kavağı, Üsküdar, Yeniköy), fishing cooperatives within Istanbul Birlik have not been able to establish direct sales stands nor fish restaurants within their own cooperative facilities. This was mainly due to the internal and external challenges they face, such as the irregularity of the amount of fish coming in to the cooperative via the cooperative members, proximity and distance of cooperatives to local markets in the neighborhood, the lack of required qualified labor to run a direct sales point, organizational capacity as well as the unwillingness among the cooperative members to take the financial risk to run a direct sales stand.

In the following, we will be discussing some of these direct sales stand arrangements in more detail. In Kadıköy Cooperative, for example, the members of the cooperative are selling their fish on their own, without much cooperation with other members, and they also expressed that fishers in their cooperative do not mainly rely on fishing as their livelihood. Beykoz Cooperative, on the other hand, is located in a district which, according to the head of the cooperative, is rather isolated and does not attract much attention from the consumers, as a result, the cooperative can only sell around 10% of the fish caught by its members via its direct sales stand. As such, the fishers cannot solely rely on the cooperative but on their personal contacts and other sales channels for selling their fish. Rumeli Kavağı Cooperative sells fish caught in a sales stand via auctions, however, the relationships among members are dominated by the interests of industrial fishers and there have been quite severe cases of physical violence between small versus industrial fishers within the cooperative.

The head of the Üsküdar Cooperative indicated that around 60 to 70% of the total catch of the members are sold in their own place, in the small fish restaurant and the sales stand within the cooperative. All of the cooperative members we interviewed stated that the direct sales stand within the cooperative has been functioning well since the vessel length of their members does not exceed 12 meters, i.e. they are all small-scale fishers, and thus the total daily catch of members is not beyond the cooperative's sales capacity. In line with this, the head of the Zeytinburnu Cooperative explained that the main reason for the ability of the cooperative to sell the fish caught by their members was closely related with the fact that there is not even one large-scale fishing vessel in the cooperative. This implies that if the amount of harvested fish would have been much larger, the sales capacity of the cooperative would not be able to match this, and as a result, the direct sales stand would not be able to offer for the sale the fish caught.

Logistics and available infrastructure like cold storage facilities are also indicated as important factors of expanded direct sales opportunities for cooperatives. For instance, Beykoz and Burgazada Cooperatives both have cold storage facilities, which enables them to store the fish caught over the week and then sell it at the weekend, when fish restaurants in the neighborhood demand more fish at higher prices for the fishers. Kadıköy Cooperative, in contrast, does not have that facility, and as a result, needs to sell the fish on the day it is caught, and cannot benefit from higher prices at the weekends. Logistics such as the distance to the city centers and Wholesale Fish Market plays a crucial role for the cooperatives located on the Prince Islands like Burgazada Cooperative and Kınalıada Cooperative: these cooperatives cannot sell their harvests to the commissioners at the Wholesale Fish Market, since their costs would be much higher than other cooperatives for them, as they first need to reach the main land. As a result, they mainly rely on their own personal contacts.

Both Yeniköy and Üsküdar Cooperatives are running a small fish restaurant within the cooperative, and this clearly generates extra value added and increases the income of the cooperative members. As a result, Yeniköy Cooperative can for instance support its individual fisher members financially whenever they face a hardship. Yet, it is very challenging to run such a facility in practice. The head of Istanbul Birlik argues that running a small fish restaurant within the cooperative is difficult, as these need to compete with other restaurants in the neighborhood, which, to a large extent, operate informally; they rarely pay insurance premium for their workers, evade tax payments by hiding some portion of their earnings, etc. In contrast, fishing cooperatives operate formally, and cannot afford evading taxes, etc., as they are highly regulated by different governmental authorities. Therefore, their overall costs are much higher, rendering the financial survival of these small restaurants quite difficult. As a result of this, for instance, the small fish restaurant in Güzelce was recently closed. Yet, at least from a legal perspective, things seem to be easier for the operation of SSFs' direct sales stands and fish restaurants, as the recent change in the law has taken the responsibility of overseeing fisher shelter operations from the Directorate General of National Property and gave it to the Directorate of Fisheries and Aquaculture. This is more advantageous for SSF cooperatives, as the officials from the Directorate of Fisheries are much more knowledgeable about the specific details of the fishing context. However, some of our respondents have also claimed that merely running a sales stand within the cooperative does not cover the costs of this facility, unless they also run a fish restaurant. So, extra income generated by fish restaurants can just cover the formal tax payments and other costs of a direct sales stand. More detailed financial analysis may be required to understand this dilemma. However, given that the volume of fish marketed in direct sales stands of small scale fishing cooperatives is rather low (absent industrial fishing catches), fishing restaurants contribute to have a better financial stability.

The head of the Zeytinburnu Cooperative highlights the advantages of the removal of middlemen from the supply chain as follows:

“Our members are happy with the sales. This is how we set the price: In the local neighborhood bazaar, let's say, one kilo of horse mackerel is sold for 50 Turkish Liras. Then, we buy horse mackerel from our members for 50 Turkish Liras. People buy from us because the fish are fresh here. It's from the local fishers here, caught early in the morning, for sure. When we sell it to the middlemen, they buy it for 20 Turkish Liras and then sell it for 50 Turkish Liras. But we sell it here for 50. What's happening here? This [difference] goes directly into our members' pockets.”

Besides, although all small-scale fisheries cooperatives are located directly on the coastline, some (such as Zeytinburnu and Yeniköy) are closer to touristic locations of Istanbul or to seaside walkways, which makes them more visible to consumers.

“We have small ponds outside. We sell the fish alive. The place where our ponds are is right on the walkway. People come back immediately when they see the fish alive. If a cooperative is located in a more isolated place, then they cannot sell their fish easily” (Head of the Zeytinburnu Cooperative).

“Yeniköy is more touristic than many other places. Prices at our cooking site are very affordable, which increases people's access to seafood. When regular customers come, we can buy the fish they want from the counter and cook them” (Head of the Yeniköy Cooperative).

The head of the Üsküdar Cooperative stated that they could improve their sales potential by up to 100% if they would have been closer to the center of the neighborhood. In many interviews it was often mentioned that the sales strategies should also be adapted according to the specific characteristics of the cooperative, like the location. Indeed, where the cooperative is located is important also in terms of determining how much it is affected by water pollution. For example, cooperatives on the shores of the Golden Horn stated that even if they wanted to, they could not sell the fish at their direct sales stands because they could not make ice with the water from the Golden Horn, which is very polluted.

A precondition of having a sales stand or a small fish restaurant within the cooperative is the presence of continuous efforts of and support from the cooperative members. Another important condition enabling these is the organizational capacity, the level of which differs in each fishing cooperative. In the interviews, several of our respondents stated that they give a lot of effort to promote change with the purpose of enhancing organizational performance and members' wellbeing in the cooperative. Also, the heads of fishing cooperatives emphasized that their members' understanding, approval, and support of the strategic intent of their co-operative are equally important. Lastly, they have pointed out that the sales strategy can differ according to the specific needs of each cooperative:

“Different sales opportunities can be developed according to each cooperative's location and needs. It is all about giving the right amount of effort, instead of getting lost in bureaucratic hurdles. One can think about a number of different opportunities to increase the fishing income of cooperative members: improving sales opportunities via making [small] fish restaurants more attractive to consumers, or renting a sales stand within the neighborhood market, etc.” (Head of Üsküdar Cooperative).

We found that the only cooperative to be able to marketize fish via auctions is the Rumeli Kavağı Cooperative located at the Northern entrance of the Bosphorus Strait. This is mainly related to the fact that industrial fishers are dominant here, hence, the amount of fish caught is much larger compared to the rest of the fishing cooperatives. Overall, our interviews revealed that fishing cooperatives in Istanbul are able to sell the fish caught by their members subject to three main conditions: (i) if the fish caught by the members of the cooperative is more or less in balance with the sales capacity of the cooperative; (ii) if the cooperative can buy fish at least at the market price from their members; (iii) if the sales point of the cooperative is at an attractive and/or convenient location for consumers.

To overcome some of the challenges SSFs face with respect to marketization of the fish, Istanbul Birlik initiated a project called “Know Your Fisher” in 2016. The aim of this project was to open Direct Sales (Retail) Coop Shops in 25 central districts of Istanbul. The plan was to collect fish daily with Birlik's cold storage facilities from several cooperatives throughout Istanbul's coastlines and deliver them to the Coop Shops, where they will be sold fresh or grilled. In this model, each fisher would receive a fair price for the fish caught, almost immediately within a few days, and in addition, the profit share of the Coop Shop would be further divided among fishers at the end of each year, based on their annual sales, resulting in an extra gain for SSFs. In this respect, these direct sales (retail) shops idea stands out as a more advantageous option than other sales methods, both to protect the income of SSFs and to reach the consumers directly in order to sell fish fresh at affordable prices for consumers and a fair price for fishers (for a detailed analysis of this model, see Ertör-Akyazı, 2020). Before the pandemic, several meetings had been held with the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IBB) representatives, and IBB seemed to be quite willing to support this project, as it was mostly aligned with their urban food policy visions that they shared in the Istanbul Food Strategy Report in 2021 (Istanbul Planning Agency, 2021). Yet, the actual implementation of this project had been stagnating during the pandemic, as there were several lockdowns and the fishing activities of SSFs in Istanbul were disrupted (Ertör and Ertör-Akyazı, 2021). Now, there is fresh impetus to further collaborate with IBB, and Istanbul Birlik representatives hope that the project can be started in one of the most crowded districts in Istanbul, to showcase a working CSF model in Istanbul.

This Coop Shops project of Istanbul Birlik is a broader promise for local fishing jobs, more vibrant fishing communities, living fishing cultures, and a broader social network for the SSFs in Istanbul. However, as of now, direct sales points (fish stands and fish restaurants) within the cooperatives' premises can be evaluated as the main existing strategy for addressing the challenges SSFs are facing. Currently, direct sales points within cooperatives, wherever available, are contributing towards minimizing the distance between small-scale fishers and urban consumers, offering fresh and local fish to consumers at a fair price for both fishers and consumers, and allowing for greater income to remain in local fishing communities. These direct sales points also help consumers to differentiate between local small-scale catches as opposed to the industrial fishing harvests, which are normally undifferentiated in the general marketplace. During the interviews, the importance of direct sales points to sell the local catch of small-scale fisheries was underlined by the head of the Yeniköy Fisheries Cooperative as follows:

“I am in the Board of Istanbul Birlik. We want all of our cooperatives to have direct sales points so that the public [consumers] can eat fish at affordable prices. That is, our cooperatives should be able to sell fish their members caught first-hand [without any intermediaries]. We built such a place for ourselves [in Yeniköy Cooperative]; thanks God, and now we want to expand this to entire Istanbul so that the residents in Istanbul can eat fresh fish.”

5. DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

Overall, our findings demonstrate that the specific context such as location, proximity to touristic places, internal cohesion and collective action capacity among members, sales capacity, amount of fish harvests, organizational capacity are the main determinants of the sales practices of each cooperative under Istanbul Birlik. While most respondents we had interviewed were clearly trying to use different sales channels to bypass middlemen in the supply chain, they mostly resorted to their personal contacts if their cooperative was not able to sell the fish, either fresh on a fish stand or grilled in the simple small fish restaurants within cooperatives. This is in stark contrast to some of the fishing cooperatives operating in the southern Aegean region, such as Akyaka Fishing Cooperative, for instance, which can directly sell a very large share of the fish caught by its members (Ünal et al., 2009). This seems to be related with the fact that the fish species caught in part of this region by the SSFs is commercially more valuable and more abundant, attracting much attention in auctions organized by the fishing cooperatives in this region, both from individual consumers as well as from local fish restaurants. These are generally more attractive places from the perspective of touristic purposes, confirming the general idea underlined by our respondents in the interviews for Istanbul. Yet, other cooperatives in the Aegean region were found to be not able to sell the fish themselves. The main reason identified by Ünal et al. (2009, p.398) was “day-to-day variability” in fish catches as well as the financial bonds established with middlemen and owners of fish restaurants.

Moreover, the role of leadership has been identified as an important factor for the successful management of fishing cooperatives in the Aegean region (Ünal, 2022). This is also in line with the international literature on the success factors of fisheries, which emphasizes that fisher leaders with entrepreneurial skills, respected by the fishing community, and motivated by group-interest rather than self-interest contribute to the successful management of fisheries governance (Gutiérrez et al., 2011).

All these are important factors to consider for fishing cooperatives in Istanbul as well. Our interviewees argued that as long as the amount of fish harvests by members can be matched by the sales capacity of the cooperative, the fish stands as direct sales points can function well. The degree of variability of fish harvests in each cooperative is indeed very relevant for this condition to be met as well. Marketizing a more or less stable amount of fish catches is much easier in practice. In addition, experienced and dedicated leaders in Istanbul's fishing cooperatives were likely to contribute to more successful marketization strategies.

Challenges faced by SSF cooperatives regarding direct sale mechanisms

One obvious obstacle preventing fishers from giving their fish harvests to their cooperative was the financial bonds and indebtedness to middlemen. Once fishers enter such a continuous debt-cycle with middlemen for receiving cash, for equipment and renovation of their boats, for instance, due to the absence of any affordable loan opportunities for fishers through formal financial institutions (Ertör-Akyazi, 2020), they are obliged to supply the fish caught to the middlemen, to pay off some portion of their debts. However, this debt-cycle cannot be broken easily, as fish harvests are decreasing, and economic conditions of small-scale fishers are worsening continuously.

Another important obstacle for the cooperatives in Istanbul to set up direct sales mechanisms is the high level of informality in the sector. That is, if cooperatives would like to set up a fish sales stand or a fish restaurant, they cannot easily compete with others in their neighborhood who do not fully pay the taxes and comply with the legislative requirements, since they are not inspected as often as the fishing cooperatives. If cooperatives are situated in busy and touristic districts of Istanbul, the sales volume is much larger and that is how they can survive financially and offer some decent livelihood both for their members as well as the workers in their facilities. This is for instance the case for Üsküdar and Yeniköy Fishing Cooperatives. Organizational capacity in these two cooperatives are also quite high, as the heads of the cooperatives are quite experienced in terms of operating small-scale shops and restaurants. The generated extra income motivates and supports individual members of these cooperatives, and adds to overall cohesion and cooperation among members. In contrast, even though the head of the cooperative of Güzelce Cooperative is quite experienced in terms of fish processing and running a small restaurant, this was not sufficient to sustain the fish restaurant as the location of the cooperative was not very ideal from the perspective of consumers.

Opportunities and limitations linked to the Coop Shops and other direct sale mechanisms

Yet, as we described in previous sections, opening up retail shops in different districts of Istanbul could strengthen organizational capacity and overcome some of the informality and financial problems. Indeed, the literature on the CSF in North America found that having a retail option improves the financial organization of the CSF (Godwin et al., 2017). The past literature on the CSF model has been often characterizing CSF as direct fish sales involving advance payments from consumers to fishers. This is currently not used as a sales option in cooperatives within Istanbul Birlik. Yet, more recent literature further focused on the advantages of other types of CSF initiatives like Retail Shops. Therefore, the idea of opening up Coop Shops (collectively organized retail markets) can be promising given the convenience of this option for urban consumers in Istanbul. Retail markets option is also attractive for consumers who want to consume fish and seafood on an “as-needed basis”.

Whether the idea of Coop Shops can actually be implemented in Istanbul by Istanbul Birlik is yet to be seen. However, given its current absence, we argue that the other direct sales initiatives (fish stands and fish restaurants) adopted in fishing cooperatives in Istanbul are still promising for improving SSF incomes. These share certain common features with their SSF counterparts in Europe and North America pertaining to their aims of shortening supply chains, a focus on local food production and local catches that can be traced back to small-scale fishers, and their efforts to communicate their problems and challenges to urban consumers (Bolton et al., 2016).

Moreover, Istanbul Birlik Board members often emphasize other market and non-market values in line with some of the CSF initiatives in the world. They underline, for instance, the importance of sustainable fishing, community development and continuation of traditional fishing culture, solidarity among fishers and between fishers and consumers, a fair price for fish caught, transparency, employment, profit sharing, improved logistics such as cold storage, education for fisher members, and employment possibilities for younger generations and women (Bolton et al., 2016; Witter and Stoll, 2017). Additionally, both the comments of fishers in our workshop on CSF and a recent event organized by Istanbul Birlik in Sarıyer, Istanbul, on the 21st of November, 2022—in order to celebrate the World Fisheries Day as well as the Year for Small-Scale and Artisanal Fisheries—, once again showed their interest in having a closer connection and communication with scientists, students, journalists, municipalities, consumer groups/cooperatives and civil society. This interest and gatherings have a significant potential for establishing closer collaboration and solidarity networks and appropriate CSF models according to the local context.

However, as discussed in the previous section, there are also certain limitations with respect to the success of these direct sales initiatives. The legal structure and local bureaucratic arrangements can be an important barrier towards the establishment of direct sales points (fish stands and fish restaurants) within cooperatives, whenever the interpretation and implementation of the legal structure is distributed among different government authorities, not necessarily familiar with the different local challenges of fishers and fishing activities. It has been argued that current regulation in place cannot adequately address the rights and challenges of SSF communities in Turkey, even though there are certain positive developments (Ünal et al., 2022), like the recent change in the Fisher's Shelter By-Law in 2020, giving the responsibility regarding the fisher's shelter operations to the Directorate of Fisheries and Aquaculture, instead of the Directorate General of National Property, for instance. Municipal governments may also inspect the management of these direct sales initiatives, and in the past, were quite restrictive in terms of how they interpreted the laws and regulations. However, this has somewhat changed with the newly elected Metropolitan Municipal Government in Istanbul, which tries to support small-scale fishing cooperative members in Istanbul via small grants like the recent one providing anti-fouling paints, repairing material and water-proof clothes. Further collaboration with IBB is crucial for the establishment of Coop Shops. Rental prices in Istanbul are currently extraordinarily high, and IBB could support Istanbul Birlik in overcoming this problem to a certain extent. Further support could be provided to improve logistics of SSF cooperatives, for instance, for establishing cold storage facilities.

Overall, we argue that Istanbul Birlik's efforts towards establishing and expanding direct sales opportunities for SSFs in Istanbul can be considered as alternative socio- economic models, sharing very similar values like the CSF initiatives in North America and Europe carried out by SSF. This is important given that international collaboration among CSF initiatives has the potential to motivate and support small-scale fisher organizations in Istanbul, as well as in other parts of Turkey and abroad. This has been showcased by the URGENCI project on CSF in Europe, where Istanbul Birlik was an important partner demonstrating that it is not important how one names these direct sales initiatives, as long as shared values are similar in supporting small-scale fishing culture, livelihoods and marine ecosystems.

ENDNOTES

ⁱ<https://localcatch.org/>, <https://docktodish.com/>, <https://sitkasalmonshares.com/>,
<https://www.facebook.com/catchboxworthin/>

ⁱⁱ<https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/anasayfa/MevzuatFihristDetayIframe?MevzuatTur=9&MevzuatNo=34823&MevzuatTertip=5>

ⁱⁱⁱ<https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2021/08/20210827-6.htm>

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Contribution Rate of Researchers Declaration Summary

The authors declare that they have contributed equally to the article and have not plagiarized.

Conflict of Interest Declaration

The authors of the article declare that there is no conflict of interest between them.

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