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THE ANISEED HISTORY OF TÜRKİYE: SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS (1926-2004)

Türkiye'nin Anason Tarihi: Toplumsal, Ekonomik ve Siyasal Dinamikler
(1926-2004)

Okan CEYLAN

Doç. Dr., Ege Üniversitesi
Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Bölümü
okan.ceylan@ege.edu.tr

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6867-6726

Suna ALTAN

Doç. Dr., Iğdır Üniversitesi
Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü
suna.altan@igdir.edu.tr

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-7388-3014

Çalışmanın Türü: Araştırma

Öz

Türkiye'de anasonun 20. yüzyıldaki sosyo-ekonomik tarihi, küçük köylülüğün, tarım politikalarının ve tarımsal sanayinin gelişimine işaret etmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, 1920'lerin ortalarından 2000'lerin başına kadar Türkiye'de anason üretimini devlet, köylü ve ekonomi üçgeninde analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu noktada, pazar olanakları ve rakı üretimi ile anasona katma değer yaratan TEKELE İdaresi, anason yetiştiriciliğinin sürdürülebilirliğinde önemli bir role sahiptir. Anason çoğunlukla küçük tarım işletmeleri tarafından üretildiği için çiftçi örgütlenmesinin zayıf olduğu ve üretim planlamasının yapılmadığı bir ürün olarak tespit edilmiştir. Bu durum anasonun pazarlanmasında zorluklara neden olduğundan, anason Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde siyasi tartışmaların bir parçası olmuştur. Not edilmelidir ki, 20. yüzyılda Türk tarımında yaşanan teknik gelişmelere rağmen, anason üretimi emek yoğun ve geleneksel kalmıştır. Nitekim 1980 sonrası neoliberal tarım politikalarının yol açtığı ekonomik belirsizliklere rağmen hem üretici sayısı hem de anason üretimi artmaya devam etmiştir. Bu iki çelişkili duruma rağmen, bu çalışma TEKELE'in rakı üretimi için anason talep etmesinin Türkiye'de anason üretiminin sürdürülebilirliğini sağladığına işaret etmektedir. Bu çalışma, metodolojik olarak anason üretimine daha bütüncül bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşmakta ve hem anason üreticilerinin gündelik hayatlarına hem de siyasi tartışmalara değinmektedir. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivi Belgeleri, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi tutanakları ve ulusal basın gibi bu çalışmadaki birincil kaynaklar anason üretimine ilişkin sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi tartışmaları yansıtırken, Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu verileri de iller bazında anason üretiminin yıllar içindeki değişimini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küçük Köylülük, Kamu Kurumları, Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarih, Anason Üretimi

Abstract

The socio-economic history of aniseed in Türkiye in the 20th century indicates the development of small peasantry, agricultural policies and agro-industry. Therefore, this study aims to analyse aniseed production in Türkiye from the mid-1920s to the early 2000s in the triangle of state, peasant and economy. At this point, the TEKELE (State Monopoly)

Administration, which creates added value to aniseed through market opportunities and raki production, has an important role in the sustainability of aniseed cultivation. Since aniseed is mostly produced by small agricultural enterprises, it has been identified as a crops where farmer organisation is weak and production planning is not carried out. Since this situation causes difficulties in the marketing of the aniseed, it has been a part of political debates in the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye. It should be noted that although the technical advances in Turkish agriculture in the 20th century, anise production was labor intensive and remained traditional. In fact, despite the economic uncertainties caused by neoliberal agricultural policies after the 1980s, both the number of producers and anise production continued to increase. Though these two contradictory situations, this study points out that TEKEK's demand for anise for raki production has ensured the sustainability of anise production in Türkiye. In terms of methodology, this study approaches aniseed production from a more holistic perspective and touches upon both the daily lives of aniseed producers and political debates. The primary sources in this study, such as the Presidential State Archive Documents, the minutes of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye and the national press, reflect the social, economic and political debates on anise production, while the Turkish Statistical Institute data show the changes in anise production by provinces over the years.

Keywords: *Small Peasantry, Public Institutions, Socio-Economic History, Aniseed Production*

1. INTRODUCTION

Since aniseed is one of the oldest agricultural products of the Mediterranean Basin, anise drinks have a large place in the alcohol culture of a wide geography from the Middle East to Europe. The Balkan drink Rakıja, the Middle Eastern drink Arak, the Turkish drink Rakı, the Greek Drinks Ouzo and Mastika, the Italian drink Sambuca, and the French Liqueurs Anisette, Pastis and Pernod can be shown as examples (Şimşek, 2021: 81; Anason Tarımı ve Endüstrisi Fizibilite Raporu, 2022: 4; Avcı and et al., 2012: 141; Bayram, 1992: 1-2). Similarly, in Türkiye, anise is both a state monopoly (TEKEK) product and an export product, as it is the second most important input of Turkish Rakı after grapes in the alcoholic beverage industry. Rakı accounts for 85 percent of the liquor produced in Türkiye (Koca, 2007: 2).

Therefore, rakı is the most important drink identified with the Turkish nation since the early years of the Republic of Türkiye (Evered, 2016: 44). In other words, rakı is accepted as national drink. With the proclamation of the Republic, the neighbourhood pressure on alcohol consumption was largely lifted and rakı became more visible. Rakı was even consumed at Atatürk's table in Çankaya Mansion, where national issues were discussed (Georgeon, 2023: 265-267; Gangloff, 2015). For example, TEKEK promoted rakı at the World Exhibition in New York in 1939 and many news was made about rakı in the international press (İlter, 1984: 15). In addition, to protect the

authenticity of Turkish raki, the European Union accepted the geographical indication registration in 1999 (Gözen, 2005: 1). Aniseed, which has an important share in the production of these drinks, has not come to the fore as much as them. However, Spanish, Italian, and Turkish Aniseed are among the well-known aniseed of the Mediterranean (Anason, 2016: 3). In the production process of aniseed from field to table, the peasants, market, industry and agricultural policies are not fully known. At this point, the social and economic history of aniseed in Türkiye in the 20th century is a part of aniseed history of the Mediterranean. In fact, aniseed production in Türkiye has been limited to small-scale agricultural enterprises in certain regions. However, since aniseed is a monopoly (TEKEL) product, it has always been a part of political debates. Furthermore, aniseed cultivation provides information about small-scale peasant producers, crop diversity changing agricultural policies, the effects of different sectors on agriculture and the alcoholic beverage industry.

Besides, the socio-economic history of aniseed in Türkiye reflects the effects of global changes and transformations on small-scale agricultural enterprises in Türkiye in the 20th century. First of all, the two major world wars that took place in the first half of the 20th century (1914-1945), the Marshall Aid provided by the USA at the beginning of the Cold War and the neoliberalism that has been rising in the mid-1970s have deeply affected agriculture, which is a very strategic sector for Türkiye. In Europe and the USA, as well as in some developing countries, the expansion of cultivated areas through land reforms, the use of agricultural inputs such as pesticides and chemical fertilisers, and the introduction of agricultural mechanization both have increased agricultural production and strengthened small peasantry. In fact, as a result of the agriculture-based industry and the increasing food demand of the growing urban population since the 1950s, the Turkish peasantry has been integrated into the growing market mechanism as a small commodity producer (Keyder, 2014: 147-173). These global and local developments also ensured the continuity of small peasantry in Türkiye.

On a global scale, small peasantry has certain characteristics in socio-economic terms. According to Teodor Shanin, a British sociologist known for his studies on peasantry and village societies, the main source of livelihood of rural societies is agricultural production based on land and family labour. These people have a cultural lifestyle suitable for rural society and suffer from victimisation as a result of the agricultural policies of political powers (Peasants and Peasant Societies, 1971: 14-15; Keyder &

Yenal, 2013: 18). Hobsbawm, who analysed the political, social and economic transformations in the 20th century defined the declining rural population in Southern Europe, the Near East, Latin America and North Africa in the second half of this century as the death of the peasantry. However, increasing globalisation and neoliberalism since the 1980s have further accelerated market-oriented production in Türkiye.

Under these conditions both peasants as small commodity producers engaged in market-oriented production and the rural families engaged in subsistence production in agriculture continued to exist. However, together with the more intensive penetration of market relations into agriculture, the importance of non-agricultural employment and income such as tourism and construction has increased for many rural families (Hobsbawm, 1996: 336; Keyder & Yenal, 2013: 19). For example, the Mediterranean coasts, where mass tourism had not been seen until the 1950s, started to be flooded with tourists in the 1980s. In this period, Spain hosted 54 million tourists, Italy hosted 55 million tourists, and Türkiye hosted 1,288,060 tourists (Hobsbawm, 1996: 306; Egeli, 1997: 236). Since increasing urbanisation and tourism increased the demand for raki consumption, aniseed production in Türkiye increased continuously after 1980.

The studies of agricultural engineers and experts in the field of Agricultural Geography have a large place in the literature on aniseed. These studies mainly focus on the agricultural, biological, industrial, and geographical dimensions of aniseed. In addition to these, the book titled *Rakının Tarihi* (The History of Raki), written by Müfit İlter, a TEKEL executive, and the book titled *Geçmişten Günümüze TEKEL* (TEKEL from Past to Present), written by Fatma Doğruel and A Suut Doğruel, who are experts in the field of Economics, focus on the historical development of raki production and the role of TEKEL. Moreover, *Au Pays du Raki: Le vin et l'alcool de l'Empire ottoman à la Turquie d'Erdoğan* written by François Georgeon in 2021 and translated to Turkish in 2023 explains the history of alcoholic beverages in Türkiye over a period of six centuries in its social, political and cultural aspects (François Georgeon, 2023: 15-16). Since aniseed is an important input in the production of raki, both of these studies superficially touched upon aniseed. These studies failed to establish the relationship between the state, peasantry, industry, and market in aniseed production and did not make sufficient use of primary sources.

This study aims to analyse the agricultural and industrial production process of aniseed in Türkiye from an analytical and multidisciplinary perspective in the triangle of state, peasant and economy. Moreover, since

there is a direct relationship between aniseed production in Türkiye and TEKEL, the period between 1926 and 2004, when TEKEL was in operation, is analysed. In the 20th century, although the technical advances in Turkish agriculture, aniseed production was labour intensive and remained at a traditional level. Even after 1980, even though the economic uncertainties caused by neoliberal agricultural policies, both the number of producers and aniseed production continued to increase. Although these two contradictory situations, this study claims that TEKEL's demand for aniseed for raki production ensures the sustainability of aniseed production in Türkiye. In other words, TEKEL provided both a market opportunity and value-added production for aniseed. As a matter of fact, since 2004, TEKEL's distilleries were privatised and aniseed production declined (Çetin, 2008: 204). The primary sources utilised in this study, such as the State Archive Documents of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, the Proceedings of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (the GNA), State Institute of Statistics (the SIS), and the national press. In this respect, it is a unique work in its field and contributes to the literature in terms of revealing the relations between state and peasants who cultivate aniseed in agrarian economy.

In this study, aniseed production between 1926 and 2004 is analysed periodically. Accordingly, statist policies aiming self-sufficiency. Thus it aimed to increase aniseed production and reduce imports between 1926 and 1939. Moreover, although the decline in aniseed prices in this period, TEKEL's aniseed purchases for raki production ensured the sustainability of production. Between 1940 and 1949, aniseed production remained at a limited level under the conditions of the war economy during the Second World War and in the post-war period. Although the cultivated areas in Türkiye increased in the 1950s, aniseed production remained limited in the face of the increase in wheat, sugar beet, tobacco, cotton. Especially the limited consumption area of aniseed and the change in its profitability over the years have limited production (Uçar, 1986: 2).

However, with the urbanisation since the 1960s, the demand for raki increased aniseed production. This increase has become more striking since the mid-1970s. This is due to rising aniseed prices, the market network developed between İzmir, where the aniseed exchange is located, and Burdur, an important production region, and the increase in the quality and variety of raki production. Since the 1980s, when neoliberalism penetrated the agricultural sector through market relations, price uncertainties, credit and falling earnings, aniseed production has surprisingly increased further. Although aniseed does not require much agricultural input, the employment

opportunities created by the developing tourism sector, especially in and around Antalya, and the increase in raki consumption in holiday resorts have increased aniseed production in Elmalı and Korkuteli Districts. Methodologically, in this study, the growing conditions of aniseed and aniseed agriculture in the Mediterranean in the historical process, aniseed production and geographical distribution in Türkiye, the economic situation of aniseed producers as a result of agricultural policies towards aniseed and the alcoholic beverage industry are discussed.

2. ANISEED PRODUCTION IN HISTORICAL PROCESS

Historically, since the gene centre of aniseed is not known for certain, it is estimated that its homeland is the Mediterranean, Asia Minor and Southwest Asia, and the Far East (Bayram, 1992: 1; İlisulu, 1966: 3). The history of aniseed in Türkiye dates back to the Hittites (MEY Diago). Some archaeological findings claim that the first aniseed cultivation in history started in Egypt (Gürbüz, 2010: 3; Kaliteli Anason Yetiştiriciliğinin Esasları, 1987: 1; Anason, 2006: 1). The presence of 150 species of aniseed in different countries such as Europe, Asia and Africa supports this view. In fact, 17 of these species are found in Türkiye (Anason Ziraatı Nasıl Yapılmalıdır, 1939: 3; Anason, 2006: 2). Since it is one of the common crops of the Mediterranean, Plinius writes that anise is called anisum in Latin, anison in Greek and anysum in Arabic (Bayram, 1992: 1). The spread of aniseed agriculture was influenced by the climate and commercial activities on the Spice Road (Anason, 2006: 13; Çetin, 2008: 197). Since the Ottoman Empire controlled the road, it is possible to see anise among the most used spices in the palace kitchen (Çakır & Mankan, 2022: 139). In addition, high income classes in Europe in the Middle Ages consumed plenty of spicy dishes. In a way, the consumption of spices such as aniseed, black pepper, and saffron was seen as a sign of wealth (Schivelbusch, 2022: 14-19). Besides, it has been used in pharmacy and medicine since ancient times.(Anason, 2006: 2)

Aniseed, which is an industrial plant and medicinal aromatic plant is an annual white-flowered and volatile oily plant from the parsley family (Anason, 2006: 3). In terms of botanical science, aniseed belongs to the genus *Pimpinella* and species *Pimpinella Anisum* L. of the Umbelliflorae order and family (İlisulu, 1966: 6). Physiologically, the stem of aniseed is in the form of a straight cylinder and the upper parts of the stem are branched. The height of the plant is between 40 and 70 cm. The lower leaves of anise are long and the leaves are heart or kidney shaped. The middle leaves are tripartite and the upper leaves are narrow. The flowers of anise are located at

the ends of the branches. The number of these flowers is in the form of a cluster between 8 and 15. The seeds of anise are greenish, grey yellowish brown oval, 2 mm wide and 6 mm long (Anason, 2006: 2; İlisulu, 1966: 8). The thousand grain weight of anise seed is between 1 to 3 grams (Anason Ziraatı Nasıl Yapılmalıdır, 1939: 3; Anason, 2006: 2). Anise seeds contain 9-13% moisture, 15-25% protein, 2-7% essential oil, 5% starch, 8-23% fixed oil, 12-25% crude fibre and 7% crude ash (Anason, 2006: 5-6).

In terms of development of aniseed, sandy, calcareous and permeable soil structure with high nutritional value is suitable. On the other hand, clayey soils with low nutritional value are not suitable for anise cultivation (Anason, 2006: 7; Kaliteli Anason Yetiştiriciliğinin Esasları, 1987: 3). For high yield, it is important to process the soil well before planting. The growing time of aniseed is a four or five-month (Akçalı, 1981: 2). Aniseed can germinate at temperatures between 10° C and 25° C. Therefore, in Mediterranean climatic conditions, it is appropriate to sow aniseed in March and April in order to prevent it from being affected by drought, frost and rainfall during the flowering period (Anason Ekicilerine Öğütler, 1954: 4-5; Anason, 2006: 7-9; Gürbüz, 2010: 14; İstanbul Ticaret Odası Gazetesi, 28 Nisan 1960).

Possible precipitation instead of high temperature during the flowering period causes fungal diseases and prevents pollination in anise (Gürbüz, 2010: 14). Otherwise, since aniseed is sensitive to weather conditions, possible frost events and insufficient moisture cause a decrease in the germination and yield (Anason Ekicilerine Öğütler, 1954: 3; Çetin, 2008: 199; Akçalı, 1981: 3-4). For example, the rainfall in Çeşme during the summer months in 1940 reduced aniseed production by 70% (Tasfir-i Efkâr, 10 July 1940).

In addition to ecological conditions, cultivation technique, fertilizer, and seed quality are effective in the yield of anise (Anason, 2006: 13). Aniseed producers supply their seeds either from the seeds left over from the previous year or from other farmers (Gürbüz, 2010: 16). In addition, TEKEL also provided anise seed for farmers until the mid-1970s (İlisulu, 1966: 12). Until 1990, sprinkle sowing method had been common in aniseed cultivation in Türkiye, but since this period, seeding with a harvester has started to be used. Thanks to mechanisation, both seed use per decare has decreased from one kilogram to 600 grams and hoeing and irrigation of the product has become easier (Republic of Türkiye, 2001: 395; İlisulu, 1966: 14; Gürbüz, 2010: 16; Anason, 2006: 9-10). Although irrigation every two weeks is recommended in terms of yield in aniseed cultivation, aniseed is mostly

cultivated on barren lands and not irrigated in Türkiye. Therefore, the yield per decare is 50-60 kilograms instead of 120-150 kilograms. Akçalı, 1981: 4; Anason Ziraatı Nasıl Yapılmalıdır, 1939: 3) It is important to use farmyard manure or to alternate with crops such as broad beans, tırfıl or clover in aniseed yield (Anason Ekicilerine Öğütler, 1954: 3). In addition, cereals and vegetables are also suitable for alternation with anise, while parsley crops such as coriander, parsley, cumin, and dill are not suitable (Anason, 2006: 9). Similarly, due to the allelopathic effect of anise, it is not recommended to plant anise in the same field for two consecutive years (Gürbüz, 2010: 18).

Aniseed matures in July and August. As a matter of fact, the yellowing of the anise stalks and the blackening of the seeds are signs of this situation. Anise harvesting is usually done by hand plucking in the morning (Son Posta, 29 March 1939; Anason Ekicilerine Öğütler, 1954: 3). In addition, sickle, sickle machine and combine harvester can also be used in anise harvesting (Anason, 2006: 12). Early harvesting causes a decrease in seed quality, while late harvesting causes seed loss (Akçalı, 1981: 5). Since aniseed agriculture requires labour intensive, seasonal agricultural workers from Denizli, Afyon, Adana and Osmaniye come to aniseed harvest in Burdur Region (Çetin, 2008: 209).

The harvested aniseed is dried in bundles in the field or in the threshing floor. The seed is separated by beating with sticks rather than a beater (Anason Ekicilerine Öğütler, 1954: 5-7). The obtained seeds are cleaned by sieving through a sieve. After these processes, it is recommended to dry the anise seeds in the shade. Otherwise, anise dried in the sun loses its odour. In addition, as a result of poor drying and storage of anise seeds, the seeds become red and mouldy (Akçalı, 1981: 7). Therefore, it is recommended to store anise seeds at 6-8° C and 9-12% humidity (Gürbüz, 2010: 16). This process from sowing to harvesting also shows how aniseed agriculture directs the labour force. However, in order to be able to analyse aniseed agriculture in Türkiye in a more concrete way, it is important to observe its geographical distribution.

3. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ANISE FARMING IN TÜRKİYE

However, statistics on aniseed cultivation areas and production both in Türkiye and provinces from 1928 to 2004 are shown. Thus, the fluctuations in aniseed production could be observed statistically in temporal and spatial terms.

Table 1: Aniseed Production in Türkiye by Province and Districts

Provinces	Districts			
İzmir	Çeşme	Urla	Karaburun	
Denizli	Çal	Çameli	Çivril	Acıpayam
Kütahya	Tavşanlı	Simav	Domaniç	
Afyon	Central District			
Uşak	Sivaslı	Karahallı		
Bursa	Keleş	Orhangazi		
Balıkesir	Dursunbey			
Tekirdağ	Şarköy			
Burdur	Tefenni	Yeşilova	Göhlhisar	
Antalya	Elmalı	Korkuteli		
Muğla	Fethiye			
Isparta	Central District			

Source: Akçalı, 1981; TBMM, 11 March 1976.

Map 1: Map of Anise Cultivation Areas in Türkiye Source: Karakaş, 2023.

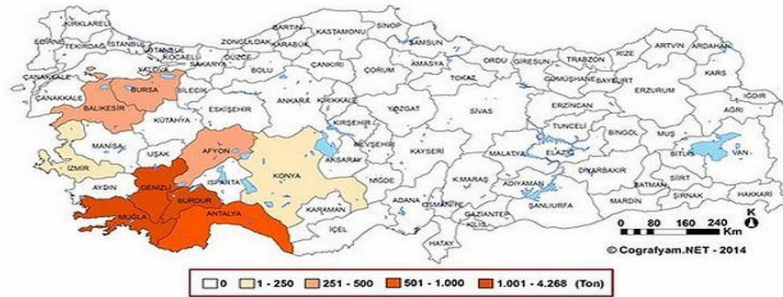


Table 2: Anise Sowing Areas and Anise Production by Province (1928-1963) Cultivated Lands (C.L) Hectare -Production (P.). Ton

Years	Aniseed	1928	1933	1937	1943	1950	1954	1958	1963
Province									
Türkiye	C.L	1000	1937	1357	2719	2764	2400	3400	4000
	P.	395	550	403	4902	1214	1200	2600	2800
Kütahya	C.L	400	300	370	485	752	102	111	100
	P.	225	60	71	90	447	48	51	85
Burdur	C.L	300	205	240	1040	580	650	1030	1966
	P.	51	205	150	2470	406	519	937	1706
Isparta	C.L	-	424	-	-	-	-	-	-
	P.	-	85	-	-	-	-	248	-
İzmir	C.L	100	650	618	678	660	553	606	620
	P.	39	97	113	1896	107	199	-	210
Bursa	C.L	200	153	60	270	200	170	26	24
	P.	78	75	16	201	40	68	20	24
Tekirdağ	C.L	-	9	27	6	120	40	15	-
	P.	1	3	13	2	30	8	6	-
Muğla	C.L	-	60	-	-	27	35	80	-
	P.	-	1	-	-	19	23	38	-
Antalya	C.L	-	-	-	-	20	30	772	311
	P.	-	-	-	-	12	28	772	160
Balıkesir	C.L	-	-	12	190	180	60	60	66
	P.	-	-	25	160	85	25	18	17
Denizli	C.L	-	104	30	50	225	710	700	710
	P.	-	14	15	83	68	280	510	495

Sources: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü Republic of Türkiye, Prime Ministry General Directorate of Statistics (GDS), İGM, 1936 :96-99; İGM 1939 :138-139; DİE 1947, DİE 1951 :10-11; DİE, 1959 :16-17.

Table 3: Anise Sowing Areas and Anise Production by Province

Years	Aniseed	1968	1973	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998
Provinces								
Turkey	C.L	2900	3400	1240	22000	20500	36800	43500
	P.	2000	2500	1100	12300	16000	28000	25000
Kütahya	C.L	93	10	55	80	-	-	972
	P.	69	7	38	52	-	-	350
Afyon	C.L	-	-	-	244	200	3084	4457
	P.	-	-	-	155	119	2182	2586
Burdur	C.L	1235	1955	1105	11427	10506	18697	20551
	P.	956	1255	1010	6044	8023	15077	12322
Isparta	C.L	-	-	-	49	16	-	-
	P.	-	-	-	29	6	-	-
Uşak	C.L	-	-	-	98	50	26	37
	P.	-	-	-	37	50	29	38
İzmir	C.L	160	200	-	288	350	178	74
	P.	106	113	-	88	162	97	38
Bursa	C.L	121	40	-	302	420	348	798
	P.	54	25	-	132	207	186	523
Muğla	C.L	46	250	70	585	650	2422	1400
	P.	45	215	42	411	388	1731	579
Antalya	C.L	268	555	-	2936	3628	4484	5500
	P.	280	375	-	1945	3359	3945	2254
Balıkesir	C.L	-	20	-	263	162	183	207
	P.	-	10	-	137	87	145	157
Denizli	C.L	977	370	10	2642	4518	7378	9504
	P.	490	500	10	2021	3599	4608	6153

Source: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (DİE), Republic of Türkiye Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics (SIS) DİE, 1965; DİE, 1967; DİE, 1968; DİE, 1969; DİE, 1971; DİE, 1975; Republic of Türkiye, State Planning Organization (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı), 1976; DİE, 1978; DİE, 1979; DİE, 1985; DİE, 1990; DİE, 1993; DİE, 1995; DİE, 2001.

Table 2 and Table 3 indicate that both aniseed production and cultivation areas have increased in Türkiye. However, from 1928 to 1978, the highest production was in 1943 and the highest cultivation area was in 1963. Considering the 1928 data, the cultivated areas increased four times in 1963 while the production increased 14 times. Compared to 1928 data, the cultivated areas increased by 24 percent and the production increased approximately three times in 1978. This situation also indicates an increase in aniseed yield. Aniseed cultivation in Türkiye has been carried out with very traditional methods, aniseed prices are effective in the crop preference of farmers, and there is no production planning. Moreover, until 1978, Kütahya, Burdur, İzmir and Denizli were the leading provinces in aniseed production (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (DİE), 1928-1934, s.96-99; DİE, 1940-1945; DİE, 1961-1963; DİE, 1983).

Besides, the increase in aniseed production in the mid-1970s is closely related to the employment rate in the agricultural sector, the increase in aniseed prices, TEKEL's seed and production support and the development of market opportunities. For example, in the mid-1970s, 58.2% of Türkiye's population resided in villages, making it possible to produce labour-intensive

agricultural products such as anise (DİE, 1975, 1977). Moreover, the effect of mechanisation in Turkish agriculture was reflected in aniseed production. For example, while tractors and ploughs were used in ploughing the fields, trailers were used as transport vehicles for harvesting and selling the product. Moreover, in 1975, 75% of the 24.418.000 hectares of cultivated agricultural areas in Türkiye were cultivated with tractors (DİE, 1973-1975).

However, it is observed that aniseed production has gained more momentum since 1983. Nonetheless, due to neoliberal policies in Turkish agriculture since the 1980s, state-owned enterprises in the agricultural sector were privatized, agricultural support and subsidies were reduced, and agricultural input prices increased (Keyder & Yenal, 2013: 66; Pamuk, 2015: 266). In a period of increasing uncertainty in agricultural production, the increase in aniseed production in Türkiye is quite remarkable. This situation is closely related to aniseed prices, the value-added production of aniseed in the domestic market through raki production, the increase in demand for raki with the urbanisation and tourism, and the crop preferences of farmers. In 1983, the average aniseed cultivation area in Türkiye was 22.000 hectares, which doubled to 43.500 hectares in 1998. Similarly, anise production increased from 12.300 tonnes to 25.000 tonnes in the same period. As a result, from 1928 to 1998, aniseed cultivation areas in Türkiye increased 43.5 times while aniseed production increased 63 times. The political, social and economic dynamics behind the statistical data in these two tables will make these statistical data more understandable. It will also be useful to trace the story of aniseed in the provinces that stand out with aniseed production.

When the geographical distribution of aniseed is analysed, it is seen that Western Anatolian provinces such as Burdur, Kütahya, İzmir, Antalya, Denizli and Muğla stand out. In Kütahya, where aniseed production was at a high level at first, the introduction of sugar beet in rotation with aniseed since the 1950s and crops such as poppy, vetch and chickpea produced in barren lands limited aniseed cultivation areas. For example, while there were 1,720 hectares of aniseed cultivation area in Kütahya in 1949, it decreased to 110 hectares in 1955. On the other hand, poppy cultivation areas increased from 1,030 hectares to 3,646 hectares and sugar beet cultivation areas increased from 2,334 hectares to 4,768 hectares (GSGM. 1934-1950, s.10-11; GSGM. 1954-1958, s.16-17). The reason for the prominence of sugar beet and poppy production in Kütahya is related to the wide market network and industries of these crops. For example, Uşak Sugar Factory, which became the first sugar industry in Türkiye in 1926, and Kütahya Sugar Factory, which was established in 1953, increased sugar beet production in

and around Kütahya. In addition, oil mills processing the oil of poppy and the export of opium increased poppy production. Similarly, in the 1960s, tobacco became the biggest competitor of aniseed in the barren lands of İzmir. For example, between 1965 and 1968, tobacco cultivation areas increased from 53.323 hectares to 66.542 hectares. In contrast, aniseed cultivation areas decreased from 403 hectares to 349 hectares (DİE, 1965; DİE, 1968). Aniseed production in İzmir was mostly limited to Çeşme District until the early 2000s.

In contrast to Kütahya and İzmir, Burdur has the highest aniseed production since the early 1940s and its production has gained momentum since the mid-1970s. In addition to sustainable production, half of the aniseed cultivation areas and production in Türkiye was supplied from Burdur. However, sugar beet and aniseed are mostly cultivated in Burdur instead of tobacco and cotton (Çetin, 2008: 202). Tefenni Plain is very suitable for aniseed production thanks to its soil characteristics, mild and moisture free climate conditions, and surrounding water resources (Büyükerman, 1964: 21). In fact, sugar beet production increased with the establishment of a sugar factory in Burdur in the early 1960s. Since aniseed producers in Burdur found sugar beet more profitable, production decreased. However, since this situation caused a decrease in anise production in Türkiye, TEKEL exported 350 tonnes of anise from Spain (Ateş, 1960: 2). While the cultivation areas of legumes such as lentil, vetch, vetch and chickpea and industrial crops such as tobacco, sunflower and flax decreased in Burdur, the cultivation areas of industrial crops such as aniseed and sugar beet increased. For example, between 1973 and 1975, aniseed cultivation areas increased from 1.955 hectares to 8.228 hectares and aniseed production increased from 1.255 tonnes to 4150 tonnes. Similarly, sugar beet production increased from 5.069 hectares to 6.112 hectares and sugar beet production increased from 140.866 tonnes to 204.109 tonnes. On the other hand, chickpea cultivation area decreased from 5780 hectares to 3.125 hectares (DİE, 1973-1975). The ability to store aniseed, the market network, the purchase guarantee provided by TEKEL and the number of wholesale traders, and the increase in aniseed prices can be counted among these reasons. Firstly, the Ecevit Government increased the price of aniseed from 6 liras to 25 liras per kilogram, which triggered production (TBMM, 19 February 1975). Secondly, after the Burdur earthquake on 12 May 1971, the big land bourgeoisie and the commercial bourgeoisie in Burdur migrated to Antalya and İzmir, where the aniseed exchange was located. Especially those merchants who migrated to İzmir traded aniseed from Burdur to İzmir. Thus, anise production in Burdur increased as a result of the development of

marketing opportunities and the guarantee of high income (Çağdaş Burdur, 26 October 2024).

Aniseed cultivation areas in Denizli have increased especially since 1980s. For example, in the period between 1973 and 1988, aniseed competed with legumes. Legume cultivation areas decreased from 45.347 hectares to 32.264 hectares. On the other hand, the cultivation area of industrial crops, including aniseed, increased from 38.960 hectares to 57.075 hectares. More specifically in this region, aniseed competed with chickpea and chickpea cultivation area decreased from 34,924 hectares to 24,846 hectares while chickpea production decreased from 41,457 tonnes to 27,275 tonnes. On the other hand, aniseed cultivation areas increased from 370 hectares to 5.612 hectares. Aniseed production increased from 500 tonnes to 2,457 tonnes. DİE, 1973-1975; DİE, 1988). Acıpayam is the most prominent aniseed farming district in Denizli. In Acıpayam, the opening of Anise Operating Plant in the late 1990s increased anise production (Hürriyet, 21 February 2000).

Antalya is another province where aniseed production has gained importance since the 1980s. For example, while 375 tonnes of aniseed was produced in 555 hectares in 1973, 3.359 tonnes was produced in 3628 hectares in 1988. While aniseed cultivation areas in Antalya increased six and a half times, production increased approximately nine times. In Antalya, aniseed has entered into competition with fodder crops such as corn, millet, and vetch. For example, in 1973, 2.995 hectares of corn was cultivated and 5.949 tonnes was produced, while in 1988, corn cultivation area decreased to 838 hectares and production decreased to 3.238 tonnes (DİE, 1973-1975; DİE, 1988). The development of aniseed agriculture in Elmalı and Korkuteli districts in the interior of Antalya is closely related to the neoliberal policies implemented since the 1980s. As a matter of fact, the large hotels built in Antalya and the opening of the Antalya coast to sea tourism provided new employment opportunities for farmers engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry in the 1980s and 1990s. Thus, Elmalı and Korkuteli districts migrated to Antalya. The years between 1980 and 2000, which is the development period in terms of the tourism sector in Antalya, also reveals the interaction of the tourism sector with agriculture (Kağan- Timur, 2018: 57; Şit, 2016: 102). The villagers, who used to live on animal husbandry in the highlands left animal production and fodder crops agriculture after migrating to the big city and started aniseed production. In addition anise farming contributed to the development of apiculture (Aydın, 2019: 358).

While aniseed production increased in Antalya as a result of the development of tourism, in Çeşme District of İzmir after 1980, the tourism sector led to a decrease in aniseed production, which had been carried out for many years. As a matter of fact, since Çeşme is a coastal town, the agriculture of the district has undergone a direct transformation as a result of tourism. On the other hand, Korkuteli and Elmalı are located in the Taurus Mountains and have been indirectly affected by sea tourism. In addition, the decrease in aniseed production in Çeşme is related to the declining earnings of aniseed producers and the increase in the production of alternative crops to aniseed such as artichokes, melons, and grapes (Ticaret, 26 June 2012).

Similarly, it is observed that aniseed production has increased in the rural areas of Fethiye District of Muğla since the 1980s. However, production in this region has remained limited to Fethiye District. Approximately 40 per cent of the wheat, 22 per cent of the barley and 50 per cent of the chickpea production in Muğla is in Fethiye District. Olive and citrus production also has an important share in the region. However, it has not been directly identified that aniseed production, which has increased in Muğla Province since the 1970s, competes with certain crops as in other provinces (DİE, 1973-1975; DİE, 1983; DİE, 1998). The increase in aniseed production in Fethiye District in the 1990s is related to the purchase guarantee, advances and subsidies provided by TEKEL Administration in this region (Anason Tarımı ve Endüstrisi Fizibilite Raporu, 2022: 28). In fact, aniseed was one of the six industrial plants included in the scope of agricultural support in the 1990s (Özdemir, 2011: 273-274). However, the reason why aniseed production is not sustainable in Afyonkarahisar, Kütahya and Uşak provinces is due to the fact that aniseed cannot compete with poppy in these regions. However, the competition of aniseed with other crops in the production process and the crop preferences of the producers are only the agricultural dimension of the issue. Agricultural policies, anise prices, the role of TEKEL and the earnings of the peasants are also important in the development of anise cultivation. Therefore, it is important to reveal these socio-economic relations in order to understand the integrity of the subject.

4. ANISE AND THE STATE: POLITICS, PEASANTS AND ECONOMY

The number of aniseed producers in Türkiye was 17.525 in 1975, 29.000 in 1998 and 30.000 in 2016. These data indicate that the number of producers has increased by 72% in the last 50 years (TBMM, 11 March 1976; T.C. Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 11 March 1976; Anason, 2006: 12).

As in the Eastern Mediterranean countries in general, aniseed cultivation in Türkiye is mostly carried out by small family businesses (or small peasants) with a labour-intensive production style. The knowledge of the producers on issues such as certified seed use, irrigation, fertilisation and agricultural control is quite limited (Bayram, 1992: 2:). In terms of enterprise sizes in aniseed are cultivated in small lands. For example, 70% of the aniseed producers have between 1 and 4 decares (0.1-0.4 hectares). 20% of them have 10 decares (1 hectare) and 10% of them have 40 decares (4 hectares) (Çetin, 2008: 207).

Regionally, Burdur and Çeşme aniseed are the most recognised local aniseed varieties. While the former is suitable for irrigation, the latter is a variety resistant to drought and can grow in dry soils (İlisulu, 1966: 13; Yarı, 10 March 1930). In terms of quality, Çeşme anise was considered equivalent to the world famous Spanish Anise (Tan, 26 September 1939; Akşam, 30 June 1932; Son Posta, 2 August 1936). As of the mid-1920s, TEKEL's production of raki increased the need for aniseed. Especially in the 1930s, aniseed production in Türkiye was encouraged primarily through statist policies. For example, in 1923, the import of raki made from aniseed-containing materials was banned in order to protect public health (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı, Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı (BCA) 30-18-1-1/7-26-17). However, since domestic production was not sufficient, aniseed imports from Spain and Bulgaria were allowed as of 1925 (BCA, 30-18-1-1/13-20-3; Cumhuriyet, 20 October 1930).

After the Great Depression of 1929, the fall in the price of tobacco, an export product, further increased anise production in Çeşme (Tan, 26 Eylül 1939; Akşam, 30 Haziran 1932; Son Posta, 2 Ağustos 1936). Since aniseed production was high in Çeşme, the TEKEL wanted to become the sole buyer in order to prevent the drop in aniseed prices (Cumhuriyet, 14 September 1934; Son Posta 2 August 1936). However, following the economic crisis, anise prices dropped from 120 kurus to 40 kurus and aniseed production decreased (Son Posta, 27 Ekim 1930). Thus the TEKEL tried to modernize aniseed cultivation and spread its cultivation areas. First, for the purpose of improving the quality of aniseed and encourage the farmers in Çeşme, TEKEL provided two griddle machines, cash support, and free seed support. Thus, anise production in the region doubled (Cumhuriyet, 20 Ekim 1930; Son Posta, 7 Nisan 1931; Milliyet, 9 Aralık 1931). Second, the Ministry of Agriculture sent a circular to all provincial agricultural directorates, stating that aniseed production should be increased in order to meet the needs of the domestic market (Son Telgraf, 24 Şubat 1939; Yeni Asır, 24 Şubat 1939;

Son Posta, 24 Şubat 1939). Therefore, aniseed production started in the villages of Tekirdağ located in the European part of Türkiye (Akşam, 23 Mart 1939). In addition to Çeşme, aniseed production spread to Buca sub-districts, Urla and Karaburun Districts in İzmir (Akşam, 5 Mart 1939). Thanks to the regulation of the customs duty on imported aniseed and providing price, credit and purchasing support from the TEKEL, aniseed cultivation was encouraged (Son Posta, 29 March 1939).

Thanks to statist policies in aniseed production in the 1930s, Türkiye exported anise abroad, particularly to Egypt and Germany (Akşam, 30 Haziran 1932; Yeni Asır, 25 Mart 1935). On a global scale, Spain is an important exporter of aniseed. Therefore, it is decisive in the international aniseed market. Since anise production in Spain was low in 1936, anise exports of Türkiye, Greece and Bulgaria increased (Tan, 28 Eylül 1937; Tan, 2 Kasım 1937). However, exports were not sustainable and self-sufficient due to low prices. Together with the increasing consumption of liquor in Türkiye from 1938 onwards, aniseed need of TEKEL increased. Thus, rather than export, import of aniseed was regarded as a solution. For example, in 1938, 900 tonnes of aniseed was needed against 400 tonnes of domestic aniseed production, and the difference was imported. In fact, the customs tax was reduced to facilitate imports and lower prices (TBMM, 2 October 1939). Some of these imports were even made from Syria (BCA 30-10-0-0/163-141-19). In the period leading up to the Second World War, attempts to increase anise production in Türkiye instead of imports to reduce the foreign trade deficit and expenditures continued (Son Posta, 8 24 Nisan 1938). In addition to the war economy, since anise production in Türkiye was dependent on climatic conditions, the imports of aniseed in some years were frequently criticised in the parliamentary agenda (TBMM, 25 September 1939).

As a result of the incentives, aniseed cultivation areas doubled and production tripled on average in the 1940s and 1950s (GSGM, 1934-1950: 10-11; DİE, 1940-1945). This increase in aniseed production can be explained by the fact that raki production was taken under the control of TEKEL as of 1944 and the increase in the urbanisation triggered the consumption of raki (İlter, 1984: 12).

Since the beginning of 1960s, the increase in aniseed production has also significantly increased aniseed exports. For example, exports increased from 5 tonnes in 1957 to 659 tonnes in 1962. According to the 1960 Istanbul and Izmir Exporters' Associations, the total revenue from aniseed exports was between 773.23 and 900.30 USD. With the increase of aniseed

production, it was also on the political agenda. Burdur Deputy Nadir Yavuzkan asked questions to Şevket Buladoğlu, Minister of Customs and Monopoly, and İhsan Gürsoy, Minister of Trade, about the annual aniseed demand of the TEKEL and the prices of domestic and imported aniseed. In his reply, Mr Budaloğlu stated that aniseed was an export product and that the general production level and the market were effective in determining the price of this crop. He specified that aniseed was imported mostly from Spain in the 1960s and that 350 tonnes of aniseed was imported in 1960. While the Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for aniseed production, the Ministry of Customs, to which TEKEL is affiliated, purchases aniseed. Therefore, the Ministry of Customs has a more interventionist approach in terms of licensing the cultivation of anise, while the Ministry of Agriculture opposed this idea. However, the Ministry of Agriculture suggested that if production exceeded TEKEL's purchasing capacity, the export market of aniseed should be taken as a reference by TEKEL (TBMM. 7 May 1962). The aniseed produced in Türkiye is purchased by TEKEL or by traders. Therefore, the sales opportunities of aniseed are limited. Therefore, it is important in pricing that the aniseed is cleaned from weed seeds, stalks and soil and that it is not more than 10% humid (Akçalı, 1981: 8; İlisulu, 1966: 17). The product purchased by the trader is sold either to export companies or to spice shops (Bayram, 1992: 4). Seed quality, supply and market conditions are determinant in aniseed sales price (Ayhan-Altınkaynak, 2020: 29). However, the liberal policy of the Ministry of Agriculture and the interventionist political attitude of the Ministry of Customs caused some populist debates in the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye in the 1970s on aniseed production in the triangle of villagers, traders and TEKEL and shaped the aniseed policy. In other words, populist policies dominated the support process in aniseed agriculture in the 1970s. This situation caused some problems in production planning of aniseed, efficient use of agricultural resources, pricing and storage of the product (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1976: 147-152).

The liberal attitude of the Ministry of Agriculture led to a lack of planning in aniseed production. For example, Denizli Deputy Sami Arslan criticised the official letter of Aydın TEKEL Chief Directorate stating that it could not purchase more aniseed than it needed. However, TEKEL's purchase of aniseed was related to the six-month storage and raki production capacity of aniseed essence. In the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, these debates reached such a populist and political level that economic and agricultural indicators were ignored. For example, Arslan likened the proposed restriction on aniseed cultivation to the ban on poppy production in

the beginnings of the 1970s (TBMM, 21 December 1970). Burdur Deputy Osman Aykul drew attention to the fact that aniseed producers were exploited by middlemen due to an unfair base price practice in 1973. Mahmut Türkmenoğlu, Minister of Customs and Monopoly, mentioned that aniseed producers were small in number and generally small-scale producers and therefore could not voice their demands sufficiently. Therefore, he emphasised that TEKEL would purchase their products at an appropriate price in order to prevent any victimisation of them (TBMM, 25 May 1974).

In addition to unplanned production, due to the increase in aniseed prices from 6 liras to 25 liras during the Ecevit Government in 1974 caused TEKEL to have problems in aniseed purchases in 1975 and 1976. The TEKEL Administration's purchase of 25% of the aniseed in the hands of the producers left the producers at the mercy of the merchants (TBMM 16 March 1976). Burdur Deputy Ali Şanlı stated that aniseed cultivation was carried out with very traditional methods and that no other industrial product had such a traditional production. He claims that neither the Ministry of Agriculture nor the universities had conducted sufficient research on aniseed. It can also be deduced from Şanlı's speech that the villagers are left to their own fate in aniseed production and sales. He even stated that Türkiye's need for aniseed, export opportunities and aniseed production forecasts are not clear. He also stated that there is a need for the development of anise production techniques and the organisation of anise producers. Although Burdur has a large share in aniseed production, the aniseed industry is located in other provinces and therefore there is a need for the establishment of both a cold storage facility and an aniseed essence factory in Burdur (TBMM 23 February 1975).

TEKEL gave up the aniseed seed on credit that it had provided in previous years as of 1976 (TBMM 18 March 1976). In 1976, when the seed distribution was delayed and distributed to the villagers at an advance price, the peasants thought that the government might restrict aniseed cultivation. They also worry about anise prices (TBMM, 25 February 1976). For example, the annual average aniseed demand of the TEKEL Administration is 2.500-3.000 tonnes. In 1965, 363.391 kilograms and in 1973 1.182.449 kilograms were purchased between 15 July and 30 September. Even in 1973, TEKEL imported 260 tonnes of aniseed from Syria. On the other hand, 7,264,397 kilograms of aniseed was purchased in 1975 (TBMM, 23 March 1976). This situation undoubtedly caused public loss. The uncontrolled increase in aniseed cultivation areas as well as the decline in aniseed exports were effective in TEKEL's difficulties in aniseed purchases. For example,

exports, which were 591.222 kilograms in 1972, decreased to 268.500 kilograms in 1974. Minister of Finance Yılmaz Ergenekon said that 33 companies were active in Türkiye's anise exports and that Germany, USA, France and Spain had an important place (TBMM, 20 May 1976). In addition, Belgium, Denmark, Algeria and England are the leading countries in aniseed imports (Anason İhraç İmkânları, 1971: 2-9).

The Demirel Government (the 39th Government) assigned agricultural sales cooperatives such as TARİŞ and Ant Birlik to purchase aniseed in 1976 and 1977 in order to keep aniseed prices in the domestic market at a certain level and to reduce the pressure on TEKEL (TBMM, 12 July 1977). In his reply to the question of Muğla Deputy Halil Dere, Minister of Customs and Monopoly Orhan Öztrak stated that the interests of aniseed producers were protected in 1976. He also underlined that the aniseed of the farmers would be purchased by TEKEL, TARİŞ in İzmir and its neighbourhood, and Ant Birlik in Antalya and Muğla. As a matter of fact, in 1975, since TEKEL purchased more than its aniseed purchasing capacity of 5.000 tonnes, some aniseed essence lost. Therefore, TEKEL acted more realistically and resorted to interventionist methods. Accordingly, in 1976, TEKEL wanted to purchase aniseed at one fourth of its capacity. In this context, TEKEL did not purchase from producers who planted aniseed for the first time, from producers who did not buy anise seed from TEKEL and from producers who did not sell their products to TEKEL in 1975. TEKEL made purchases in Bursa, Balıkesir, Kütahya and Eskişehir where aniseed production is more limited, while agricultural sales cooperatives such as TARİŞ and Ant Birlik made purchases in provinces with higher production such as Burdur and İzmir. This situation shows that there is no planned production policy, producer organisation, a developed production technique, a balanced price mechanism and a developed market network in aniseed agriculture (TBMM, 2 November 1976; TBMM, 16 March 1976). The fact that aniseed is mostly produced by small-scale agricultural enterprises has caused the producers to lag behind in agricultural technology and to be unable to organise themselves in line with their economic interests. In the 1970s, when anise production started to increase, 20% of the production costs were spent on field rent, 20% on hoeing costs, 24% on harvesting, threshing and transport costs and the rest on seed, fertiliser, spraying and irrigation (TBMM, 11 March 1976).

In the 1970s, when academic studies on peasantry, agriculture and socio-economic transformation in rural areas increased on a global scale, the problems of aniseed producers were discussed at the political level in the

Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (Peasants and Peasant Societies; Keyder & Yenal, 2013: 17). In fact, Burdur Deputy Osman Aykul demanded an investigation against Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel, Minister of Customs and Monopoly Orhan Öztrak and Minister of Trade Halil Başol, citing the economic damage caused by the inability of aniseed producers to sell their aniseed to TEKEL at the value price. Due to Ant Birlik and TARİŞ's delay in aniseed purchases, the villagers who sold their aniseed to the traders suffered losses while the traders made high profits. The political polarisation between the right and the left in Türkiye during the Cold War in the 1970s was also reflected in the aniseed debates between the government and the opposition in the parliament (TBMM, 23 March 1977).

Uncertainties in the marketing of anise continued in the 1980s. In fact, in these years, aniseed was considered neither as a monopoly product nor as a product within the scope of support. However, anise production increased with increase of prices. Although TEKEL has a maximum aniseed capacity of 5.000 tonnes, TEKEL stocks were filled up as 6.000 tonnes were purchased on average in 1984. In addition, aniseed cannot be stored together with another product, nor can it be kept for more than 6 months. Otherwise, this situation adversely affects the quality of raki (TBMM, 31 January 1984). If aniseed is not purchased by TEKEL, the producer is left to the mercy of the traders to a great extent. Since the purchase of aniseed is considered to be the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance and Customs, the Ministry of Agriculture has not shown sufficient sensitivity on this issue (TBMM, 21 December 1989). In addition, as a result of the studies initiated by the Faculties of Agriculture, the Aegean Agricultural Research Institute and the Ministry of Customs and Monopoly as a result of the increase in anise production in the 1970s, an anise variety named Gölhisar was registered by the Aegean Agricultural Research Institute in 1988 (TBMM, 11 March 1976; Gürbüz, 2010: 16).

In 1993 and 1994, Türkiye had the second highest aniseed production in the world after India (Ayhan-Altınkaynak, 2020; Anason, 2006: 28). It is observed that aniseed production in Türkiye increased continuously in the 1990s. Popular political debates on aniseed farming were not seen in the 1990s. In the early 2000s, quotas were imposed on aniseed and production was limited to 200 kilograms per agricultural enterprise (TBMM, 13 April 2000). In this period, TEKEL's aniseed purchases were determined by TEKEL stocks of aniseed and raki consumption (TBMM 21 January 2004). Some of the aniseed produced is also exported. In the 2000s, Türkiye produced between 8,000 and 10,000 tonnes of aniseed per year on average

and exported 25% of it. USA, Netherlands, Greece, France, Germany, Italy and Saudi Arabia are among the countries to which Türkiye exports aniseed (Gürbüz, 2010: 9). Besides Türkiye, China, Spain, Egypt and Afghanistan are the leading countries in aniseed exports. In the early 2000s, the foreign trade volume of aniseed worldwide was 16 million dollars (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 2001: 398). The main factor ensuring the sustainability of anise production is industry.

Although aniseed is used in different sectors such as pharmacy, cosmetics, food and feed industry and spice sector, 70% of the aniseed produced in Türkiye is used in raki production and the rest is exported (Gürbüz, 2010: 5). Therefore, the production of raki in Türkiye and the industrial dimension of raki are also important for understanding the value-added production of aniseed.

5. A SHORT HISTORY OF RAKI FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO TURKISH REBUPLIC

When we look at the historical background of raki before its industrial development, there are three views about the origin of the name raki. The first is the view that raki took the names Iraki and raki because it spread from Iraq to neighbouring countries. The second opinion claims that raki got this name because it is produced from razaki grapes. Finally, the Arabic origin of raki is that it comes from the word "arak" meaning sweat. In fact, arak is the name given to a drink produced from products such as dates, sugarcane and raisins in Malaysia, Iran and Ceylon. The distillation technology of raki also came from Arab countries. However, the difference of Turkish Raki from the ones in the Middle East is the addition of aniseed to sumac (İlter, 1984: 4-5; Doğruel-Doğruel, 2000: 236-237). Therefore, grape and aniseed are the two main raw materials of Turkish Raki.

While wine was the most common drink during the Ottoman period, raki consumption started in the 19th century and replaced wine (Balkan, 2012: 32). The first raki factory in the Ottoman Empire was established in the 1880s by Sarıcazade Ragıp Pasha, Minister of Finance during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II, at the Umurca Farm in Tekirdağ. Umurca Raki, or Bozcaada (Tenedos) raki as it was known, produced in this factory was in demand in taverns opened by non-Muslims in districts of Istanbul such as Galata, Eminönü, Fener, Balat and Kumkapı after the Tanzimat (İlter, 1984: 7; Tüzer, 2020). However, high taxes on alcoholic beverages and imports during the Ottoman period undermined the production of alcoholic beverages. During the Ottoman period, liquor production technology was at

a very traditional level and it is seen that distilleries, especially raki and wine, were small-scale enterprises. After the proclamation of the Republic, innovations were made in the production technology of alcoholic beverages (İlter, 1984: 8; Doğruel, Doğruel, 2000: 120-123; 241-242).

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the practice of liquor restriction started with the Public Debt Administration being responsible for the production, transport and registration of alcoholic beverages (İlter, 1984: 7; Doğruel, Doğruel, 2000: 116-120). On 14 September 1920, the Men-i Muskirat Law, which prohibited the production, import and sale of alcoholic beverages, was adopted (TBMM, 14 September 1920). The most important reason for this was to prevent alcohol smuggling and to increase tax revenues (Georgeon, 2023: 220-231). However, this law could not be fully implemented and was abolished on 9 April 1924. The attempt to bring alcoholic beverages under state monopoly (TEKEL) was made with the Law No. 790, which was adopted on 22 March 1926 and entered into force on 1 June 1926. Thus, the production, sale and importation of all kinds of alcoholic substances produced in Türkiye were taken under state control (İlter, 1984: 8; Doğruel-Doğruel, 2000: 144). From 1944 until 2004, the production and sale of all distilled spirits such as raki, vodka, liquor, whiskey and brandy were under the control of TEKEL Administration (Şimşek, 2021: 81). Thus, alcohol production was standardised, industrialised and small businesses were eliminated (Balkan, 2012: 59-60). The establishment of TEKEL is to some extent a result of the statist policy. The easy taxation of alcoholic beverages and the regie administration under the Public Dept Administration were nationalised through TEKEL. Thanks to the institutionalisation, both the production of recreational substances and the value-added production of economically and financially strategic products such as tobacco and aniseed provided sustainability to the production of these crops (Doğruel-Doğruel, 2000: 157-160).

In order to increase both the quantity of raki production and the quality of raki, as of 1 June 1931, the TEKEL under the Ministry of Finance took part in this process. However, the TEKEL was affiliated to the Ministry of Customs and Excise as of 29 December 1931 (İlter, 1984: 9). In 1938, there were 48 raki distilleries under the control of TEKEL, while the number of these enterprises decreased to 30 in 1943. (İlter, 1984: 10; Doğruel-Doğruel, 2000: 239-240). Both technological developments in the liquor industry and the increasing demand for alcohol of urbanised population increased the production (Koca, 2007: 1). For example, while raki consumption per capita was between 400-500 cl until the early 1970s, it has

increased to an average of 800-1000 cl since then. For example, TEKEL started to produce three types of raki in 1929. These are: Fevkalade, Aliyyülâlâ and Alâ. In the 1950s and 1960s, İyi Raki, Yeni Raki and Kulüp Raki were produced. In the 1970s, a new raki called Altınbaş was produced. In addition, the İzmir Distillery Factory produced gummy raki known as Tek Raki until 1978 (Doğruel-Doğruel, 2000: 239-241).

When the factories where production is carried out are analysed, it is seen that raki is produced in five of the seven alcoholic beverage factories owned by TEKEL. These factories are: Istanbul Paşabahçe Spirits and Liquor Factory, Tekirdağ Raki Factory, İzmir Wine and Liquor Factory, Gaziantep Liquor Factory and Diyarbakır Liquor Factory. In the selection of the locations where raki factories were to be established, criteria such as raw materials, transportation and market were taken into consideration. In the selection of the locations of these factories, criteria such as raw materials, transportation and market were taken into consideration. The Bomonti-Nektar Company, which was first active in Istanbul in 1912, was established by a private enterprise in 1922 and the Istanbul Spirits and Spirits Factory was established in Paşabahçe, Istanbul on behalf of TEKEL (T.C. Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1976: 102-147). This factory was purchased by TEKEL from Mr Hasan Hulki, a chemist, in 1930. Prior to the establishment of the factory, there was a butter factory established by an Ottoman and French partnership and a bottle glass factory operated by an Italian company. Hasan Hulki Bey started liquor production in 1923 with eight workers (İlter, 1984: 10-15; Doğruel-Doğruel, 2000: 304-319). Thus, pure alcohol imported from Czechoslovakia was produced in Türkiye from 1932 (Gölçek, Gökçek, 2019: 277-278). Since 1955, the raki production capacity of the factory, which started to fill raki automatically, has also increased. For example, while 2 million litres were produced in 1967, this amount increased to 18.5 million litres in 1972. Secondly, İzmir Distillery was established in 1912 with the partnership of Bomonti and Nektar. In 1940, the factory was purchased by TEKEL and started to produce suma in 1943. Raki production at the factory increased in the 1970s. One of the most important reasons for the increase in raki production is the technological developments in the factory such as automatic raki filling and bottling. Thirdly, the Tekirdağ Wine and Distillery Factory, built in 1930, started producing raki in 1967 and its annual production capacity is three million litres. Fourthly, the Gaziantep Distillery was built as an inn in 1911 by Ahmet Aga and a merchant of Armenian origin. In 1922, it was bought by Amil Müslim Aga and raki production started. However, one year later, the operation of the factory was transferred to TEKEL. The factory, which had an annual production capacity of 10

million litres of raki, had a low bottling capacity and some of the raki produced was sent to the Ankara Distillery. Finally, Diyarbakır Distillery Factory, which started production in 1933, has an annual production capacity of 3.5 million litres (İlter, 1984: 10; Doğruel-Doğruel, 2000: 239-240). Finally, Nevşehir Distillery Factory was established in 1992 with a Turkish-French partnership (Doğruel-Doğruel, 2000: 322). Suma, the raw material of raki, is produced in suma factories in Kilis, Şanlıurfa Alâşehir, Karaman and Tarsus (Geleneksel Alkollü İçecek Olarak Rakının Türkiye Ekonomisindeki Yeri Ekonomik Etki Analizi, 2016: 21).

6. CONCLUSION

Aniseed is a common crop of the Mediterranean. For this reason, aniseed distilled spirits are found in different countries of the Mediterranean. In other words, aniseed production in Türkiye is a part of this great story. This study analyses the agricultural and industrial production process of aniseed between 1926 and 2004, when TEKEL was in operation, in the triangle of state, peasant and economy. Small peasantry, agricultural policies, public institutions and the alcoholic beverage industry appear in the story of aniseed from field to table. In this context, firstly, the social history of aniseed in Türkiye in the 20th century reflects the socio-economic transformation of the small peasantry, which is integrated to the market as a small commodity producer. Secondly, since aniseed was mostly produced by small peasants, production planning and farmer organisation remained rather weak. Therefore, in the 1930s and 1940s, the production of aniseed in the domestic market was tried to be increased through statist policies. Even from 1944 until 2004, the monopoly of raki production belonged to the state. However, after the Marshall Aid in the 1950s, aniseed production continued to increase in some provinces and decreased in some provinces as aniseed competed with other agricultural products. With the increasing urbanisation in the 1960s, the demand for raki consumption started to increase aniseed production.

However, although the advances in agricultural techniques in the 20th century, aniseed remained a labour-intensive mode of production. TEKEL provided aniseed production with market opportunities, agricultural support and value-added industrial production. Therefore, as a result of TEKEL's purchase guarantee and increasing aniseed prices, aniseed production, which exceeded TEKEL's storage capacity in the 1970s, was the subject of populist debates between the government and the opposition in the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye. In fact, the most striking development in aniseed agriculture took place in the neoliberal period after 1980. As a matter of fact,

even though the uncertainties in the agricultural economy, decreasing public subsidies and decreasing earnings of farmers in this period, the increasing consumption of raki with the development of urbanisation, alcoholic beverage industry and tourism accelerated the demand for aniseed. Thus, both the number of aniseed producers and aniseed production increased significantly. In this way, aniseed production has always been sustainable.

7. SUMMARY

Although drinks such as raki and ouzo from the Mediterranean world are well known, the social and economic history of aniseed, the most important raw material in the production of these drinks, from field to table is not well known. At this point, the social and economic history of aniseed in Türkiye in the first half of the 20th century within the Mediterranean basin on a large scale is quite remarkable. In fact, anise production in Türkiye was limited to small-scale agricultural enterprises in certain regions. However, since aniseed is a monopoly product, the production, marketing, price and value-added production process from the field to the factory has always been a part of political debates. In this respect, the state has an important role in the production, marketing and industrialization of aniseed in Türkiye, sometimes with populist and sometimes with protectionist agricultural policies. Therefore, aniseed agriculture in Türkiye in the 20th century provides information about small peasant producers, product preferences, changing agricultural policies, the impact of different sectors on agriculture and the spirits industry. This study aims to examine the agricultural production and industrial value-added production dimension of aniseed in Türkiye from an analytical and multidisciplinary perspective in the triangle of state, peasant and economy. Since there is a direct relationship between anise production in Türkiye and TEKEL, the period between 1926 and 2004, when TEKEL was in operation, is specifically analyzed. It should be noted that although the technical advances in Turkish agriculture in the 20th century, anise production was labor intensive and remained traditional. In fact, despite the economic uncertainties caused by neoliberal agricultural policies after 1980, both the number of producers and anise production continued to increase. Even though these two contradictory situations, this study shows that TEKEL's demand for anise for raki production has ensured the sustainability of anise production in Türkiye. In other words, TEKEL provided both sustainability in production, a market opportunity and value-added production for aniseed. However, this story started to change with the privatizations since 2004 and anise production declined. Methodologically, the primary sources utilized in this study, such as the Presidential State

Archive Documents, the minutes of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye and the national press, reflect the social, economic and political debates on anise production, while the Turkish Statistical Institute data show the changes in anise production by provinces over the years. In this respect, it is a unique work in its field that contributes to the literature.

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Destek ve teşekkür: Çalışmada herhangi bir kurum ya da kuruluştan destek alınmamıştır. Varsa kurum veya kişiler belirtilir.

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