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**THE ROLE OF THE AKHI PHILOSOPHY AND SYSTEM ON TODAY'S
BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS**

by

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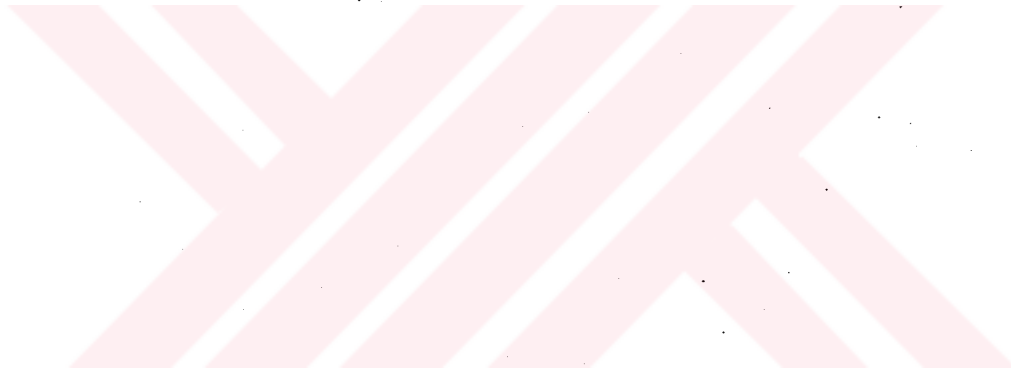
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ABSTRACT

In business life, five important principles namely education and training, business ethics, communication, competition-pricing and standardization have existed. In addition to this, business life in Turkey consists of a unique blend that has been formed with the effects of Sufi trends and craftsmen guilds. This authentic synthesis is also being named as “futuwwa” and the type of “futuwwa” which was implemented in Anatolia is called “akhism”. The akhi system was formed in context of the principles mentioned above.

In this study the reflections of akhi system on today’s business life and the importance that should be given to the principles mentioned above were tried to be stressed. With this aim, the history and the structure of the akhi system were studied and a small scale empirical research was carried out in order to display the reflections of akhi system for today’s business life. The research consisted of a sample frame of the owners/ the managers of the 40 SMEs’ (Small and Medium Sized Enterprises) in OSTİM (Ortadođu Sanayi ve Ticaret Merkezi= Middle East Industry and Trade Centre), Ankara. The study in extend confirms the rules and institutions of the akhi system, which consist of 5 dimensions such as education, business ethics, communication, competition-pricing and standardization, still have vitality for the business life in Turkey.

ÖZET

İş hayatında eğitim, iş ahlâkı, iletişim, rekabet-fiyatlandırma ve standartlaşma beş önemli ilke olagelmıştır. Ayrıca Türkiye’de iş hayatı, ticaret alanına ilişkin tasavvufi eğilimler ve ahi esnaf loncalarının etkisiyle oluşmuş kendine özgü bir harmanı da bünyesinde barındırmaktadır. Bu özgün sentez fütüvvet olarak adlandırılmakta ve fütüvvetin Anadolu’da uygulanagelmış türüne de “ahilik” denilmektedir. Ahi Sistemi de yukarıda anılan ilkeler çerçevesinde oluşmuştur.

Bu çalışmada Ahi Sisteminin günümüz iş hayatına yansımaları ve yukarıda belirtilen ilkelere verilmesi gereken önem ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu amaçla, Ahi Sisteminin tarihçesi ve yapıtaşları incelenmiş, günümüz iş hayatındaki yansımalarını belirlemek amacıyla küçük çaplı ampirik bir araştırma yapılmıştır. Bu çalışma, Ankara OSTİM’de (Ortadoğu Sanayi ve Ticaret Merkezi), faaliyet gösteren 40 KOBİ’nin (Küçük ve Orta Büyüklükteki İşletme) sahip/yöneticilerinden oluşan örneklem çerçevesini kapsamaktadır. Çalışma, kendi içerisinde, eğitim, iş ahlâkı, iletişim, rekabet-fiyatlandırma ve standartlaşma gibi ahiliğe özgü kural ve kurumların Türkiye’nin iş hayatı için halâ hayati bir öneme sahip olduğunu teyit etmektedir.

1. INTRODUCTION

Today the economic structure of Turkey is a synthesis of its historical pre-capitalist roots with the mainstream economics. Despite the fact that the mainstream economic approach impacts the whole world globally, it is also obvious that the western type of economical approach had also a transformation in itself. In this perspective it is obvious that the mainstream western economical doctrine also inherited aspects from the Islamic practices of economics.

The crystallization of Islam in means of economic organizations was realised in means of futuwwa (futuvvet). The Turkish version of futuwwa as called the “akhi unions” and these unions were the most multi-sided version of the futuwwa. As a synthesis it covered both Sufi functions and economical practices of Islam and the mainstream economical doctrines of its age such as mercantilism.

The akhi unions depend on many aspects such as Turkish fraternities in Maveraunnehir, Byzantine and Armenian influences, but the Islamic approach towards economics was the greatest determinant as the order depended on Islamic regulation called fikih.

In this content we should state the principles of Islamic economic aspects at first. In other words the principles of the Islamic economic approach have to be stated in order to reach a full comparison between the akhi applications in Anatolia and the fundamentals of the Islamic economy.

1.1. The General Philosophy of Islamic Economic System

The Islamic economic thought is not only a discipline of economics. As Sezai Karakoç expresses in this perspective Islam is not a sole economic doctrine as Marxist and capitalist economists claim, also not a sole matter of belief (Karakoç, 1987).

Islam has a codification that intents to balance both the daily practices and the eternity. Islam adjusts our life for the eternity. That’s why economics has no right to access the circumstance of this life. On the other hand, in Islamic economic system economic aspects

such as human being's labour is also codificated for the requirements of an eternal life (Karakoç, 1987).

In addition to these, Muhammed Bakır Es-Sadr states that Islam is not a political economy type of science. In other words Islam is not an objective expression of reality, but a revolution to change the written reality into a right reality. For example when Islam puts the matter of hybrid property, it does not claim that it comments on a step of human history or it reflects the natural results of historical laws (Es-Sadr, 1980).

Islam offers its social order to the people including an economic doctrine relying on the principle of segregation between the social order and the production techniques. This social order is suitable for every process of the production. In this order a person can be happy both in agriculture and in a complicated scientific work (Es-Sadr, 1980).

1.2. Differences Between Islamic Economic System and Capitalism & Communism

1.2.1. On The Matter of Consumption

Capitalism is basically involved in economic progress and material success not the human being itself. Its techniques is focused on the mass production. On the other hand, the increase of production is strictly depended on the consumption. That's why capitalism became consumption focused as a paradox although it regards production as an ideal (Karakoç, 1987).

Communism was also born of the problem of consumption. It was a reaction to the capitalism which communism accused to cause the inadequacy of consumption because of the injustice in means of distribution (Karakoç, 1987). In this perspective it can be clearly stated that despite the alternative appearance of communism, the communist theory also depends on consumption. So it can be expressed that in the mainstream economic theory, the attraction was focused on the consumption side of the economy (Karakoç, 1987).

In Islamic society the counterparties of consumption and production are neither function of each other like in capitalism nor fully separated like in communist order. In Islam while there is an economical connection between two counterparties, the balance in between is

preserved constantly by means of the meta-economical connections of ethics and faith(Karakoç, 1987).

1.2.2. On The Matter of Scarcity of Goods

Islam, does not rely on the claim of capitalism which supports the scarcity of natural resources. Islam points out that vital requirements of human beings can be met even the nature lacks the solution (Es-Sadr, 1980). This approach is an opposing argument against the mainstream economics which accepts the scarcity of goods as an apriority. As Islam is a hybrid structure of belief and social relations, it therefore does not hesitate to explain the environment strictly combined with the reality of creation and the divine order. In this content supporting of the scarcity of goods becomes absurd in means of Islamic thought which also explains the daily life practices.

1.2.3. On The Matter of Types of Production and Means of Distribution

Islam does not accept that the economic problem is because of conflict between production types and distribution means like Marxism claims. For Islam this type of problem is especially related to human's desire (Es-Sadr, 1980). As Islam describes the properties of the human that is created, it is obvious that the human being has a tendency for committing sins. In this perspective the aspect of Islam about the human requirements are often exceeded by the human beings who have a natural tendency of exceeding the limits of justice. Therefore Islam suggests that human will display his inner self in every condition even there is no conflict between production types and distribution means.

1.3. The Principles of Islamic Economics

1.3.1. Principles about Property

Before expressing our considerations about the principles of property according to Islamic Economics, we should first concentrate on the matter of distribution according to Islamic economics. In Islamic economics the individuals are analysed in 3 categories according to their needs and means of distribution:

1-The individuals that have the power to increase their life standards with the aid of their intellectual and practical power and capabilities

2- The individuals that have power to work, but only can satisfy their necessary and vital requirements.

3- The individuals that have mental or physical disabilities that do not permit them to work in the business and production cycle (Es-Sadr, 1980).

For the first group of individuals, the main criterion for the share of distribution is labour. Even the individual gains more than he requires, his share is determined by the effort he spent. Because those people take the opportunity that is set by the rules and the restrictions of Islamic economics(Es-Sadr, 1980). For the second group that gains the minimum to survive gets his share with both labour and the requirement criteria. Their minimum income to continue their living is guaranteed by the Islamic society (Es-Sadr, 1980). For the third group the main criterion is only requirements. People who are disabled, old or weak are preserved by the state and get the amount in order to continue living suitable for human's honour without an expectation of labour.

As it is obvious labour is a key word for the concept of property. Labour according to Islam is the reason of his ownership to the production he manufactured. This type of ownership is the main expression of the natural human tendency of owning what he has manufactured. This tendency provides the conscience of individual's management of his own labour. That's why the labour based ownership becomes a right which originates from the natural human properties.

Labour is the reason why a person has an ownership on a material and the labour is not the reason of the material's value. For example if a worker dives and picks up a pearl, the value is not added because of the labour's quantity, but the worker owns it because of his labour (Es-Sadr, 1980). In this content it can be suggested that Islamic economics give a perspective of equal opportunity in means of labour. Therefore the labour is motivated to reach a qualified level by making the opportunities available for this re-structuring while there is always a better stage of earning.

1.3.1.1. The Types of Property

The Islamic approach on the property depends on 3 principles which can be cumulatively summarised as Hybrid Property. The Islamic doctrine does not suit neither with capitalism which supports private property as a principle, nor socialism which support social property as a principle. Islam accepts a hybrid property (property in different means) as a principle. Islam accepts personal property, social property and state property (Es-Sadr, 1980).

- **Private Property**

Private property was not forbidden in Islamic Economics. As the main aspect of property is labour, the worker has naturally right of private ownership on the products he contributed to be manufactured. This right does not bring other rights to spend his earnings in an extravagance. Also this right does not include increasing his properties with the aid of riba (interest). On the other hand the increase of properties by trading is approved with consideration of certain restrictions (Es-Sadr, 1980). The Tax of Zekat: It is ordered to pay zekat for the properties subject to private property.

- 1- **The Obligation of Constant Usage of The Property:** This principle was especially valid for the agricultural areas. If the land owner does not use it for agriculture for more than 3 years his land is taken away from him.
- 2- **The obligation of optimum usage of property:** The good has to be spent without an extravagance and the employment possibilities should be increased.
- 3- **The Principle of Usage without A Damage:** When using the property, users have to be careful by not effecting the environment harmfully
- 4- **The Principle of Usage in A Balance:** The property owner has no right to be stingy or to be extravagant (Özsoy, 1997).

- **State Property**

About the state property Mohammed the prophet expresses that: “The human have company in three things: Aqua, plant, fire” For some rumours salt is added to this expression. According to these underground and over ground aqua sources, idle lands, forests grownup without a labour and all energy resources are the property of the state. These items are not subject to private property as there is no contribution of labour in their formation (Özsoy, 1997).

- **General Wealth**

The human labour has nothing in forming general wealth. For example: land...The formation of land has nothing to do with the labour. Although men can make the land suitable for agriculture, this is limited with a life time and the life of land is certainly longer than a human’s life. The shaping of the land is limited with a short time period in comparison to the life time of the land. In this way the land is like the precious natural materials that are derived from the underground.

It is considered as an injustice not to segregate a person who spends effort from the other who does not in Islamic thought. Because of that the one who uses his labour is considered to have more privilege than the own who owns the land. On the other hand the one who uses the land for agriculture does not have a right to possess the land. The right of taking opportunity and the harvest of the land is valid if the person continues to make the land suitable for agriculture. On the other hand the right becomes invalid if he leaves the land idle (Es-Sadr, 1980).

1.3.1.2. Principles of Economic Freedom in a Limited Circumstance

- **Subjective Restriction:** This restriction gives birth from the Deepings of the spirit and inherits its strength from the subjective and philosophic content of Islam (Es-Sadr, 1980).
- **Objective Restriction:** This restriction originates from an external power. This power orders and classifies the social life of the individual (Es-Sadr, 1980). Objective restriction means a restriction that is formed with a pressure of the power of shariat to an individual in an Islamic society. There can not be a freedom to an individual where Islam expresses a

vision of ideals and objectives. The implementation of this principle is expressed below.

- ✓ The prohibition of interest and black market which are obstacles to fulfil the Islamic mission of ideals and values in socio-economic life.
- ✓ The Islamic law: The control of general progresses and the activities by the administrative head, limitation of individuals and intervention of the state in order to preserve the social opportunities were considered as a main principle (Es-Sadr, 1980).

1.3.1.3. Principles of Social Justice

This principle depends on two aspects which are general cooperation and social balance (Es-Sadr, 1980). As Islam motivates the fraternity between the members of society the general cooperation is strongly stressed. Like the tax applications such as zekat, the cumulating of money on behalf of an individual is restricted on behalf of the society in general. Social balance is the result of the fraternity atmosphere and the general cooperation which is summarised with the prophet's words: "The one, who is full when his neighbour is hungry, does not belong to our ethics."

1.3.1.4. Principles on the Matter of Trade

In the fikih regulations (regulations derived with Koran, sunnah and logical derivations and judgements of Islamic intellectuals) in the "şirket" chapter the various company types that a merchant can found, in the "buyu" section the monetary transaction and relations were mentioned under the headlines such as types of trade transaction, murabaha (usury), riba (interest). In the chapter of "müdarebe" the type's commerce are explained.

Among those transaction types we generally meet these implementations. In the company type called "şirket'ül-vücut" the foundation depends on equal capital and labour of companions and the profit is also shared equally. In the other type called müdarebe one of the counterparty brings in the capital and the other counter party brings his labour in order to found the company. The profit is also shared equally (Ergenç, 1988).

According to Islamic economy doctrine the trade is performed in two ways: Trading by bartering and trading in monetary means (Es-Sadr, 1980).

- **Trading by Bartering:** Bartering is to exchange something for buying other product. In economies that depend on expertising and cooperation, every manufacturer gets a material that he has not produced from the other manufacturers in means of barter (Es-Sadr, 1980) . The main economical practice of Islam is barter which a stress on the real value of the goods and prohibition against the speculative acts to the value of goods.

- **Trading in Monetary Means:** Although the ideal condition is expressed as the bartering, the difficulties of its implementation also create a requirement of the practices with monetary means. Because of this fact, the monetary practices were used and regulated in Islamic resources including Koran. The attitude of Islam about the problem of emission is summarized below:

- ✓ Islam prohibited the storage of Money. A type of tax called “zekat” was applied to the idle money annually. If the money is not included in production the idle money begins to shrink. It is also told in Koran that the attitude of storing silver and gold deserves a punishment with fire in the after-death life. Because storing money means to avoid paying the tax that Koran orders.

- ✓ The interest named riba is strictly precipitated. This prohibition can not be omitted or softened.

- ✓ The Money lost its independency in representing a wealth alone, but it was limited as a measurement unit of the value of properties that it had represented with the order of Islam (Es-Sadr, 1980).

1.3.1.5. Principles of Islamic Price Policy

In the traditional Islamic economic thought the formation of prices in a free competition market was considered as an ideal situation. In addition to this there is a justified price principle that is formed with the will of two counterparties. It was also a principle not to

intervene the prices that were formed in the free competition environment. With the prophet's word "the one who brings in wealth and poverty is Allah" we know that he was against the freezing of the prices and using a maximum price which is called "narh".

This means it is hazardous to intervene a market price unless price mechanism works properly. In the prophet's life period, the goods were often imported from other tribes, because of that an intervention could easily result the collapse of import and cause a black market. Because of that the Islam prophet did not feel a requirement to control the prices and with his words called hadis he has supported the increase of supply of goods and not to cause recession in the economy.

Despite those prophet's words that support a liberal approach, the state intervention never stopped. The Islamic regulation specialists called Ibn Teymiyye and Ibnu'l-Kayyim had commented the words of the prophet as not to intervene the prices when there is a full competition environment but to intervene when there are no normal conditions of demand and supply.

The fikih regulators had agreed on the point that the prices could be intervened if a tendency of monopoly appeared. The prices are determined with the co-operative work of the specialists. This price should be close to the prices formed in the free competition environment because of the fact that it also contained the amount of normal profit. The difference between the qualities should also be under consideration in price determination. The control of price, measures and qualities was the duty of organization of hisbe. In order to provide the price stability some preclusions were in place which are expressed below:

- Monetary Policy as a policy to provide price stability: Many Islamic intellectuals like many traditional thinkers have an opinion that gold and silver were created as money and they should have been used for that purpose. Like many fikih regulators Gazzali and ibn Haldun's opinions were also in that way. Only Imam Muhammed had a thought that other types of metal money used in little transactions were to be considered as a money unit too, as they were also used to determine the value of a good.

Any way because of the statute of money which had an origin of silver and gold had a

great function in means of providing market stability. As a result of the scarcity and the expense of these metals the possibilities of increasing money supply were limited. Because of that price increases like inflation were not observed. That means there was never inflation because of emission.

- **Prohibition of Black Market and Monopolic Trends:**

The tendency of black market was considered as illegal; those types of behaviour were punished. It was not considered as black marketing that farmers stored their harvest and sold those when ever they wanted and the craftsmen stored the goods that they have produced or the importers store the goods they had imported. The speculative interventions that increase the prices of the goods and to bid on a good even one did not have an intension to buy were strictly precipitated. Meeting a salesman before he entered a city and buying his goods in order to earn great amount of profits were also forbidden. In that way number of the mediators between the goods and the final consumer were limited.

The prophet's word (hadis) about this situation is "Don't meet the salesmen that bring their goods to the bazaar outside the city. Nobody do a contract about the other's trade styles. Do not deceive the consumers by increasing the prices by making contracts between each other."

- **Prohibition of Interest**

The concept of riba contains inequality and uncertainty, taking back goods or money lend with an addition to its value. In this context the profits gained with the aid of real interest and speculative transactions are included in riba (interest). The logic of Islamic economics has a structure to avoid the environment of riba. Especially not leaving the capital idle and integrating it to the production cycles is the obstacles to avoid riba. In addition to this, it was not tolerated in case that the interest could be a way of subsistence and there became a society to live with the income of the capital.

- **The Prohibition of Extravagance**

Islamic economics do not aim a mass production style which miss uses the scarce resources as the capitalist system does. The aim is to inquire goods for feeding, and vehicles for accommodation, clothing and transportation. In this production system the objective is production for necessities. The formula of this production system can be summarised as consuming-production- consuming. On the other hand in the capitalist system the objective of consumption is production. In this system people have to consume because of the existence of the produced good. In capitalism the exaggerated demand can easily make the supply insufficient. This means that prices always have tendency to increase and this insufficiency in demand causes stagflation (Tabakoğlu, 1989).

In this content it can be stated that Islamic economic doctrine and its practices display a fundamental deviation from the capitalist and socialist doctrines. This deviation roots from the problem of consumption which reproduces itself as the reason of the two western mainstream economical doctrines. Besides the deviation of the Islamic economic doctrine from the other two mainstream economics, the practice of Islamic economic system also displayed variations in different time periods and societies. Therefore the economic practice of Ottoman Empire should also be taken into consideration to display the full picture.

2. Ottoman Practices of Islamic Economical Structure

2.1. Preface

It's not easy to mention an economical policy in the classical Ottoman system as we consider ingredient, objectives and state institutions that are devoted especially to economics. The Ottoman implemented many economical functions as implementing those facilities it was also determining economical targets. However those functions and targets are not fully economics orientated, but they are especially mixed with political, religious, military or financial targets and thoughts. This mixture was in an inseparable and a complex structure. The most evident proof of this situation is that the state organs which take economical decisions all had functions other than economical ones.

The economical decisions that were taken by the state officials like kazasker, kadı (same functions as governor), defterdar (tax collection officer), darphane nazırı (ministry of emission), gümrük emini (customs officer) were sub productions of the services that they are mainly obliged to (Genç, 1989). That situation displays lack of specialization on nomical leadership and coaching of the Ottoman state. This state indicates that the lack of specialization was one of the most significant causes of the birth of akhi unions which stress on the individual's specialization and their civil organization depending on specialization in paradox with the state's attitude.

This situation of non- specialization is not unique to Ottoman society in comparison with its age. . The identity that the economic relations gained as the economic events differed from the complex structure of other public relations and its being subject to science and politics is a relatively new phenomenon for the societies (Genç, 1989).

2.2. General Principles in Ottoman Economics

In order to make a comparison between the Ottoman economic and the Islamic economic principles the main aspects of the ottoman economic order have to be taken into consideration. The main principles of Ottoman Economics can be summarised as iâşe (provision), fiscalism and traditionalism. These principles are expressed below:

2.2.1. Principle of Provision:

The provision principle depends on a thought that evaluates the economic activity with a consumer focus. According to this, the aim of the economic activity is to satisfy the requirements of the people. The main target is to provide a market environment that the goods and the services are in large amounts, cheap and in a high quality (Genç, 1989). Despite the expressions of Mehmet Genç, we should state that the economic order of Akhi unions were limited as the production type was “supply in case of demand” The objective situations that made this principle applicable as a foundation of economic policy are mentioned below:

- a) The productivity of the Ottoman economy was rather low and it was hard to increase the amount of the productivity.
- b) It is a strong probability that the interventions in order to change the current situation can reduce the productivity instead of increasing it.
- c) Transportation is hard and expensive.
- d) In the property regime called "miri", the land is considered as a rental property that could be inherited between generations and the trade of the land is depended on strict state control (Genç, 1989).

The food and the raw materials gained from an agricultural production were bought, processed and sold to final consumers by the craftsmen of the town. Those craftsmen were regulated by the state as the guilds in an order that their scale were limited to an average and they would facilitate as a society of equity. The rest of the production was devoted to satisfy the requirements of the army and the sultan's palace, and the rest was given to the merchant to be reached to Istanbul that had a population of more than 500.000 people.

After those requirements were satisfied with a hierarchy if there is still a remainder they were permitted to be transferred to the other cities and the regions by the merchants in condition that they paid the internal customs duty for those products. After all if there are

still products more than the total need of the empire the remaining product could be exported.

While the export regime was too strict, the import regime on the contrary had no limitations. Because import was a desirable activity for the provision principle which permitted the import of productions that are not produced or produced only in small amounts. Especially the imports of the goods that have high marginal utility were accepted by the state authority and even this import was motivated. Because of the provision principle even the capitulations were considered as a good implementation.

2.2.2. Traditionalism

It is a tendency to preserve the trends and equilibriums in the social and economic relations that have been provided in a long time period, to avoid the change tendencies and to omit the changes in order to resume to the former equilibrium.

The danger that could be seen in pro-industrial societies where the production was limited in the minimum requirements level was also applicable in the Ottoman Economy. In those economies a slight reduction of production or a slight increase of consumption could easily cause a scarcity. Because of this situation the tendencies of increasing consumption were always under the state control by the aid of sumptuary laws. The main source of the rules that regulated the various areas of the economic life was shariat. The matters that were not regulated by the shariat were regulated by the kanunnames which were the regulations of the sultan himself.

2.2.3. Fiscalism:

Fiscalism is to maximize the level of treasury incomes to the highest levels and to avoid it to reduce from the level that it had reached (Genç, 1989). In fact this is something very common among the pre-capitalist societies which were implementing mercantilist economic practices. Therefore it can not be claimed that fiscalism is a unique property for Ottoman economics.

2.3. Ottoman Price Policy

The ottoman price policy was depending on controls and stabilizations such as metal money system, narh and prohibition of monopoly. The metal money system is the cause of stability. It is hard to create inflation by the aid of emission. Since the Seljuk Empire precious metal import flow was motivated and export of the precious metal was prohibited. It was not tolerated to use precious metals as accessories (Tabakoğlu, 1989).

In addition to the metal money system there were also motivations of commerce. Free commercial flow, especially transit commerce and international commerce was supported (Tabakoğlu, 1989). On the other hand all preventions were in place to control the scale economies. For that purpose control mechanisms were set in place in order to avoid tendencies of monopoly (Tabakoğlu, 1989).

In means of avoiding monopoly, narh implementation is an important tool. Narh is a maximum price set by the authorities. It is an application which takes market conditions into account. The main aspects of price determination are the demand and supply conditions. In the practise even daily narh application is seen. When ever a recession happens in supply because of drought, difficulties in transportation, war, boicott, the prices of the "narh" will increase. But whenever the supply increases the narh prices will decrease. The determination of narh prices were the duty of a committee founded with the presidentship of kadı (governor). The price determination committee contained some managers, specialists and representatives of the public (Tabakoğlu, 1989).

The average profit ratio varied between % 10-20 according to the property of the good. (Kanunname-i İhtisab-i İstanbul, Tarih Vesikalari, I, 5, 340) If the goods were brought from remote regions like the coffee there was a difficulty in price determination. That's why a bargain margin was set between the craftsmen and the kadı (governor) (Kütükoğlu, 1983).

It is claimed that the system of narh was a market spoiling and a black market creating application. The supporters of free market economy have an opinion that narh had a dispersive effect on the distribution of goods and resources and do not suit with the rules of

economic life. This approach would be true if full competition conditions were available. But in the real life incomplete competition market is valid form of market. Even in the social state of today because of the supporting purchasing policies in the agricultural product market narh like applications are still in place to protect the consumers (Tabakoğlu, 1989).



3. Roots of Futuwwa

After taking the Islamic economic doctrine and Ottoman State policy towards the Islamic economics into consideration, the implementation of the Islamic economic approach by the non-governmental organizations such as Sufi and Sufi related occupational organizations should be covered. Futuwwa tradition gains its importance in the context of meeting of Islamic doctrine with the social practices. Futuwwa roots from the verses of Holy Koran which refers the word feta.

According to Bernard Lewis: "Futuwwa associations spring up all over the Islamic lands." The Futuwwa is a group of young men, bound together by an ethical and religious code of duties and an elaborate ceremonial. They are under obligation to practise certain virtues and usually to render military service to the cause of Islam. The Futuwwa, as will thus be seen, constitutes in a certain sense a Muslim parallel to the European conception of chivalry, and von Hammer indeed has gone so far as to ascribe a Muslim origin to the latter" (Lewis, 1937).

Çağatay on the other hand focuses on the root of Islamic practices which is expressed as "asr-ı saadet" (Alive years of prophet) As many people have written on or talked about futuwwa since the Age of Happiness, the concept has been defined in many ways: not despising the poor or being deceived by the rich and riches; being fair to everybody without expecting fairness from anyone; living one's life as a pitiless enemy of one's carnal self; being ever-considerate of others and living for them; smashing all idols or all that is idolized, and rebelling against falsehood so as to be wholly devoted to God Almighty; bearing whatever evil is done to oneself but thundering where the rights of God are violated; feeling remorse for the rest of one's life for committing even a small sin, but overlooking others' sins regardless of how large they are; seeing oneself as a poor, lowly servant while considering others as saintly; not resenting others while maintaining relations with those who resent you; being kind to those who hurt you; and serving God and the people more than anyone else, but preferring others to oneself when it is time to receive one's wages" (Çağatay, 1992).

The main sources of the futuwwa code of ethics were expressed in documents called futuvvetnames (Book of Advice) The main motivations that are expressed in futuvvetnames were “honesty, generosity, reliability, modesty, mercy, charity, piety, and tolerance” (Çağatay, 1992). These virtues were also the main virtues for Shiite, Bektashi, Kalenderi, Melami, Ahi orders in order to reach maturity (Çağatay, 1992).

Futuvvetnames were the main codes of Akhi system in perspective of religion. Among the futuvvetnames the whole rules of Akhi systems are determined. futuvvetnames have the foundations from the Koran- The main subjects of all futuvvetnames are mentioned below:

1-Futuvvet means good behaviour. It is a struggle with the man's inner self (nefs). Obeying to the rules of Allah, devoting to the public, generosity and hospitality.

2-Accepting that futuvvet was inherited from the prophets.

3-The terms of futuvvet are: loyalty, honesty, security, generosity, modest ness, admonition, forswearing, forgiving when having power, modest ness when having welfare, having a skill or occupation

In that context the akhis had a mission of specialization in occupation. The occupational specialisation was provided by the educational phases that construct the degrees to continue an occupation such as promotion of being a master.

4-Ahi had to leave the emotions about daily life, not to collect gold more than 18 dirhem*, have decency

5- There was a strong union between the fetas. Ones who had been honoured as akhis were considered as the brothers of each other (Soykut, 1978).

* Dirhem: In Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, and Syria, 20th century, a unit of mass, approximately 3.205 grams. In Libya this value applies only to common items and drugs; for silver and silk, the dirham is approximately 3.0672 grams. (From the web site: www.sizes.com Last Access on 19.04.2005)

As these main principles were covered in the futuuvvetnames the tradition of sufi and trade synthesis were captured in scripts and the tradition was documented to reach a policy in means of organization, ethics and competition. The documentation of the rules provided stability for the futuwwa tradition and made the environment suitable for the akhi movements in Anatolia. The akhi tradition therefore deviated itself from the guilds of the former residents of Anatolia.



4. Akhi System

4.1. Roots of Akhi System

As Lewis expresses “The Akhis first appeared in Anatolia in the years immediately following the Mongol conquest. The period was one of general anarchy and disorder. The Mongols, who had destroyed the Seljuk State, failed to provide any effective alternative, and the administration crumbled away. During this period of crisis, the Akhis appeared as a strong widespread organisation, willing and able to control. With “solidarity and hospitality” as its code, the artisan class as its social basis and "the slaying of tyrants and their satellites" as its task, the Akhi movement spread rapidly in town and countryside. It was a movement at once social, political, religious and military” (Lewis, 1937).

It is a matter of discussion if the word akhi is in Turkish or Arabic. Some of the writers claim that it is Arabic originated and means "my brother". For another group of writers it is Turkish originated and the first form of the word was Akı (brother, generous). Some scholars argue that the root of akhi is the organization called futuvvet. For the opinion of some other researchers the akhi organization originated from the byzantine guilds (Eryiğit, 1989).

On the origin and the early history of the guilds, a fairly obvious suggestion is that they are a continuation of their Byzantine predecessors. We know that until the seventh century a.d., on the very eve of the Arab conquest, there were numerous guilds in the Byzantine provinces of Syria and Egypt, and it is rather improbable that these guilds were destroyed by the conquerors, whose policy, as we know, was to leave more or less intact the administrative and economic machinery left to them by the Byzantines (Lewis, 1937).

In this content Prof. İlber Ortaylı, points out the properties of Byzantine Guilds which have many similarities with Turkish unions. According to Prof. Ortaylı, the organizations in Byzantine cities automatically remind us the craft guilds and commercial order. The ones who supervise the activities of guilds and lead the economical life were governors and the police officials of the cities. The second formed the governing organization while the first formed the economic organization of those cities. Like all the traditional economies the

number of employees, manufactured goods, sales price and quality were restricted. The determination of number of masters and the workplace causes the foundation of guilds, while the price restriction causes "narh" system. The state controlled the import and export of certain products as well as the supervision of the opening of market place and the determination of the market place. The guilds have the obligation to fulfil the governmental services. For example: The guilds had to support the navy in case of mobilisation. In addition to this in order to satisfy the food requirements of the capital city meat, milk products and cereal had to be transported from Trakia and Black Sea regions. This obligation was assigned to a necessary monopoly with a fixed price (Ortaylı, 2000).

An other supporter of the Byzantine impact theory was Sir Ramsey. Sabahattin Güllülü, summarises the thoughts of Sir Ramsay: "The guilds that had a history which expands the Byzantine Empire were active in Anatolia almost in every age and they were successful in preserving their unique properties no matter who ruled the region. The akhi organizations which appear with the "Turkifying" of Anatolia were no more than the guilds mentioned. Turks did not found this organization themselves, but they found it ready. However although the akhi organizations are the inhabitants of Byzantine guilds, these unions lost most of their original properties. This is also an evidence of the mistake of Turks who damaged any social institution they found in Anatolia but never established anything as an alternative" (Güllülü, 1977).

In our opinion every new formation adopts something from the one formed before its age. That's why we should accept the fact that the akhi unions are the synthesis of pre-Islamic guilds and futuwwa, but never damage to the ancient one. Because of that the akhi unions adopted the contribution of non-Muslim artisans and even became apprentice of Christian masters (Akdağ, 1999).

On the other hand the Islam has a great impact on the unique character of the akhi unions. Arnakis also supports the idea of Islamic character which makes the unions a unique type of organization. For some opinions like Arnakis' the akhi guilds were equipped with more unique missions which were political and military as well. As Arnakis describes the countryside was infested by robbers and terrorists; the church was split up into warring factions; morals had declined, and corruption was rampant (Arnakis, 1953).

Arnakis points out that the motivation of spreading Islam automatically created this difference: "What he has to say about the Brotherhood can be classified under three main headings, corresponding to each of the three aspects of its group life: religious, socioeconomic and political. It must be admitted as a matter of course that these headings do not suggest any clear lines of demarcation. The three modes of expression of Akhi group-consciousness are closely interrelated, and it is merely as a result of the challenge of environment that at times one of them appears more pronounced than the other. For example, when the Turks were expanding into Christian areas the religious phase seemed to take precedence to such a degree as to lead one into thinking that the Akhiyat al-Fityan was primarily devoted to the spread of Islam. At times they took up arms in defence of the Moslem faith though they were by no means a military organization. Similarly, whenever civil government was weak or inadequate, the Akhis came to the fore as a political power, Ibn Battuta reports that in towns where there was no "sultan" or emir, one of the Akhis acted as governor, having the same authority and enjoying the same prestige as the rulers. Yet, while exercising an undeniable political and religious influence, the Akhis, at least during their ascendancy, kept their socio-economic setup that impressed the Moroccan traveller so much. Until the time of their decline, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, they remained a cohesive, well-integrated communal organization, adhering to the fundamental principles of the futuwwa" (Arnakis, 1953).

As Lewis indicates there are solid differences between the European and Muslim guilds. While masters and journeymen (merchants) were into two distinct and hostile classes in European guilds, in Islam, master, journeyman and apprentice remain essentially of the same class, in close personal contact (Lewis, 1937).

As a second difference Arnakis expresses that "Free from the inner social differentiation that split the European guild, the Islamic guild thus retained the popular and equalitarian character imprinted upon it in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when it came into existence in its typical form as an artisan revolt against the rising commercial and financial capitalism of the day"(Lewis, 1937).

The third difference of the Islamic guilds was their inter-confessionalism. "Whereas the European guilds excluded even heretical Christians, the Islamic guilds were open to Jew,

Christian and Muslim alike, some guilds, as we have already mentioned, being even predominantly non-Muslim” (Lewis, 1937).

Last of all; the Islamic guild was never a purely professional organisation unlike the situation in European practice. From the days when the guilds formed a part of the masonic system of the Qarmatis, until the present day, they have always had a deep-rooted ideology, a moral and ethical code, which was taught to all novices at the same time as the craft itself” (Lewis, 1937).

4.2. Ceremonies

As Çağatay expresses an Ahi candidate was accepted into the Ahi convent after the following ceremony: “One of the older Ahis who was the assistant of Ahi Baba takes a little salt in his hand and sprinkles it into the bowl of water which is placed at the centre of the circle of the members. Then the other helpers open the door and start to pray for the soul of every Ahi who is deceased. After that they recite the name of the Prophet. In the end, they point at the "brave" whom they are going to admit to the convent. After a series of other formalities the young man becomes a member of the order” (Çağatay, 1992).

According to the article of Arnakis, “The Futuvvetname of Yahya describes the initiation ceremony, which is referred to as “receiving the candle” (çırak almak), “putting on the belt” (kuşak kuşanmak), and “getting permission” (destur almak). A symbolical tonsure of the new member reminded one of Christian monasticism. In addition to these acts, the candidate had to drink a glass of water with salt and to “receive the scissors” (makas almak). In fact, a pair of scissors formed a part of his equipment. Candles were also important in the initiation as well as in all other ceremonies. Ibn Battuta remembered that many candles stood on three-legged candlesticks. The Akhi's outfit consisted of a long, white robe, boots, a belt with a sword, and a tall peaked headdress made of white woolen cloth and terminating in a strip one cubit long and two inches wide.” This cap was called kalan&uwa, and later generations knew it as the distinctive mark of the Janissaries” (Arnakis, 1953).

There were also ceremonies such as ceremonies of apprentice, experienced apprentice and

master degree promotion. They were reflecting the concepts of the ceremony including animating shows addressing both eyes, ears and the heart. These ceremonies remind us graduate ceremonies of today (Şimşek, 2002).

4.3. Social Ranks

Like the Futuvvetists the Ahis also had social classes. In some books it is said that there were seven classes and in others it is said that there were nine. These classes are:

1. The brave men. These were the lowest group. (Yiğit as mentioned by Arnakis) (Arnakis, 1953).
2. The Akhis: These were divided into six groups. The first three groups were called Ashabi-Tariyk (those who entered the path) and the fourth, fifth and the sixth groups were called "the assistants".
3. The Khalifs: These Ahis did not have independent authority.
4. The Sheyhs: These were the heads of the seven classes that come before them.
5. Sheyh of the Sheyhs. He was the Master of the Sheyhs. He was called Ahi Baba. Ahi Baba should be one of the descendants of the Ahi who had established the convent.

The brave men had to be disciplined regularly and they had to be trained by reliable people. According to the information in the Futuvvetnames, these novices had two comrades, a teacher and a master (Çağatay, 1992).

Arnakis also mentions two other categories which are:

1-Preachers

2- Seyfi ("soldiers") (Arnakis, 1953)

5. Akhi Practices before the Turkish Era in Anatolia

Neşet Çağatay explains the birth of akhi unions with the nomadic commercial practices of the Turks by summarising the thoughts of W. Eberhard, the prominent sinologist of our age. According to Eberhard and Çağatay “it was the Turks who brought the north-west culture to China in 3000 BC. and that they bred horses and planted wheat and millet (pp. 17-18). He also adds that the Chou dynasty who ruled China in 1047-247 BC was a Turkish clan (pp. 33-35) (Çağatay, 1992).

The underlying reasons for the formation of the Ahi Organization were also explained by Çağatay with the argument that “social and economic development should be integrated with moral values” (Çağatay, 1992). This fact was much more important in age when order and security in society was inadequate and the means of transportation and communication were primitive. In these conditions, great efforts should be made to give the citizens a sense of patriotism, a willingness to promote arts and crafts, and to develop trade and other professions. Therefore, the intellectuals and the philosophers in the society were trying very hard to strengthen and organize the people against various dangers” (Çağatay, 1992).

One of the most influential reasons of the akhi organization was the attack of Emevi Empire towards Turkistan on the 8th century is a significant phenomena for the Akhis. The commander called Kuteybe Bin Müslim and the governor called Haccac who were appointed by Velid, the Khalif of Emevi Empire are the most significant figures of the early Akhi history. During the authority of Haccac 120 thousand people were executed to death and totally 80 thousand people were still in prison when her died at the year 95 after the migration. The attack and the invasion of Turkistan in the year 709 was a great shock of civilizations founded in Buhara, Taşkent, Semerkant, Belh, Merv. But on the other hand it was the first impact to motivate the residents to found the Akhi system in their new land (Soykut, 1978).

Despite the opinion that displays the origins as the Turkish tribes in Maveraünnehir, it is also obvious that there is also a thought which strongly connects the akhis with the roots of futuwwa. In this content the first feta among the political leaders was an Abbasi khalif

called Nasır Lidinillah (1180-1225) (Wittek, 1971), but the integration of political power with the unions was provided in the Anatolian period of the Turks.



6. Akhi Practices During the Turkish Era

The social and political structure of Anatolia after the Turkish triumph in Malazgirt is expressed in the master thesis of Rıza Yıldırım: “In a couple of decades Turkish raiders reached Nicea. But permanent Turkish settlement in the western Anatolia took place during the last century of Anatolian Seljuk’s. In fact, at the zenith of their power Anatolian Seljuk’s chose to establish good relationships with Byzantium and there emerged a relatively stable borderline between the two states. Although there were occasional raids especially from Seljuk sides by Turcoman troops, this was not a state policy of Anatolian Seljuk’s and did not cause a significant border shift. But after the Mongol invasion of Anatolia, Anatolian Seljuk’s lost the control and became the vassal of the Mongols and Turcoman population in the western frontier of Anatolian Seljuk lands began to attack Byzantine lands; these Turcoman gathered around certain tribal leaders or Seljuk commanders and created a number of semi-independent political entities in the western part of Asia Minor.

The men supply of these begs were nomadic Turkomans whose members were ever increasing by the newcomers from the East. Among them were many dedes or babas, spiritual leaders of those nomadic people and adherents of Yesevi tradition in Anatolia. These babas and dedes, who were guiding nomadic mass in religious issues, apparently had tremendous influence on pastoral life” (Yıldırım, 2001).

From the expressions of Yıldırım, it can be derived that the Mongol invasions were one of the most influential factors that gave strength to the akhi unions that suggested a balance between the daily practices and the ethics. Lewis indicates: “The guildsmen, still suspicious of the religion of the ruling classes and of the State, linked themselves with a religious tendency, which, though not actually heretical, was not always above suspicion, namely Sufism”. Into relatively recent times periodic denunciations have been hurled against the guilds by Sunni jurists. In the period immediately following the Mongol conquest, the Futuwwa tends to identify itself more and more with the Sufi brotherhood and, through the bonds of a common membership, with the craft-guilds. The process, starting in Anatolia, spread rapidly all over the Muslim world and before long Futuwwa and guild became synonymous terms” (Lewis, 1937).

7. Birth of Akhi Unions in Anatolia

Arnakis describes the Akhi Unions as “the most vital realization of futuwwa ideology from the middle of the thirteenth century to the last quarter of the fourteenth -that is, from the morrow of the defeat of the Anatolian Seljuks by the Mongols until the time when Anatolian Turkish society assumed a stable character” (Arnakis, 1953) An other impact of the Mongol invasion was breaking down the spiritual barriers between Sunni Islam, the religion of the upper classes, and the Shiah of the masses. In relation with the breaking down of the barriers political power was dislocated from the center to the frontier zones. With the occurrence events Turkish society survived from integration and yet managed to come out with new life, the Akhis were a great power.

The akhi unions were formed of artisans and they constituted other important group among city dwellers of Selcukid Anatolia as in all Medieval Islamic cities. As Rıza Yıldırım expresses “Each artisan group had their special professional organization among themselves. The main principals and the rules of these guilds, in fact, go back centuries earlier. Each guild was organized under the leadership of a master who had been chosen by members of the guild among the most respectful and prestigious masters. In the Medieval Anatolian Muslim cities the guild corporations were fused by sufi teachings of futuvva brotherhood, which is known in Anatolia as Akhi corporations.” (Yıldırım, 2001)

7.1. The Pioneers of Akhi Unions

Akhism began to expand with the arrival of the mystic Evhad'ud-din Kirmani and his son-in-law Akhi Evran in Anatolia (Erken, 2005). Akhi Evran was a leather process master while he was having fikih (Islamic Law Codification) lectures from Sadreddin Konevi and reached the level of a lecturer (Soykut, 1978).

Although Sheikh Edebali had been known for long time as an akhi leader among historians, Rıza Yıldırım indicates that this was a misinterpretation of sources. “In Ashikpashazade’s history he is described as a rich man but devoted himself to Sufism. There were always visitors in his house. The confusion among historians came from the record in Ashikpashazade that depicts his brother’s son as akhi Nesri describes the brother

of Edebali as akhi as well. He uses the same term for Muhlis Baba, Ashik Pasha, Geyikli Baba, Abdal Murad, Abdal Musa, who were known certainly as Babai-Vefai sheikhs. Moreover in the former sentence Ashikpashazade does not call Edebali as akhi but he calls his brother's son as akhi. On the other hand, in Menakıbu'l- Kudsiyye fi Menasıbi'l- Ünsiyye, which was written around 1300 by Elvan Çelebi, a descendant of Baba İlyas, Sheikh Edebali is given as one of the halifes of Baba İlyas (Yıldırım, 2001).

7.2. The Factors That Created Akhi System

7.2.1. Socio Economic Factors

It is known that the middle and west Anatolia were in control of Byzantine forces when the Turks came in Anatolia and determined it as their new country. Naturally the byzantine craftsmen and merchants were controlling the economical mechanism in Anatolia. The Turks who had resided in Anatolia had to turn the situation on their behalf in order to maintain their existence. The Turks in Anatolia were not only composed of immigrant society and culture but also very qualified people in a great amount.

In other words these people had a big population of craftsmen and merchant Turks. The arrival of merchant and artisan Turks were the greatest symptoms of a civilised and settled society. That's why Turks had taken their place in economical and commercial life (Eryiğit, 1989). The only way for those Asian orientated artisan and merchant Turks to be strong against the domestic artisan and merchant was to establish an organization to support each other and to produce and sell standardised goods. This necessity caused the establishment of akhi organizations that aims solidarity between craftsmen and artisans as a religious and moral organization.

An other factor that caused the birth of akhis was the Mongolian invasion in Anatolia when the properties and wealth of the Turks were plundered which caused the death of many Turks. In fact the mongol invasion could have an effect on Anatolian people that could easily damage the moral factors and form a recessive Turkish identity. In this critical period the Turkish thinkers like Ahi Evran, Baba İlyas, Hacı Bektaş, Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi had done great efforts in order to increase the moral values of the public (Çağatay,

1974).

7.2.2. The Obligation Caused By Urbanisation:

As Güllülü expresses "The main symptom of urbanisation is the replacement of animal husbandry with the agriculture. The agricultural production makes the immigrant people obliged to stick to the earth. Sticking to earth changes the structure of immigrant society radically as the concept of property enlarges itself covering the land. The commerce improves in this step as the agricultural products gain a value of trade with the improvement of agricultural techniques. As the time goes by the cities which are military residents in eastern lands and residents in western societies, grow and become centers of commerce, arts and culture. While the requirements and the specification increase as a non agricultural production the production of artisans gain importance. The political authority gains continuity and becomes more central in comparison with immigrant society structures. By those variations the religions play more effective role in the life of civilizations" (Güllülü, 1977).

7.3. Political and Military Mission

At the time of Ibn Battuta's visit the outstanding political aspect of the Akhiyat al-Fityan was their determination "to crush the tyrants and to kill the satellites of tyranny and the miscreants who join with them." According to Arnakis: "This may be an echo of earlier struggle under Karmathian influences". Furthermore we know that not infrequently Moslem states suspected the guilds of revolutionary agitation and religious heresy and sought to control them by means of the urban police (hisba), which was composed of loyal Sunnites. On the other hand, the guilds accused the state of oppression and tried to find comfort in sufism" (Arnakis, 1953).

F. Giese claimed that Akhi organizations whose social necessities in Anatolia in XIV. Century were described by Ibn Battuta, had played an important role in the establishment of Ottoman Empire. In his opinion "Sheikh Edebali who was the father in law of Sultan Osman, the army friends of Osman, Sultan Orhan's brother Alaeddin Pasha were the members of Akhi Organization. The first sultans used this strong society as an effective

helper. In the first military organization called "yaya" they have preferred to imitate the Akhi uniforms" (Köprülü, 1972).

Taeschner also refers the military groups of the union. This group had a strong connection with futuwwa. These groups were called as "Gazi" and their mission was to protect the borders of the Turkish tribes. With the political enlargement of the Ottoman State these groups formed the roots of "yeniçeri" army (Taeschner, 1972).

The akhis also had a political power besides their skill in arts. For example Kadem Ahi and Ahi Yunus were great political figures of the period of Murat the second. The Ankarain akhis were powerful people in the period of Yıldırım Beyazıt. Their power was so great that they had made a boicott to gain their rights by closing their stores and workshops for 20 days and they were succesful in it (Turhan, 1996). This political and military power was used by the Ottoman State at the early phases, but as the growth of Ottoman Empire these unions were the first targets in order to provide the stability of their reign.

7.4. Organisation

With the Turks' settlement in Anatolia the akhi unions became production organizations with the synthesis of Islam ideology, shamanist traditions, the remainders of western guilds in Anatolia. This change was so strong that all craftsmen and the artisans including the non-muslims had to join these organizations. With this progress the akhi unions did not stay only like a traditional, ethical and religion unions, but they also began to have a property of production organizations (Eryiğit, 1989).

The principles of the new organization were ethical, religious, political and socio-economic types. However, by the time the commercial and occupational functions became the main property of these unions (Eryiğit, 1989). This process was the first indicators of the degeneration in the akhi unions.

7.4.1. Organizational Structure

7.4.1.1. The Organization of Workshop

The workshop is the smallest organizational unit in the akhi organization (Eryiğit, 1989). Workshop is the place where the good are produced. Workshop is an organisation where the akhi works as a master with other akhis whose titles are apprentice and foreman.

7.4.1.1.1. Apprentice

It is the lowest status in the hierarchy of the akhi union and management organization. This period is described between 1001 days and 3 years. The people whose capability was approved by the union representatives were the ones who had finished the period of apprenticeship with success. These people became master as they had the opportunity to open a store or a workshop. Because of the production type and demand conditions of that age it is not easy to express that the number of apprentices was infinite and uncontrolled. Because the production was according to the demand; when the excess number of apprentices were increased, the cost would increase too and therefore the master would have to increase the price and this would be impossible as these prices were determined by the union (Eryiğit, 1989).

Apprentices had certain duties such as

- Cleaning
- Carriage of various things
- Communication intermediate
- Regular attendance to work
- Learning the artisan lessons
- Clean wear

- Honest behaviour (Şimşek, 2002)

7.4.1.1.2. Kalfa (Experienced Apprentice/Foreman)

It is a statutes that has later on added in these unions. With the increase of the population in Ottoman Empire and the requirements also increase in relation to this rise of population. In the meanwhile because of not adopting the institutions to the western world the trade lost volume and the number of stores and workshops had to be limited. Because of that, the apprentices who had been succesful in his apprentice training and deserved the title of master, but could not open a store or a workshop, had to continue working in the same place (Eryiğit, 1989).

The institution called gedik resulted in the birth of the statutes of kalfa. The gedik that used to be left to treasury after the death of the master, later on this implementation changed and the gedik became a commodity which could be inherited by the masters' family. After this the gedik owners became the bosses of the masters who were now considered as kalfa as they had not opened their store or workshop (Eryiğit, 1989).

7.4.1.1.3. Master

Masters own the properties that they use in their production in store and workshops. The privilege that the masters have, later on became "gedik" which could be inherited and transfered (Eryiğit, 1989). Because of this transformation the akhi unions lost their balance in behalf of labour and the capital delocated itself in the middle of the akhi order.

In this organization workshop displays a structure of a family. (As it is a pre-capitalist society primary relations unique for traditional societies was also available in that period.) In every workshop the family traditions and rules were valid. According to Proffessor Keisser, the only cases of conflict between the çırak and master were the Monday holiday and the quality of goods (Ekmel, 1954).

7.4.1.2. Sales and Distribution Organization

The management organization of the akhi craftsmen and the artisans are in form of small enterprise (stores and workshops), and the workshop is also the place where goods are sold to the consumers. Because of that, craftsmen and artisans sold their goods both in workshops and stores. It is possible to state that there also goods that are sold in bazaar or han (commercial building). The akhi craftsmen were populated in "han"s that was specified according to the type of goods that were traded. The type of the business centers called "kapan hani" were observed since the Anatolian Seljuklu period. Every business center named han had its authorization of trading a limited type of goods with the ferman (the will of Sultan or the state's authority) and that type of goods could not be sold or traded in any other business center. There were also bazaars other than business centers called han where the akhis joined together. But it must be stated that that type of distribution was generally witnessed in Ottoman Empire (Eryigit, 1989).

Because of the rule that the commodity was only sold with a producer's profit, till the determination of these unions there were hardly a class of merchants as a mediatory function. On the other hand we can come to a conclusion that the good had some processes by different people till it reached the final consumer. In this period there was a class of merchants called "hacegan" who bought goods from the place it was produced and sold them in bigger cities. This class was witnessed in both Ottoman and Seljuklu Empire (Akdağ, 1999).

The raw material that was required by the members were bought and distributed to the members by the union. The akhis traded their manufactured goods both in workshops and stores. As the activity was continued with only production profit there was generally not a merchant class as an intermediate between producer and consumer. In case the product was sold to a distinct region the merchants were available as an intermediate group (Şimşek, 2002).

In the Ottoman Empire industry was depending on traditional production organizations called "ehl-i hırfet" which were basically craftsmen. But on the concept of merchandise we have to consider two types of activities. One of them is the marketing of the productions by

the same person who has processed which we call ehl-i hirfet, and the other is the activity of the merchant who had created a region utility by transferring the production from one to another region. Especially the second one was motivated by the state and had very little limitations. But this motivation did not depend on a merchantalist thought; instead it depended on a Middle East state tradition that focuses on the welfare of the public. Because of this, the peasant and the craftsmen were not permitted to change their production techniques freely. They had to perform their work in the limitation of the rules. The merchant was the only person that was permitted to accumulate his capital and was not obliged to obey the rules of the craftsmen although they were among the ones that are considered as the members of the ehl-i hirfet organizations. They were mentioned as "hace" or "hacegi" in the Ottoman documents (Ergenç, 1988).

7.4.1.3. Chambers

Çağatay indicates that the village organization of the unions was called chambers. The main organization was called "chamber of friends." Chambers of Friends" helped the villagers to organize themselves and taught them that if they worked in cooperation and coordinated their efforts, it was easier to overcome misfortunes. There were also "Chambers of Guests" which worked in cooperation with the "Chambers of Friends" (Çağatay, 1992).

Chamber of friends had certain duties such as:

a) Helping the families of the bride and the groom. If one of the friends was a relative of the boy or the girl this service was performed free of charge. In turn it was customary to give a big dinner once or twice to the members of the chamber. Weddings were great occasions and preparations took time and labour. Guests from other villages had to be accommodated in the villagers' cottages (Çağatay, 1992).

b) Helping the poor and the destitute villagers, the widows, and the young women whose husbands were doing their military service. If these people did not have a pair of oxen for ploughing, the Friends would do the job using their own animals. When the time came they would also reap their crops. If their houses were burned down the Friends would quickly build them new-houses (Çağatay, 1992).

c) Helping the villagers in case of natural disasters like floods, forest fires or crop fires. If such a thing happened the Friends would go to the scene of the disaster as soon as possible and try to alleviate the danger (Çağatay, 1992).

7.5. The Reflections On The Turkish Society

When the Ahis settled in Anatolia and founded their organization, they exerted very significant influence on the Turkish society:

a) The transition from the nomadic way of life to settled villages and towns gained great momentum.

b) Until the second half of the 8th century art and trade were mainly in the hands of the non-Turkish natives. But after the foundation of the Ahi organization Turks started to have their own businesses and brought colour and variety to these fields.

c) As a result of the trust and solidarity among themselves Turkish artists and artisans became prominent in the region and gradually their voices started to be heard in the city economy (Çağatay, 1992).

According to an unreleased article of Kamil Turan, the values that have formed among the Turkish people under the influence of Islam were:

“a) Justice: The principle of justice was the greatest obstacle against the privileges.

b) Social State: The Turkish state had a mission to satisfy all material or spiritual (!) requirements of the society.

c) Middle Level Revenue Nation: Turkish society concept which gives place to each citizen as their contribution to the society, considers the personal capabilities as one of the main means of the progress of the society. The happiness and the wealth of the nation was considered as the revenue of the general value added. It was never permitted a part of the nation to be richer while the other part became poorer because of the distribution of

revenue.

d) **Society Without A Class:** In many western and eastern societies at first the human itself, and then the human's labour was considered as a commodity; this resulted these societies become a class aspect society and that's why the class discrimination continued without a loss in the strenght. On the other hand in Turkish societies the labour and the root of the labour which is human were considered precious and holy" (Eryiğit, 1992).

7.6. Moral and Ethical Values

The appeal that the Akhis had among the masses came from their way of life and, more specifically, from their socio-economic setup. To quote Ibn Battuta: "Nowhere in the world will you find men so eager to welcome strangers, so prompt to serve food and to satisfy the wants of others." Elsewhere the Akhis are described as noble-minded, unselfish, compassionate, affectionate, and hospitable. "A stranger coming to them is made to feel as though he were meeting the dearest of his own folk. The rules of the futuwwa excluded from membership people of loose morals and questionable practices such as tax-collectors, actors, dancers, fortune-tellers, sorcerers, gamblers, police informers, and wine-dealers. The golden rule of the futuwwa was "Hthar ala nafsihi" ("put the other man above thyself") (Arnakis, 1953).

In the akhi unions the immoral acts that were determined in futuvvetnames such as breach of trust, envy and murder caused an Akhi to be expelled from the organization. In comparison with today's practices on ethics, it is clear that the akhi punishment system contained more strict penalties against immoral acts.

8. The Characteristics of the Akhi Organizations

There are two periods of the organizational progress of the akhi craftsmen and artisans' union in order to make it easier to analyse. One of them is the period till the 14th century and the second is the period after 14th century when their autonomies began to shrink. The end of the autonomy is stated as 16th century by most of the historians (Eryiğit, 1989).

The akhi organization can be described as an occupational organization of the people that were specialised in some area of arts in cities and towns. This organization of goods is not formed of the steps from raw material to the final product, but the types of the goods were the reasons for the formation of unique craftsmen's guilds. This organization type varied in the type of raw material used, the production process that the activity took place, the property of the good produced, the consumer type that the product focused on (Eryiğit, 1989).

8.1. The Relations with The Political Authorities

8.1.1. First Period:

In the period of Seljuk the akhis only displayed themselves as a religious community, therefore yet they did not have an economic attitude or suggestion in that period. (Eryiğit, 1989) In this period the akhi thought was in form of Sufi colonizers and naturally a continuous form of early futuwwa traditions.

8.1.2. Second Period:

The key word of the second period is autonomy. With the collapse of Seljuk Empire and the collapse of Mongolian political hegemony the akhi unions gained some political functions. The state staff's compound of the akhis was a great evidence of these new political functions.

The akhi unions had preserved their political functions from 14th century till the middle of 15th century in full autonomy. Because of this autonomy the akhi unions who were

transformed into craftsmen and artisans' union became a dominant figure in the commerce and art life of the Anatolian cities and towns. In this period the akhi unions had freely elected their chiefs, selected their raw materials and freely planned quantity and quality (Eryiğit, 1989).

8.1.3. Third Period:

Ottoman central authority which became a great political organization had conflicts with akhi organizations which were local, occupational and autonomic in the 15th century. The reasons of these conflicts were because of the will of central authority to control the state with all its institutions. As a result of those conflicts these unions lost their independency and became the boards which provide the military and the tax control of the people working in the industry (Eryiğit, 1989).

The boards are the unique organs of the collapse of the akhi unions. They symbolise the loss of autonomy as the wax of Ottoman Empire's political authority. It is probable that the Ottoman Empire established the akhi boards in order to place mediatory organs between the public and the guilds in order to provide easiness in controlling. (About the matter of complexity of the akhi unions after 16th century Güllülü expresses that these boards were founded by the state in order to place crowded groups of managers between the public and the state and easily control the people who had been in these organizations (Güllülü, 1977).

The Boards in Akhi Unions can be summarised as expressed below:

i) The Board of Managers

The election of board members was done among the masters of each artisan branch. The union board of managers become the upper figure among the unions of each town and the city. Kethuda was elected by the union people as the head of the board. On the other hand this election had to be approved by kadı (Eryiğit, 1989).

ii) Grand Board (The Board of Kahya and Kethuda): This board was formed of Ahi Babas (kethudas)

This board was naturally formed of kahya and kethuda of all types of artisan unions. This board elected one of them as president (kahyalar başı) for a life time period. It is still not verified if the “kahyalar başı” also had to be approved by the officers of the state (Eryiğit, 1989).

In addition to these boards that were also meetings to provide the communication among the akhis. These meetings are expressed below:

i) Ordinary Annual Meeting (Feast Meeting)

ii) General Annual Meeting (Three Days Meeting)

iii) Extra Ordinary Meeting (Country Meeting) (Çağatay, 1974)

Despite the loss of autonomy the akhi organizations had a relative contributive to the atmosphere where decisions were taken in a brainstorming type of consultation. In the akhi organization meşveret (a type of parliament in Islamic order), consultation and respect to other's thoughts were main aspects. The decisions against the craftsmen were discussed in the boards. The assistant of Akhi Baba could make an extra ordinary meeting if it was needed. This meeting was held with the attendance of board members and 3 masters from that occupational branch.

If there became a disagreement in the meetings with the state authorities, on the next day country meetings were held. For the country meeting every master and elits of the region were invited (Şimşek, 2002).

8.2. Education

The Akhi Education Includes These Objectives:

i) Reising honest and productive citizens

ii) Reising citizens that have occupational and art skills

iii) Preparation of a military force for country defence

8.2.1. General Aspects in Education

i) The apprentices were taught about social ethics; especially the national traditions and ethical values were expressed.

ii) They were lectured about honesty, hygiene, national dances, literature, Quran reading, cooking, history, music, sufism.

iii) Beautiful scripture

iv) Reading and writing (Şimşek, 2002)

One of the most important features of Akhism was to teach the members of the guild a trade. Within this framework, Akhism had a significant place in education. The targets of Akhism regarding education are still valid today.

We may define education as a process during which people acquire vocational skills, understanding, attitudes, and certain behavioural attitudes. Therefore, we can view Akhism as an educational association. Briefly, we can say that education in Akhism was based on the development of ideas in people so that they could become perfect individuals (Erken, 2005).

The content of the education was not only occupational and social, but there were also training programmes for the military purpose. Horse riding, hunting and *cirit* (a type of polo game) were the examples. These educations had a great utility in forming strong armies when they were armed during the mobilizations.

They were also useful about the logistics of the Ottoman army as well. When ever there was a mobilisation where ever the army went the logistics for the army was reported with the aid of communication between akhis of different cities and regions (Soykut, 1978).

Therefore akhi unions should be defined as a commercial, social and religious organization blended with military virtues.

8.2.2. Motivation Aspects In Education

Ibn Batuta reports that after the middle sallat (afternoon time) the akhis joined together for meal, hospitalising the guests, spiritual dancing (sema) and music. According to Ibn Batuta the working hours of the akhis did not exceed the middle sallat time.

After the dinner ethical and educative books are read and various entertainments were done. They get release of the stress of the day to begin a new day with a high motivation. (Şimşek, 2002) The place of meetings was called as zaviye. Their “zaviye”s were not merely local headquarters of the Fraternity but also cultural and religious centres and hostels for the travellers. There the Brethren met in the evenings, after the day's work; they deposited the proceeds of their labours in the common treasury; and they resumed their group life, which began with a common meal. From the Association's treasury they paid for meals, entertainment of strangers, and maintenance of the zaviye (Arnakis, 1953).

The aspects of motivation were provided by those ethical rules:

- 1-The akhi must have an art in order evaluate his labour
- 2-The akhi must be specialised in one art or work type.
- 3- Ahi has to be honest and must not try to earn over he deserves.
- 4-The akhi has to obey their masters and pir (the spiritual guides) and they should accept them as models.
- 5- The akhi must help the poor and the unemployed with the money remaining from his daily requirements (Turhan, 1996).

In this content it can be stressed that the akhi unions try to form train artisans in means of specialisation, religious and ethical. The scope of Islam over labour is also stressed in the

first and the fifth items as the source of property is regarded as labour and the private property is limited with the taxes and volunteer donations to reduce it to the level of requirements.

8.2.3. The Types of Education

The context of the education in the akhi unions were prepared according to the principles of İslam and categorized in two groups: On the job training and formal training. The training methodology was facing the real life, as Islam tells that the survival for the other land is strictly linked to the way of person's life (Turhan, 1996).

8.2.3. 1. Formal Training (Out Of Job Training)

In "zaviye"s (the educational institutions) the new akhis were taught how to read and write by people called teacher akhi or emir. Theological and scientific knowledge, Kuran reading, literature, Turkish, Arabic, scripture, music, hygiene, vision of the union and military knowledge were the topics of the lectures that were given in these "zaviye"s (Turhan, 1996).

It was considered as vital to give the general information to each akhi. The Ahi teacher who was responsible for the training and education of the young member, taught him how namaz was performed, the rules of the feasting month Ramadan, and the moral values of the Ahi order as stated in the Book of Advice. The texts of the Books of Advice were usually taught on Saturdays. In those days the weekend holiday began on Thursday afternoon and continued until Friday night. So Saturday was like our Monday, the beginning of the working week (Çağatay, 1992).

The young Ahis were trained in horse riding, skilful use of weapons, and military techniques by trainers who were experts in their fields. The conditions required for being an Ahi trainer or teacher were as expressed below by Çağatay:

1. He, himself had to be trained by an Ahi.

2. He had to be educated by a sheyh

3. He had to have experience in training beginners. In other words, the teachers had to be trained in the convents by elder Akhis and sheyhs before they started teaching the novices.

This shows how great an importance the Turks gave to training and experience in every field (Çağatay, 1992). For example the teaching of how to read and write was a must for all craftsmen. The minimum educational standard was determined for all artisans. However the attraction of the occupational schools reduced as the time went by and the families preferred to lead their children to the master for on the job training only. In order to provide the attendance of the children to the occupational school, Sultan Mahmut The Second ordered that the apprentices had to gain a certificate from the school where main Islamic knowledge is taught. In today's Turkey the implementation of general education alienated with the occupational education seems to be evidence that the akhi occupational tradition has still an impact in our educational policy (Turhan, 1996).

The futuvenames were the main resources of the akhi education. The oldest Fütüvename in Turkish libraries was written by Çobanoğlu. In this book, it is stated that in the Ahi convents the pupils studied different Books of Advice written in Turkish. They studied the Koran and they were taught the Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages and literatures. They studied history and the lives and the achievements of prominent scholars and scientists. They were also taught cooking, how to play various games, how to play instruments and how to sing songs" (Çağatay, 1992).

The futuvenames also contained moral values: The Ahi students who started to attend the training sessions in the Ahi convents were taught the following principles as a beginning:

- "His hand will be open: This means that he will always help the poor and the miserable who need money.
- His door will be open: He will always accept guest and other people who have come to ask for a place to stay or who need help of any kind.

- His table will be open: This means that he will never refuse to give food to the poor and the miserable.
- His eyes will be closed: This means that he will not see other people's disgrace and he will not criticize anybody.
- His desires and lust will be closed: This means that he will always live moderately and he will always respect the chastity, the dignity and the honour of women.
- His tongue will be closed; this means that he will never say bad words to anybody, he will never talk behind other people and he will never gossip” (Çağatay, 1992).

8.2.3.2. On the Job Training

One of the goals of the organization was to regulate the working practices of the craftsmen and artisans with the aid of the rules on the obligation of working in a determined time period, honesty, productivity and training of the apprentices (Turhan, 1996). Practise was stressed more than the theory. Every master had to teach what they knew about their occupation to the apprentice, while the master did not consider his apprentice as a rival. The increase of production and order was recommended to the apprentices. Also it was told not to cheat, produce wrotten goods and sell them. The ones who did not obey were punished in various ways (Şimşek, 2002).

An apprentice determines a “yol atası” (an elder person to guide him in his training) and two “yol kardeşi” (people in the same level to guide each other) when he first begins his training. If an apprentice leaved a workplace without a suitable reason, he could not work in an other workplace. When an akhi finishes his training is raised to an upper level. When an akhi works for two years under the guidance of a master he is promoted from the degree “yamak” to the “çırak” (apprentice). The promotion is celebrated with a ceremony and the apprentice is waged after this ceremony, while his master pays his two weeks salary to the common treasury. With the total period of 1001 days in the levels of “çırak” and “yamak” the apprentice is promoted as master. On the other hand this period can rise for 20 years in some occupations such as “jewelery” (Turhan, 1996).

The normal period that an akhi should stay as a kalfa (experienced apprentice/foreman) is 6 months, but this period lasted longer because of the lack of money to open a store by himself. The experienced apprentices sometimes become master at the appropriate time period by the aid of yiğitbaşı and elites of the union (Vajda, 1971).

8.3. Auto control in Akhi Unions

The business life was in an order with a autocontrol and cross check of union members. In other words one could not perform an occupation in wherever they wished unlike the liberalist system. This was because of the Islamic impact on the society and the futuwwa traditions which provided security in Anatolian cities even if there was a lack of central political authority. In order to promote from one degree to another capability and honesty were the basic criteria's. In the organization a hierarchic order was dominant and every member even the highest ranked ones could not do any thing opposing the rules.

On the other hand the number of craftsmen and stores were limited with the work properties and production means. In this content we can say that the principle of "production according to requirements" is the dominant principle. The craftsmen could not increase the price or make price adjustments by himself. The determination of workplaces for the craftsmen was important for both reduction of unemployment and providing a full competition environment (Turhan, 1996).

8.3.1. Prohibition of Occupational Activities

If one cheats or does something opposing the traditions, merpet (a type of calling instrument) is played to announce the penalty. When everybody populates at the store of the artisan the most responsible person of that occupation in that region takes the şed (cloth on the belly as a symbol of membership) from the belly of the punished artisan and ties it on the door of the store. Then a pair of shoes are thrown to the roof of the store as a symbol of prohibition of occupational activities temporarily or constantly. This application has still impact on Turkish idioms like "pabucunu dama atmak" If the same cheating is repeated then the artisan's prohibition becomes eternal (Tabakoğlu, 1997).

8.4. Financial Activities

8.4.1. Common Treasury

The akhi system had a social security policy which began with the first step to the occupation till the death. In this content:

- i) In having the workshop and the appropriate vehicles and tools to do the occupation
- ii) In workplace accidents, disabilities, fire, earth quake and etc.
- iii) Wedding ceremonies, debt requirements, aging and death (Soykut, 1978)
- iv) Repairs and restoration
- v) Taxes
- vi) Financial aid to poor artists, artisans and traders
- vii) Monthly or annual payments to the personnel
- viii) Expenses for charitable fountains and other charities.

The akhi security system had supported its members (Çağatay, 1992). This security policy was called “orta sandığı” (common treasury) In common treasuries the commodities and the annual fees of the akhi union were collected (Eryiğit, 1989). In every craftsmen union there was a common treasury. The income of the common treasury was:

- i) The aids of union members
- ii) The fees from the akhis who promoted
- iii) Shares collected from the members weekly or monthly

iv) Money collected for the injured people returning hometown from war (Turhan, 1996)

v) Rent incomes,

vi) The capital of the vakf

vii) Entrance fees and donations (Çağatay, 1992)

This treasury landed money without an interest payback condition to people who were ill, dead, newly married with no discrimination if they were Muslim or not (Turhan, 1996). The common treasury called “orta sandığı” was formed of various divisions which Çağatay calls “bags”. Some of the bags were consisted of monetary values, while others contained commercial papers.

i) The Satin Bag: all the documents and correspondence concerning the vakf of the Ahi's profession were kept in this bag.

ii) The Green Bag: The documents and the title-deeds relating to the incomes of the vakf of the professionals were kept here.

iii) The Interlace Bag: The incomes of the vakf were kept here.

iv) The Red Bag: The vouchers of the money invested for interest were kept here.

v) The White Bag: All de documents and receipts relating to expenses and approved annual accounts were kept here.

vi) The Black Bag: Notes of hand or vouchers of money lent to others and which were unlikely to be collected were kept here (Çağatay, 1992).

8.4.2. Charity Activities Among The Professionals

The akhi unions provided a comprehensive structure of social security. Among this common treasury the akhis who do not have the power to continue their occupation were supported by financial means. This financial system covered retired professionals, destitute old akhis, handicapped akhis.

i) Retired Professionals: These were the masters who were too old to work in their shops. If their capital permitted these old masters continue to run their shops with the help of their assistants.

ii) The Destitute Old Akhis :These were also masters but did not have any shops which they could run with the help of their assistants. So the Relief Bank provided financial support, food, coal, clothes etc, for them.

iii) The Handicapped Akhis: These were the ones who were physically handicapped, or who had incurable diseases. They could be in any stage of the Ahi order, so whether young or old they were taken care of by the Relief Bank(common treasury). The masters and the assistants also helped them personally.

Every year in the holy month of Ramazan the artists of the Long Bazaar in Eyüp in Istanbul used to give a great feast for the people. They always started the feast with the recital of the whole Koran, and then they cooked pilaf and served it to crowds of people who participated in their feast. They also helped the poor, the families of the deceased professionals, and paid the expenses for their funeral ceremonies etc. (Çağatay, 1992).

This implementations both display that the akhi unions provided a security for a life long period and by the aid of this facility it strictly had expectations upon its members in the context of ethics. As the suspicion for the future lessened and an atmosphere of justice was provided the members of the akhi unions were motivated not to earn over a normal level of profit. This discipline also provided an economical environment which was very much similar with the full competition market.

9. The Degeneration of The Akhi Unions

There are many causes of the collapse of the akhi unions. The first group of causes are related with the loss of autonomy related with the extension of Ottoman Authority. The other group of causes are related with the lack of flexibility towards changing economic and social environment. Both causes display a full picture of the degeneration as a summary.

9.1. Causes of Degeneration Related With Politics

Arnakis explains the decline with the theory of Ottoman Empire's becoming a real political authority. Arnakis says: "When the incorporation of the western emirates was under way, in the reign of Murad I and Bayazid the Thunderbolt, the Akhiyat was in a state of decline. As it might be expected under an autocratic regime, it was the political" (Arnakis, 1953)

The first impact of the Ottoman extension was on military functions of the unions. With the ruling period of Murat the first the military part of the akhi union ended its function by forming the Ottoman military class called "yeniçeri" (Turhan, 1996). After the periods of Murad the second and Mehmet The Second many of the functions of the akhis were lost and transformed into a craftsmen organization (Gürata, 1975). As the Ottoman authority's will to control every organization increased conflict have begun between state and unions.

After 17th century the peace was destroyed in a big deal and riots were often witnessed in that period. In the year 1650 there was a great riot in Istanbul in which many of state representatives were executed to death or resigned. The reason of the riot was the manipulation of the political authority for certain type of goods to be sold out and pressing low value coins for emission (Turhan, 1996).

On the other hand the Ottoman authority became dominant on these organizations and this caused a re-organization of unions to transform it into guilds. After the 15th century the guilds were under the supervision of the state. If it was discovered that a guild did not obey the general rules for guilds, the certificate of approval for that guild would be canceled by the authorities (Turhan, 1996). As Niyazi Berkes expresses: "these unions transformed from being an organization of independent craftsmen and artisans to boards which provide

the military and financial supervision over the members that work in the industry” (Berkes,1969).

An other reason of transformation of akhi unions into guilds was the hardness of application of their ceremony and rituals and the existence of non muslim craftsmen as well as the Muslim ones. As the guilds were not involved in religious and spiritual rituals in the meetings of the guilds Muslim and non-Muslim masters could easily come together. The akhi organizations had to hold some rituals which are expressed in *fütüvetnames*. But as the time went by the *futuwwa* rules were left and guilds were begun to be opened instead of *dergah* and *zaviye* (Turhan, 1996).

This is an evidence of the degeneration of spiritual atmosphere among the unions as the roots of akhi unions were originated from “Sufi” societies which were especially dominant while Turkifying Anatolia with the code of ethics sourced from Islam. Therefore this can be called as an early secularization wave in Ottoman Empire.

9.2. Causes of Degeneration Depending On Traditionalism

While the akhi unions lose their autonomy and political power in the 16th century, this period is accepted as a turning point for akhi unions. The idiom that is often used in the judgements for the conflicts during 16-18th centuries is "not to do anything opposing the application that is available since *ancient*."The question of "What is *ancient*?" is replied in one of those *kanunnames*. In the *kanunname* it is stated that the ever is something that nobody can remember before this implementation. That is evidence about how the traditionalism was accepted during those years (Genç, 1986).

9.3. The Akhi Unions' Organizational Structure In The Age of Collapse

The akhi unions had autonomy before their degeneration and were the only political and military authority of their region. Before the 16th century the akhi unions had a civil structure where the state had no tool of intervention. The ones who were conducted were strictly connected to the administrative hierarchies. The titles were determined freely by the criteria of succession and level of skills and education. In those days the organization

was as shown below (Eryiğit, 1989):

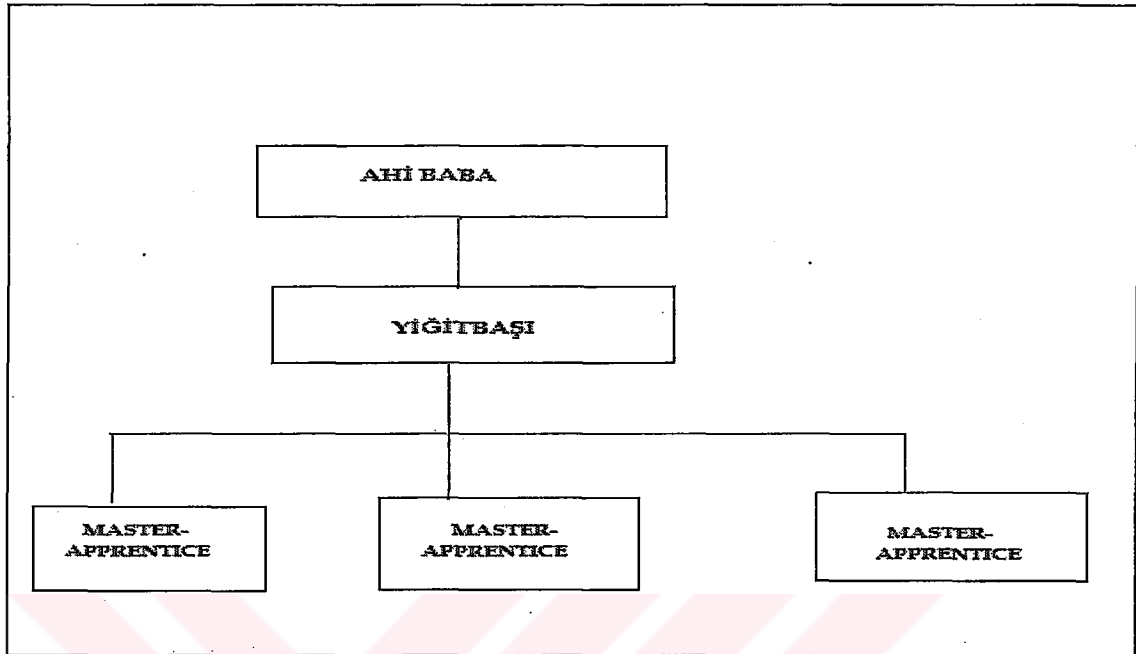


Figure 9.1 The Akhi Unions Before 16th Century

After 16th century these unions lost their autonomies and the kadi (governor) became the first title in the hierarchy representing the Ottoman Empire. Ahi Baba is the person who is the most honest, oldest among the other craftsmen and the leader of the union. He is also the most skilful person of the occupation. He is also a religious leader (sheikh) as his impact on the other artisans was great. In the order of the akhi babas there were titles like yiğitbaşı who commands the fityane (apprentice) and serveran as the second chief (Eryiğit, 1989).

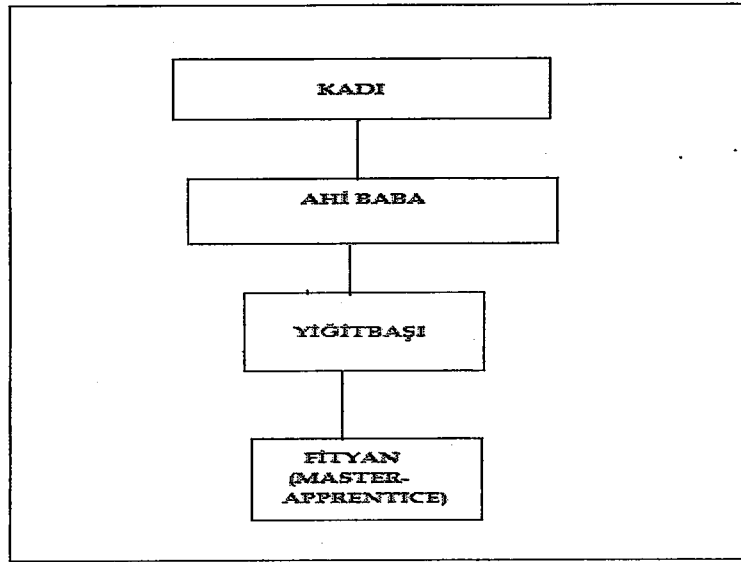


Figure 9.2 The Akhi Unions After 16th Century

There became many changes in the structure of the union organization as the social and economic life had gone complex, the state's intervention increased. One of the changes was the replacement of Ahi Baba who was appointed with an election with Kethuda. Although the kethuda was also elected by the craftsmen, he had to be approved by Kadı as a representative of the state. Later on the name "kethuda" changed into "Mütevelli". The title "kalfa" also joined the organizational structure as a member of fityan like çırak, kalfa and usta. The organizational chart is described below (Eryiğit, 1989):

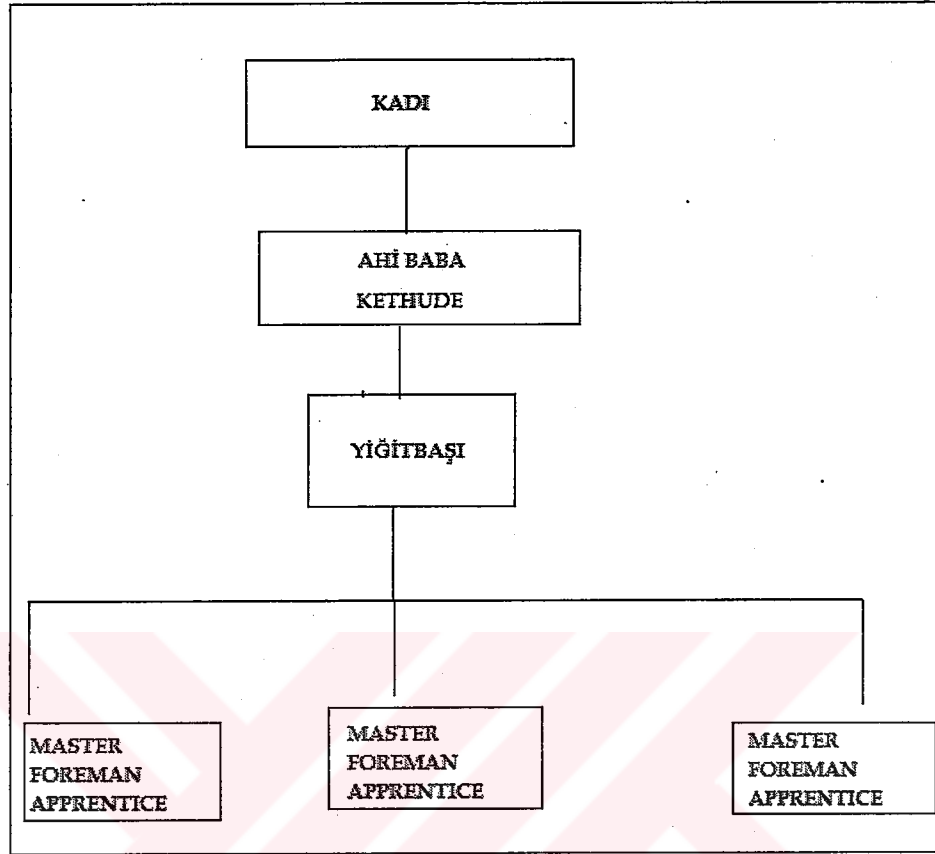


Figure 9.3 The Akhi Unions After 16th Century (Second Phase)

It is not clear if those unions were connected to a central organization. According to one opinion Ahi Evran Zaviye in KırŖehir was the centre of the confederation. According to an other thought the centre was at first in KırŖehir, but afterwards only the branch of tanner was connected to KırŖehir Ahi Evran Zaviye.

After 16th century because of the increasing population and requirements, boards began to be established among those unions and functions like management, execution and supervisory control were full fitted by these boards. The organizational chart that was formed with the foundation of the boards founded in 16th century maintained itself till the determination of the craftsmen and artisans' union and had a slight evolution and transformed into the shape shown below. As it is seen from the chart the board of managers took place in the organization, and the title of kadi was also added in the chart

although it was only a degree of approval (Eryiğit, 1989).

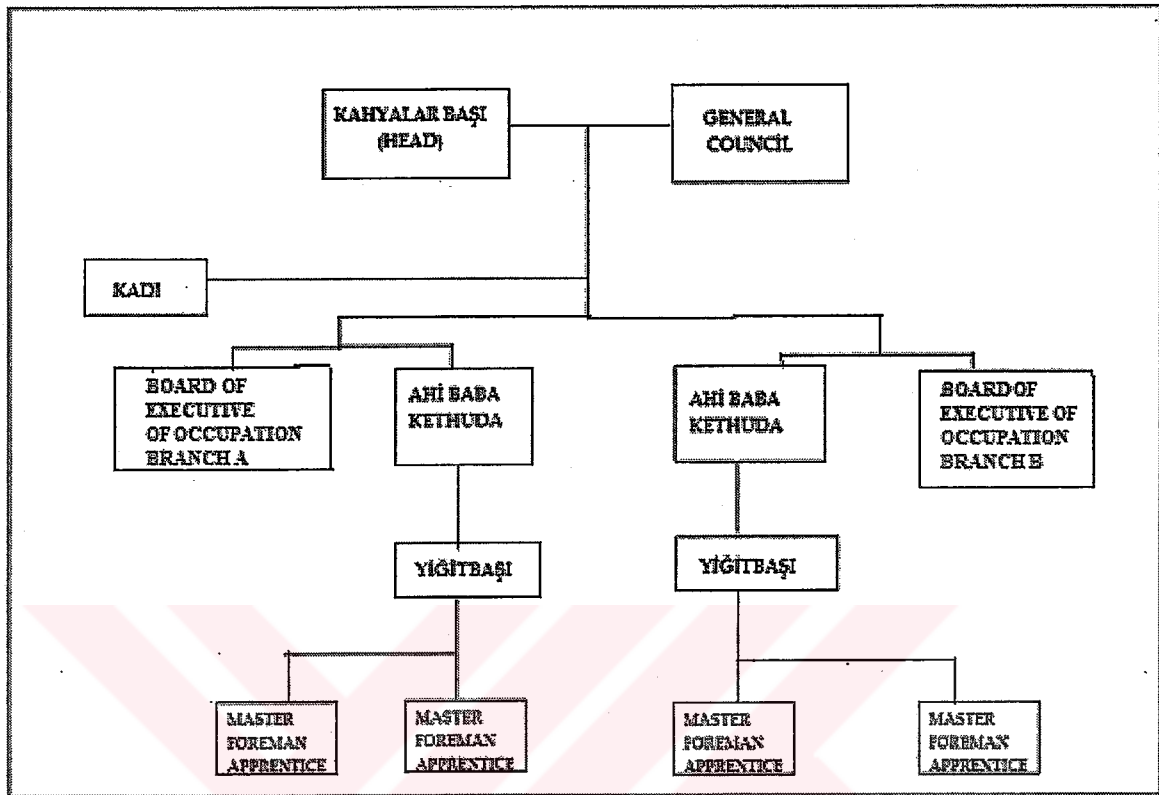


Figure 9.4 The Whole Organizational Chart for the Period After 16th Century

The board of managers were formed of 5 members both elected from their branch of artisans. The head was called as kethüda, mütevellî or ahi baba. The title of Yiğitbaşı was elected among the most skillful and ethical masters of each occupational branch. As it is clear the organizational chart became more complex in every phase as the state aimed to locate titles and boards between the public and the managerial staff of the union in order to have an effective supervision over those unions. Because as a principle the state did not wish an other authority to provide unity and stabilisation.

One of the most detailed descriptions of the Islamic guilds is the Book of Travels (Seyhatname) of a Turkish traveller Evliya Celebi, who in the early seventeenth century, at the request of the Sultan, compiled a detailed list of the guilds and corporations of Constantinople. In this work we find for the first time a full description of the guild organisation of a Muslim city. Evliya Celebi prefixes to his description of the guilds a

Fütüvvetname, which is apparently reproduced textually, and which contains the usual legends and catechisms, and also a description of the ceremony of initiation. The hierarchy here described consists of the Sheikh (head), the Naqib (vice-head), the Caus (usher), the Usta (master) and the şakird (çırak, apprentice). The journeyman, it will be noticed, is not mentioned at all. He then proceeds to an enumeration " of all the guilds and professions existing in the jurisdiction of the four Mullas of Constantinople, with the number of their shops, their men, their Sheiks, and their Pits." They are divided into fifty-seven sections, containing in all one thousand and one guilds. Once a year the guilds held a public procession, and great importance was apparently attached to the order of precedence. Evliya gives an amusing description of a dispute of this kind between the butchers and the Egyptian merchants, in which the final decision is given by the Sultan in favour of the merchants (Lewis, 1937).

9.4. Differences and Similarities Between Guilds and Akhi Unions

The parallel usage of concepts of futuwwa and the guilds are witnessed at the end of the 15th century and it was accepted as the last phase of futuwwa by the historians like Taeschner (Taeschner,1972). Although the date is generally accepted as 16th century Taeschner points out a right final stage for the akhi unions. The akhi unions became guild like organizations after the 15th or 16th century. Despite this degeneration there were still some unique properties such as the unity of artisan and merchants and open system property. The similarities and the differences between the western guilds and the akhi unions are expressed below as a summarisation based on the information excerpted from Süleyman Eryiğit.

9.4.1. The Similarities Between The Guilds and The Akhi Unions

- a) The production type was "hand made production" which is very common for the age that akhi unions and guilds were born
- b) Both protect their members against poverty and competition.

- c) In both organizations the quantity and quality of the goods manufactured are set before.
- d) The price is also pre-set and the trade could only be done according to that price.
- e) In every organization number of apprentices that a master can work with is determined before.
- f) The conditions of being a master were set by both organizations.
- g) In every organization the election was a must.
- h) Both of them were effective social security organizations.
- i) Both support specialization

9.4.2. The Differences Between The Guilds and The Akhi Unions

- a) The religious motivations are dominant in the birth of akhi unions. By this way auto control mechanism worked properly.
- b) In the western guilds the state intervention often took place against the activities of the guilds. This situation also became valid for the akhi unions after the 15th century. (16th century for some historians)
- c) Although the akhi unions contained both the artisans and the merchants, in the western guilds the merchants founded their own guilds. The western merchant guilds became so dominant that they could easily make the artisan guilds dependent by means of raw material and financial ways.
- d) The western guilds did not include the people other than its members among themselves. On the other hand Akhis preferred an open system in where the intellectuals and other parts of the society were also welcomed.

e) In the western unions the artisan was dependent to the merchant which means that the capital was dominant over the labour. Unfortunately as the “gedik” implementation became an inherited property regime the capitalist became the boss of the master artisan or the masters had to remain in the level of kalfa (foreman) as they could not open their own store or workshop (Eryiğit, 1989).

As it is clear the degeneration of gedik institution and the loss of autonomy has a deep impact on the transformation of an original organization type to a typical organization of crafts and handmade products of its age. The degeneration period was also an indicator of disconnection between the Islamic economic approach and the ottoman economical structure. Because of the fact, the ottoman economic structure had lost its references while the first occurrences of capitalist economies affected Empire.



10. The Akhi Guilds until Today

With the re-organization of the akhi unions and the degeneration of property system called "gedik" and the birth of mediatory titles such as kalfa (foreman), the unions began to lose their identity in parallel with their autonomy. With the collapse of autonomy and the property system the unions lost their progressive aspect and became an integrated part of Ottoman Economical Structure.

As we have mentioned before the institution called gedik resulted in the birth of the statutes of kalfa. The gedik that used to be left to treasury after the master had died, later on this implementation changed and the gedik became a commodity which could be inherited by the masters' family. After this the gedik owners became the bosses of the masters which were now considered as kalfa as they had not opened their store or workshop (Eryiğit, 1989).

Despite the transformation to guilds and the "lower" order of the Akhis, who identified themselves with the various craftsmen's guilds, likewise preserved important elements of the old institution. A strong futuwwa tradition, which existed in Moslem guilds from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries, served as a connecting link among the Akhiyat al-Fityarij the Bektashiye, and the organized craftsmen. Bektashi sheikhs kept the books containing the old regulations of the futuwwas and the guilds accepted the spiritual leadership of the dervishes as a matter of course. The origins of the relationship of dervishes and craftsmen go back to the Akhiyat al-Fityan, which brought the two groups together, in an organization that had a religious, political, and professional scope. The futuwwa books (many of them actually bearing the title of Kitab el-futuwwa), which have come down to our times, point to a triangle-like relationship of Akhis, Bektashis, and guilds, with the Akhis placed at the apex of the triangle as the historical link uniting the other two (Arnakis, 1953).

There was a dominancy of discipline in the unions. Not only the Muslims but also non-Muslims were accepted in these Islamic unions and obeyed the discipline and traditions of those unions. It is also known that since the recent times there was a ceremony held in Kapalı Çarşı (Grand Bazaar) of Istanbul held by the imam of the bazaar mosque where

both Muslim and non-Muslim craftsmen attended (Turhan, 1996).

All these organisations, which have survived almost without change into the nineteenth and sometimes even the twentieth century, have not been able to resist the shock of the European invasion. Everywhere in the Muslim lands the old forms of production are giving way to new ones, and inevitably the old guilds are falling to pieces. Often they are transformed into trade unions (Naqabat) of the European type. Those of Tunisia, Syria and Dutch Indonesia have affiliated themselves to the Communist Trade Union International. Others are still in a state of transition (Lewis, 1937).

One of the positive factors of the akhi unions remained until till the collapse was the training function. The artisans and the craftsmen were populated under the name of Akhi Unions in order to determine the conditions of art training, provide the discipline among the members and cooperation between the members circa 13th century. The akhi unions which then transformed into guilds had a mission in occupational training till the first formal occupational schools circa 1860 (Turhan, 1996).

This occupational training was continued by means of promotion from apprentice degree to the master degree. (Doğan et al, 1980) Despite the positive factors inherited from the original forms of the akhi unions the unions were losing their power on the market and the consumption type was turning into “production-consumption-production” cycle from consumption-production cycle with the aid of capitulations which were accepted by the authority as there was no constraint against import according to the principle of provision (Genç, 1989).

In a general point of view Refik Soykut summarizes the reasons of the collapse of Ottoman Empire are mentioned below:

*The decadence of the guilds

*Improvements in Europe

*The impact of capitulations

***Financial crises (Soykut, 1978)**

In fact, it is hard to say the exact date of the akhi unions completely collapsed, because even in form of guilds they have maintained many of their functions. Even in different titles their functions were partly fulfilled. For example the price determination is still used in economical policy especially in the field of agriculture. Also the occupational chambers still exist to protect the opportunities of its members, but on the other hand it can be observed that they lack in aspects such as education, competition codification and written procedures of business ethics. These aspects will be covered in the next chapter and the empirical survey section of our thesis.



11. Are the Akhi Unions still a vital organisation?

The akhi unions were partly outcome of its unique background such as Mogol invasions, anarchic situation and lack of a central political authority. On the other hand, it had virtues which validate themselves even in democratic regimes of today. The unique characteristic of the unions which creates the difference from the western guilds was their suggestion on ethics. In that way the conclusions varied from establishing a stable order in the age of anarchy to principles which are now familiar to us in context of Total Quality Management etc. Those principles are expressed below:

11.1. Zero Error Principle

The total quality management offers solutions for zero error in manufactured product and services. In akhi unions the moral values of workers and their education level was a critical factor. The balance between the production and consumption was set in order to provide a social peace by the help of limitation of production, narh system (price ceiling) and the standardization of goods. The rules above have a great similarity with the principle of human happiness in total quality management.

- i) Improve your skill in your art
- ii) Establishment of brotherhood among businessmen
- iii) Do not involve in dishonest things
- iv) Help every body without discrimination (Şimşek, 2002).

In this approach the competition was not realized by producing mass amount of goods, but with the perfection of the goods. The akhis never sold disabled product, if any one sold, he would be banned from the occupation. The zero error principle was emphasized as the punishment of throwing the shoes to the roof and the prohibition of Islam about extravagance were great prohibitive factors against the errors of production. Therefore, an auto control between the craftsmen was provided. As the prices were set in narh system,

the whole competition was depending on the quality standard of the goods (Şimşek, 2002).

11.2. Standardization

The aims of the standardization which are also suggested in modern production theories were realized by the akhi unions.

- i. Motivating production
- ii. Reaching high quality in production of goods and services
- iii. Protecting human life, especially in aspects of consumption
- iv. Making the communication of producers easier
- v. Improving the society as an organization of a healthy economic life (Şimşek, 2002).

The number of the apprentices that a master can work with was also regulated by the standards. The master can only hire apprentices in condition that the training is effectively realised and supervision is easily provided. If a master produces disqualified product, does not obey the standards of product, does not pay the wages of apprentices, does not tell what he knows about the art and does not fulfill his obligations, he is punished by forbidding his store activities (Şimşek, 2002).

11.3. Motivation

Motivation is an aspect of modern management discipline. As Prof. Şimşek indicates the aims of motivation are providing a stable turnover rate, using the creative power and success for the staff (Şimşek, 2002). In the akhi unions, the motivation was not only provided by means of wages and profits, but also the atmosphere shared in zaviyes was also key factors of motivation. As the profit became the sole motivation for the company owners and the managers the peace in working life is being disturbed in a big deal.

As the profit and wage have become the sole motivation the human touch in working life

has disappeared. Therefore people in production became alienated as their education and skills became odd because of the criteria of sole utility. That caused an alienated human who has nothing for inner self such as arts, literature and other types of humanised features such as religion or Sufism. This situation also caused the collapse of creative power as every individual has lost their difference from the others. This created an environment of people where brainstorming had no utility while everybody thought with the same constant codes.

11.4. The Matter of Internal and External Customer

The concept of internal customer is merely a new thing for the capitalist economies as it is already known that the birth of industrial revolution depended on the child workers. As a paradox the concept of internal customer is now presented to the lands where they were already practiced but left away as they tried to adopt the wild capitalism. In fact the matter of internal and external customer still depends on the sole aim of profit, while the akhi unions offer an order to satisfy all the counterparties in a humanised accord which are the codes and responsibilities of members of akhi unions called futuvvetnames. The aspects of internal and external customers that can be derived from the futuvvetnames and the akhi practices are expressed by Prof. Şimşek below:

1-In akhi union not only the requirements of external customers but also the internal customers were satisfied. The worker had to save the rights of the boss, the boss had to protect the rights of the worker.

2-The boss's responsibility includes the education requirements of worker. The basic production goal of the akhi union is inexpensive production in mass quantities. The production in akhi unions were customer focused (Şimşek, 2002).

11.5. Education and Training

The akhi education and training system depended on the balance of “on the job training” and “formal training” which aimed developing both occupational and cultural structures of individuals. In that way a master of leather also reached an intermediate level of

intellectualism. For example Akhi Evran was a leather process master while he was having fıkıh (Islamic Law Codification) lectures from Sadreddin Konevi and reached the level of a lecturer (Soykut, 1978).

The occupational training consisted of a phased education which had time and skill requirements to reach an upper level and opening a store required the condition of being promoted as a master. The conclusions of the phased education system were explained by Neşet Çağatay in comparison with :

- i. The craftsmen and the artisans of today did not find an auto control mechanism among themselves. On the other hand the akhi unions had a perfect auto control system. By this system they both contributed the progress of their unions and the social structure. They protected the consumers, increased production and stabilised the national economy.
- ii. They founded a large organizations expanding from cities to villages.
- iii. The education was not only considered as a programme that finished at one point but considered as an interaction for a life time period.
- iv. An integration was formed between the on the job training and formal education. The practise was stressed in education. (In this content we must remember the village institutions practise which were applied during 1940s' and 1950s'. This practise was also depending on the integration of formal education with the on the job training. In this way alienisation was minimised.)
- v. The human was raised not only by occupational means but also by means of ethics, tradition, ethiquete, respect and cooperation. The social and religious knowledge was given, but the creative side of human was not limited. Skill and values of culture were stressed (Çağatay, 1990).

The greatest difference between the today's economic environment and the akhi system is the freedom of opening a store with the existence of capital and fulfilment of official procedures and without a requirement of capability for a profession. The education and the

practice was the gist of the scope of akhi unions. In that way the actors of market were among the qualified people who have a certain occupation notion. In that way the business life was planned effectively according to the requirements which depends on the cycle “consumption-production-consumption”, not the “cycle of production-consumption-production”.

11.6. Business Ethics

The akhi unions fundamentally depended on the Kuran verses and the advices of futuvenames where Sufism is an important determinant. Therefore the ethics was always in the centre of this application in every aspect including competition and standardization. Depending on a survey that is covered by Prof. Şimşek, the ethical structure is not fulfilled by today’s business life actors. Prof. Şimşek states various factors which have possibly affected the business environment.

1. Factors Related With The Environment:

- i) The change of life styles
- ii) The ommittance of borders between the countries
- iii) The implementation of justice and the current understanding of justice
- iv) The illegitimate ways earning money has become easier
- v) The collapse of social ethics for some reason
- vi) Motivation of current economic structure

2. Factors Related Within The Company:

- i) The maximization of profit became the sole objective for the most companies.
- ii) The ethical and moral structure of the employees

iii) Because of the personal properties of managers, owner and shareholders of the company and their ambitions and ideals may be reflected to the policies and strategies of the company, therefore the business ethics may collapse.

iv) The opportunity conflicts about enlarging power of individuals and the policies may have implicit impacts on motivation, communication and leadership which may result the business ethics collapse.

v) The inappropriacy of the internal control mechanism and punishment system may result the business ethics collapse (Şimşek, 2002).

11.7. Pricing and Competition

11.7.1. Pricing

The total quality management offers solutions for zero error in manufactured product and services. In akhi unions the moral values of workers and their education level was a critical factor. The balance between the production and consumption was set in order to provide a social peace by the help of limitation of production, narh system (price ceiling) and the standardization of goods (Gülvahaboğlu, 1992).

11.7.2. Competition

In this approach the competition was not realized by producing mass amount of goods, but with the perfection of the goods. The akhis never sold disabled product, if any one sold, he would be banned from the occupation. There was an auto control between the craftsmen. The prices were set in narh system, that's why nobody could sell a good in a high price. There was also a control on raw materials (Şimşek, 2002).

11.7.3. Competition in Means of Scale

On the other hand the number of craftsmen and stores were limited with the work properties and production means. In this content we can say that the principle of

“production according to requirements” is the dominant principle. The craftsmen could not increase the price or make price adjustments by him (Turhan, 1996).

11.8. Communication

There were certain boards and meetings where the akhis communicate about their requirements and objectives for certain periods which are called Board of Managers and Grand Board (Kahyalar Kurulu) (Çağatay, 1974). In addition to these boards also there were certain meetings which were called:

- Ordinary Annual Meeting (Feast Meeting)
- General Annual Meeting (Three Days Meeting)
- Extra Ordinary Meeting (Country Meeting) (Çağatay, 1974)

These boards were especially founded in the third period the evaluation of unions. In the rising period of the akhis, zaviyes were the places where the akhis communicated and hospitalised the visitors. In that place they also shared a common cultural environment. The Akhis used to join together in zaviyes in the evenings. After the dinner ethical and educative books are read and various entertainments were done. They get release of the stress of the day to begin a new day with a high motivation (Şimşek, 2002). In this content they were not only sharing their problems and views about occupational life, but also the cultural codes and ethics were transferred between individuals.

12. The Perceptions of the Owners and Managers of SME's About Today's Ethics and Relevant Akhi Principles

12.1 Empirical Study

The last section of the study covers a small scale survey, the main purpose of which is to display the existence of ethics and other akhi principles in today's Turkish business world. Secondly, it is aimed learning the basic characteristics of companies as well as the needs and the expectations of the owners/managers for the development of business activities in order to display whether those needs and expectations can be compensated by the ancient practices and principles of the akhi unions. Since the conduct of such a survey is extremely difficult for the realization above stated research purpose, the study is limited by the owners / managers of SME's (Small and Medium Sized Enterprises) in OSTIM, Ankara. The sample frame of the survey consisted of 4 sectors that are PVC-Plastic, metal processing, machinery and spare parts and each sector was represented by 10 SME's.

12.2 Research Question

What are the perceptions of the owners/managers of SME's about 5 dimensions of Akhi System?

12.3 Method

Sampling: Convenience sampling was preferred and 10 companies operating in business centre called OSTIM in Ankara were selected from each of the 4 different sectors.

Research Design: It is, naturally, a descriptive study.

Measurement Instrument: A questionnaire which was developed by the author consisted of 5 parts regarding the 5 main dimensions of Akhi system. These dimensions were the basic characteristics of companies and socio demographics of the owners, training needs and activities, business ethics and relevant cultural values, competition and standardization and communication within the economic sectors.

The measurement instrument covered a total of 36 (28 close-ended and 8 open ended) questions.

Data collection period was completed between 1.6.2005-6.7.2005.

No hypothesis was formulated and descriptive statistics were used for analyzing the data.

12.4 Research Findings

An empirical study is conducted on the sample frame of 4 sectors each containing 10 enterprises among the organizations in OSTİM –Ankara. The sectors are PVC-Plastic, Machinery, Metal Processing and Spare Parts. Within the questionnaires distributed to the managers of the enterprises, 5 dimensions of the akhi system was tried to be measured. These dimensions are composed of issues of education, business ethics, competition-pricing, standardization and communication. The most significant results from the empirical study are expressed below.

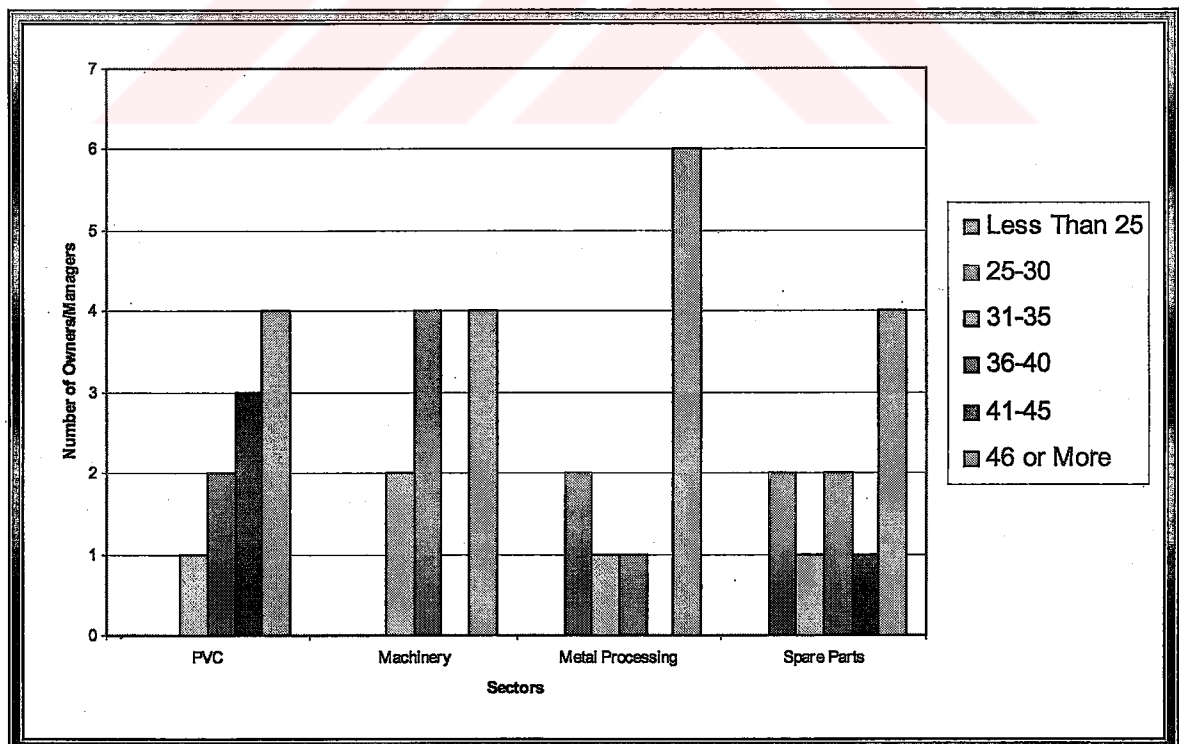


Figure: 12.1 Age Category of the Managers/Owners

Almost both of the owner/managers of the SMEs' in our small sample frame are male and this is equal to 39 of 40 people.

Duration In The Current Sector (F)	PVC	Machinery	Metal Processing	Spare Parts
1-5	0	0	2	0
6-10	0	1	1	2
11-15	2	3	1	1
15-20	5	2	2	2
21 Years and More	3	4	4	5

Table: 12.1 Duration of Owner/Managers In Their Sector

Duration In The Current Enterprise (F)	PVC	Machinery	Metal Processing	Spare Parts
1-5	1	0	5	2
6-10	1	2	0	1
11-15	4	1	0	2
15-20	2	2	2	1
21 Years and More	2	5	3	4

Table: 12.2 Duration of Owner/Managers In Their Enterprise

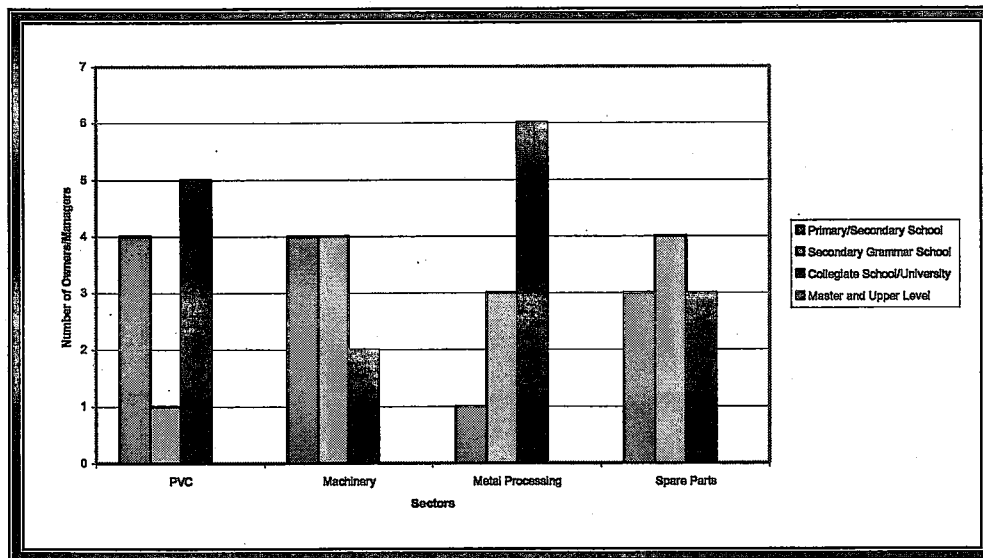


Figure: 12.2 Education and Training Level of the Owners and Managers of SMEs'

After having examined the demographic results as a whole, we will be examining the cumulative results for each criterion. As it was expressed before 5 criteria's were taken under examination. At the first step we will be focusing on the educational issues.

1-Occupational Education Type of The Employees	F	%
A) On The Job Training	31	77,5
B) Formal Training	9	22,5
2-The Workplaces That Conduct Occupational Training	F	%
A) Occupational Training is available	25	62,5
B) Occupational Training is <u>not</u> available	15	37,5
3- Training Programmes where a certificate of success or degree is granted	F	%
A) The Training Programmes where a certificate of success or degree is granted	18	72
B) The Training Programmes where a certificate of success or degree is <u>not</u> granted	7	28
4-The Obligation of The Managers To Receive A Certificate To Open An Enterprise	F	%
A) Ones who had to receive a certificate to open their enterprise	20	50
B) Ones who did not have to receive a certificate to open their enterprise	20	50
5- The Tracking Attitude of The Managers For The Progresses In Their Sector	F	%
A) Ones Who Track The Progresses In Their Sector	36	90
B) Ones Who Do Not Track The Progresses In Their Sector	4	10
6) The Interest and Hobbies of The Managers/Owners	F	%
A) Music	18	45
B) Literature	8	20
C) Movies	16	40
D) Social Sciences	8	20
E) Theatre	7	17,5

Table12.3 Education and Training Issues

Among the results it is obvious that most of the obligations brought by the akhi unions are still important features for the SME's, but on the other hand they are not obligations any more. 25 of 40 enterprises still have a function of occupational training. 18 enterprises among those 25 enterprises practically give certificate to the ones who promote to the degree of foreman or master.

While on the job training is still a vital issue for the SMEs formal training is represented by 9 among 40 enterprises. Despite the occupational and technical schools founded since the

reign of Mahmut The Second, formal training does not seem to go forward from the Zaviye practices before the 16th Century.

Most dramatic figure is that, occupational proficiency is not any more a condition for founding an enterprise depending on a workshop. As it is obvious from the figures the proportion of enterprise owners having an occupational proficiency certificate are the same as the ones who don't have a certificate. As it was expressed before, the degeneration in "gedik" application made the workshop property an ordinary good which can be bought, sold and inherited from generation to generation without a requirement of a certificate or a projection of needs of the location.

In the part of the hobbies, the low level of literature is a dramatic figure, as it is obvious that literature, music and dancing were a normal way of living during the application of zaviyes in the akhi system. Average cultural level was higher because of this combination. On the other hand people in akhi system ended their working hour at Noon Prayer and shared culture as a collectivist issue. The collapse of cultural structure of individuals of business life is probably connected to the lack of collectivism which can be confirmed by the responses given to the questions about communication.

Business ethics was the greatest characteristics of the akhi system. Because of the impact of ethics which is strictly connected to the Islamic rules, the akhi unions preserved the unity of the Turkish locations during the ages of anomy like the Mongolian and Timur attacks towards Anatolia. The cumulative results about business ethics are displayed below:

1- The Perception of Owners/Managers On Business Ethics	F	%
Ones Who <u>Completely</u> Believe That The Business Ethics Had Collapsed	11	27,5
Ones Who <u>Partially</u> Believe That The Business Ethics Had Collapsed	24	60
Ones Who <u>Do Not</u> Believe That The Business Ethics Had Collapsed	5	12,5
2-Importance Given To The Probable Reasons For The Collapse of Ethics	Ranking of The Importance To The Factors of Ethical Collapse (1-5)	
A-Non-Enterprise Related Factors		
Change of Life Style (Eg: The Increase of Luxury Consumption)	3	-
The Ommittance of Borders Between The Countries	3	-
The Easiness of Illegitimate Money Earning Motivates People In Earning With A Minimum Effort	3	-
The Collapse of Social Ethics As A Whole	3	-
The Average of Non-Enterprise Related Factors	3	-
B- Enterprise Related Factors		
The Consideration of Profit As The Sole Objective For Most of The Enterprises	3	-
The Properties of Employees and Their Cultural and Ethical Specialities	2	-
The Personnel Attitudes and Demands of Managers, Owners and Shareholders of The Enterprises	2	-
Inappropriacy of Control Mechanism Inside Company	2	-
The Average of Enterprise Related Factors	2	-

Table12.4 Collapse In Business Ethics

From the figures it is dramatically obvious that nearly all of the respondents have an idea that the business ethics has either completely or partly collapsed. The perceptions on the reason of the ethical collapse are mostly focused on the non-enterprise related factors. While the enterprise related factors have an average of 2 (Low Importance), the non-enterprise related factors have an average of 3 (Medium Importance). While the non-enterprise related factors both had the same average importance rank, one statement in enterprise related factors had a higher voting than others in its category. The statement is “The Consideration of Profit as the Sole Objective for Most of The Enterprises”. Although this statement has a higher consideration than others, it is obvious that the balance is not completely unjustified on behalf of the profit. Although neither of them has a maximum level of average, other factors than profit have medium level of importance and still has an importance for the SMEs.

1-The Existence of Rules Among Enterprise Other Than Legal Regulations	F	%
A) Available	19	47,5
B) Non-Available	21	52,5
2-The Objectives of The Enterprises Other Than Profit	Ranking of The Importance To The Objectives Other Than Profit (1-3)	
Growth	2	-
Increasing The Employment Level of The Country	2	-
Technological Innovation	2	-
Contributing GDP	2	-

Table 12.5 Non Written Objectives and Rules

It is clear that akhi unions had autonomy and in every circumstance even in the anomic periods till 16th century. Especially in the anomic periods, the inner rules of the unions were the sole codification available in Anatolia. The root of these rules was futuvvetnames. As occupational chambers don't have a codification independent from the central authority today, in our questionnaire we questioned the existence of non-documented policies, procedures and rules among the enterprises. More than half of the respondents replied as such rules were not in place, but on the other hand nearly half of the respondents replied this statement in a positive form. In "Table 6" the ones who replied in a positive form are displayed.

Some Non-Written Rules and Policies	5 Codes of Values For Turkish Business Life
1-Honesty	1-Quality of Product
2-Dicipline	2-Consumer Satisfaction
3-Hard Work	3-Honesty
4-Price Stability	4-Fair Price
5-Productivity	5-Complying With Technological Requirements

Table 12.6 Non-Documented Rules and Codes of Values in Turkish Business Life

Among the non-written rules and policies concepts like honesty and price stability are evident that the akhi unions have still a strong impact on Turkish business life although ages passed after its degeneration and collapse. Price stability was a result of narh system and honesty was a figure in all futuvvetnames and even the name "feta" included honesty inside its content.

In Table 6 it is also displayed what the managers of SMEs consider as the main values of Turkish business life which is a complementary question for the non-written rules. In this content quality of goods, consumer satisfaction and complying with technological requirements are very familiar concepts when we consider the principles of the akhi unions.

Quality of goods was guaranteed by the punishment means like prohibition of job which is called as “pabucu dama atmak” in form of an idiom. Consumer satisfaction is completely depended on the quality of goods. As it is a pre or non-capitalist society the customer satisfaction was not based on a production-consumption-production cycle, but consumption-production cycle; therefore the product that is exactly required was manufactured.

Complying with technological requirements was an aspect of central planning. The financial system of the akhi unions gave the requirements of a workshop when a person is promoted to a degree of master. Therefore the technical requirements of each workshop was equally satisfied before the degeneration of the unions.

The financial system of the akhi unions had a great impact on the competition issue of the unions. Therefore nearly a full competition economical environment was in place during the ages of akhi unions. When we focus on the 3rd question of the “Table 7”, it is observed that the funding of SMEs is a great problem of today’s economic environment. 25 respondent of 40 enterprises declare that they could not find long term funds to compete with other firms. In this point it is clear that sufficiency of funding is far too low when compared to the period of implementation of “orta sandığı”.

1-Tools Used For Competition	Ranking of The Importance To Tools of Competition (1-3)	
A) Reduction of Price	2	
B) Quality of Product	3	
C) Instalment Possibilities	2	
2.1.The Competence Level of The Firms In Their Economic Environment	F	%
A) The Respondent Enterprise is able to compete with others	22	55
B) The Respondent Enterprise is <u>not</u> able to compete with others	18	45
2.2. The Situation of The Rival Enterprises	F	%
A) Bigger in scale	7	39
B) Smaller or the similar in scale	11	61
3-The satisfaction of long term funding needs of enterprises	F	%
A) The long term funding needs of enterprise is satisfied	15	37,5
B) The long term funding needs of enterprise is <u>not</u> satisfied	25	62,5

Table 12.7 Issues on Pricing and Competition

On the other hand 22 to 18 respondents declared that they were able to compete with other firms. This is mostly because of the homogeneity structure of the sample frame of enterprises in OSTİM. As it is obvious from the Question 2, even the ones that expressed that they could not compete with the other firms mostly admit that the competent firms are generally same or smaller in scale. The most important figure of Table 7 is that the quality of product is still considered the most important aspect in competition, which is the gist of whole akhi system. In that way it can be understood that people in SMEs have a commitment in providing the best quality, which is also stressed in Table 6 as a fundamental value for Turkish Business Environment.

1- The role of occupational chamber in determining the production standard	F	%
A) The ones declaring the production standard is determined by the occupational chamber	11	27,5
B) The ones declaring the production standard is <u>not</u> determined by the occupational chamber	29	72,5
2- The existence of penalty against the enterprises that do not comply with the standards	F	%
A) Available	6	15
B) Non-available	34	85
3-The complying of the owners/managers with technical standards	F	%
A) Available	34	85
B) Non-available	6	15
4-The Standards That The Respondent Enterprises have to comply with		
1- ISO		
2- TSE		
3- TSN		
4- DIN		
5- ECE		

Table 12.8 Issues on Standardization

The issue of standardization has a completely different structure than the authentic akhi system. First of all the occupational organizations have a very little impact on codifying the standards of individual enterprises and the also too little power in punishing the firms producing under the average standard of quality. This has relations with the lost of autonomy which is very much dependent with the efficiency of auto-control mechanisms. On the other hand market place determines the quality standards as the enterprises had to perform in an open economy. Therefore standards like ISO, TSE, TSN are adopted by most of the firms.

1-Whether the respondent enterprise is a member of an occupational organization	F	%
A)Yes	37	92,5
B) No	3	7,5
2- Whether the managers of enterprises come together for occupational issues	F	%
A)Yes	11	27,5
B) Very seldom	20	50
C) No	9	22,5

Table 12.9 The Level of Occupational Communication

The communication issue also displays a dramatic change between the original akhi application and today's practices. Although most of the respondents are members of an occupational organization, these organizations do not provide respondents come together for an occupational issues as 29 of 40 respondents replied that they do never or seldom come together for discussing those issues.

1-The level of the occupational solidarity between the businessmen by the time	F	%
A) Increased	1	2,5
B) Remained The Same	14	35
C) Decreased	25	62,5
2-The level of financial solidarity between the businessmen	F	%
Very High	0	0
High	0	0
Medium Level	14	35
Low	14	35
There is no such a financial solidarity	12	30
3- Whether the managers of come together with their colleagues for non-occupational purposes	F	%
A)Yes	9	22,5
B) Seldom	21	52,5
C) No	10	25

Table 12.10 The Level of Occupational Solidarity

The solidarity between the colleagues is another drastic change between akhi system and our business environment. The ones who declare that the solidarity has decreased dramatically are 25 of 40 respondents, while only one respondent expresses the contrary. Similarly 26 people declare that the financial solidarity is low or null, which is a quite opposite result than the akhi practices where the application of "orta sandığı" was a factor of balance for the funding requirements in an environment only "normal level of profit" was permitted with the aid of narh application and nobody could earn anything that is in limit of its colleague's normal profit.

Unlike the zaviyes the social communication of the businessmen became looser with the loss of common ethical motives and cultural structures. The brotherhood aspect of the akhism, depending on primary relationships which are mentioned constantly in the journeys of Ibn Battuta, collapsed in a big proportion. It can be easily understood from the

responses Question 3 of Table 10 that colleagues even hesitate to come together for informal types of communication. (30 responses of seldom and none in 40 respondents)



13. Conclusions

In this study an old and unique form of the Turkish organization which is called The Akhi Unions was examined primarily from the historical and in extends empirical perspectives. These unions were a dominant factor in business life and the social-political life till the 16th century with the aid of great autonomy within its structure. The akhi system is mainly affected by the Islamic economic thought and the impacts of guilds that were already founded by the non-Muslim merchant and artisans. The rules of these unions were crystallised in futuvvetnames which are still valid or vitally required by the contemporary business life.

The akhi unions played an important role in both business and social life of the Turks by creating institutions of “orta sandigi” (the early financial support system), gedik application (the hybrid property type that is conducted by the requirement planning’s of the union), zaviyes which are the institutions of education-training and social sharing), narh application (ceiling price that prevents extreme profit) and penalties for providing standard quality among goods which transformed into a Turkish idiom “pabucu dama atılmak”.

The success of the akhi unions in business, organization, administration and military means were sourced from the great autonomy that they had till 16th century. In parallel with the rise of the Ottoman political authority, such an autonomy could not be tolerated any more. As the number of boards increased the connection between the members and the administrators was interrupted. In parallel with these obstacles, the degeneration of gedik system ended the mission of the unions and transformed them into western guilds. This degeneration ended the necessity of specialization and training to open an enterprise.

The decay of the unions were supported by the industrial revolution of the west that the products of the craftsmen lost importance against the mass production. This cycle also ended the approach of “consumption-production-consumption” against agitated consumption of capitalist approach.

On the other hand the principles of akhi unions still have things to declare to the new understandings of management issues although they are mainly pre-capitalist institutions. The principles of the akhi unions are especially in parallel with the total quality management approaches in aspects like business ethics, competition, communication, education-training, motivation, internal and external customer, zero error principle, standardization.

Regarding the findings of the empirical study, it would be intending that the owners and managers of SME's either keep implementing the akhi principles in other forms or feel the absence of rules and principles of these unions.

The obligation of having a certificate of profession is still a valid function in today's business life; but occupational proficiency is not any more a condition for founding an enterprise depending on a workshop. This is because the degeneration in "gedik" application made the workshop property an ordinary good which can be bought, sold and inherited from generation to generation without a requirement of a certificate or a projection. This also creates paradox with the business aspects of today such as specialism.

The formal training programmes held in the zaviyes were not practically surpassed by the occupational and technical schools founded since the reign of Mahmut The Second. The employees are generally among the on the job training orientated people away from the methodological education and thinking.

The cultural life of people in business life collapsed. This may well be linked with the changing working conditions especially the work hours. In the akhi system people ended their working hour at Noon Prayer and shared culture as a collectivist issue. The lack of interaction between the individuals confirms the loss of collectivism.

The general opinion of the businessmen involved in the empirical part of this study is that the business ethics had an extreme degeneration. The main reasons which were attributed to the degeneration of ethics were a rapid change in life style, the committance of borders between the countries; the easiness of illegitimate money earning motivates people in

earning with a minimum effort, the collapse of social ethics as a whole. In addition to these probable reasons, consideration of profit as the sole objective for most of the enterprises was also a significant reason according to the perception of the participants.

Although the occupational unions do not have an active role in regulating the business life especially in means of ethics; individuals still have rules and procedures mostly undocumented. Among the non-written rules and policies concepts like honesty and price stability, quality of goods, consumer satisfaction and complying with technological requirements are evident that the akhi unions have still a strong reflection on Turkish business life although ages passed after its degeneration and collapse.

The financial system of the akhi unions had reflections on the competition issue of the unions. Therefore nearly a full competition economical environment was in place during the ages of akhi unions. The funding of SME's is a great problem of today's economic environment unlike the implementation of "orta sandığı" which was the mainframe of the akhi financial system. The main funding problem of the SME's is finding long term funds to compete with other firms.

In today's business world the quality of product has been considered as the most important aspect in competition, which was the essence of whole akhi system. The price and instalment facilities had a secondary level of importance in comparison to quality issues.

As the loss of autonomy took place in 16th century, auto-control mechanisms in place with the occupational organizations began to shrink and this period existed till now. Today, occupational organizations have a very little impact on codifying the standards of individual enterprises and the also too little power in punishing the firms producing under the average standard of quality. Instead of a collective decision, market place determines the quality standards as the enterprises had to perform in an open economy.

Following the collapse of the akhi unions what was observed were loss of fraternity, solidarity and disorganization in the business life. The solidarity between the colleagues collapsed as the profit began to be the sole objective for most of the enterprises. Also the

financial applications such as “orta sandığı” were omitted and a foundation which could play both the role of a central planner, and a fonder. This subject was also among the major complaints of the participants of the empirical study.



Soru Formu

Soru Formunun Amacı

Bu çalışma Türk iş dünyasındaki her türlü ticari faaliyetlerde kendi kültürel değerlerimizin neler olduğu, nasıl uygulandığı ve ticaret erbabının Ahilik döneminden bu güne kadar gelen değer yargıları hakkındaki düşünce ve görüşlerini öğrenmek amacıyla düzenlenmiştir. Tamamen eğitim amaçlı olarak kullanılacak bu bilgiler, Türk iş çevrelerindeki ticari yaşama ilişkin hangi ilkelerin önemsendiğinin belirlenmesini sağlayacaktır. Söz konusu bilgiler istatistiksel amaçlı olarak değerlendirileceğinden kimlik bilgileri sorulmamaktadır. Bir yüksek lisans tezinin gereği olarak yürütülen bu çalışmaya yapacağınız katkı ve bize ayırdığınız zaman için teşekkür ederiz.

Yeditepe Üniversitesi Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Münir Tireli

Lütfen aşağıdaki maddeleri sırasıyla cevaplayınız.

I-İşletmenizin Temel Özellikleri

1-Bulunduğu Sektör:

Kauçuk & PVC. Gıda. Makina İş Makinaları.

Metal İşleme Diğer:

2-İşletmede Çalışan Sayısı:.....

3- İşletmede Bulunan Bölümler/departmanlar

- a)
- b).....
- c).....
- d)
- e).....

4) İşletmenin üretim konu(su)ları: 1).....
2).....
Diğer:

II-İşletmecinin Özellikleri:

1-Yaşınız :

25 ALTI 25-30. 31-35- 36-40. 41-45 46 VE ÜSTÜ.

2-Cinsiyetiniz:

ERKEK KADIN

3-Kaç yıldır bu işyerini yönetiyorsunuz:

1-5 YIL: 6-10 YIL: 11-15 YIL: 15 -20 YIL:

21 YIL VE ÜSTÜ

4- Kaç yıldır bu sektör içerisindesiniz? :

1-5 YIL:6-10 YIL11-15 YIL: 15 -20 YIL:

21 YIL VE ÜSTÜ

5-Eğitim Durumunuz:

İLK/ORTA EĞİTİM: LİSE: Y:OKUL/ÜNİVERSİTE........

YÜKSEK LİSANS VE ÜSTÜ

III) İş Yeri Eğitim Faaliyetleri

1- Çalışanlarınızın mesleki eğitimi ağırlıklı olarak:

İşbaşı Eğitimi Teknik Eğitim

2-İşyerinizde çalışanlara eğitim veriliyor mu?

Evet Hayır

3- Eğitim veriliyor ise eğitilen çalışanlar bu eğitim sonucu sertifika veya unvan kazanıyorlar mı? (Örneğin ustalık, kalfalık unvanları vs.)

Evet Hayır

4-İşyerinizi açarken belli bir konuda eğitim aldığınıza ilişkin bir sertifika almanız gerekti mi?

Evet Hayır

5-Mesleğinizdeki gelişmeleri takip edebiliyor musunuz?

Evet Hayır

6-Mesleğiniz haricinde ilgi alanlarınız nelerdir?

(Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz?)

Müzik Edebiyat Sinema Sosyal Bilimler Tiyatro

Diğer: (Lütfen Belirtiniz).....

III) İş Ahlakı

1-Mevcut faaliyet ortamınızda iş ahlakının geçmiş dönemlere göre gerilediğini (yozlaştığını) düşünüyor musunuz?

Evet Oldukça Hayır

2-Yanıtınız evet ise aşağıda belirtilen muhtemel sebeplere 1-5 arasında ağırlık veriniz.

(Ölçek Açıklaması: 1: Çok Düşük 2: Düşük 3: Orta 4: Yüksek 5: Çok Yüksek)

A) İşletme Dışı Faktörler

- i) Hayat tarzının değişmesi (Örneğin: Lüks tüketimin artması)
- ii) Ülkeler arasındaki sınırların kalkması (Örneğin: Çin menşeli malların çocuk işçi çalıştırılarak düşük maliyette üretilmesi nedeniyle Türk müteşebbisin de benzer bir biçimde sigortasız veya çocuk işçi çalıştırması)
- iii) Gayri meşru yollarla para kazanmanın kolaylaşması ve kolay yoldan para kazanmaya teşvik etmesi
- iv) Bir bütün olarak toplum ahlakının zedelenmesi

B- İşletme içi faktörler:

- i) Kârın işletmelerin büyük çoğunluğu için tek amaç haline gelmesi (Yani istihdam, süreklilik, ülke ekonomisine katkı gibi amaçların ikinci plana atılması)
- ii) Çalışanların nitelikleri ve işletmeye beraberinde getirdikleri kültürel ya da ahlaki özellikler
- iii) İşletme yöneticilerinin sahiplerini ya da ortakların kişisel nitelikleri, istekleri, hırsları
- iv) İşletme içi denetim mekanizmasının yetersizliği

3) Yasal düzenlemeler haricinde işletme bünyesinde veya mesleki odalarınız çerçevesinde yazılı iş ahlakı kurallarınız var mı?

Evet Hayır

Ya da yazılı olmayan ancak sizin önem verdiğiniz iş ahlakı kurallarınız nelerdir.

- 1.....
2.....
3.....

Diğer:.....

5) Karlılık haricinde işletme amaçlarınız nelerdir? Seçenekleri 1-3 arasında derece vererek ağırlıklandırınız.

(Ölçek Açıklaması: 1: Düşük 2: Orta 3: Yüksek)

1. Büyüme
2. İstihdam hacmini arttırma
3. Teknolojik yenileme
4. Ülke ekonomisine katkıda bulunma
5. Diğer (Belirtiniz)

6) Risk almak, iş faaliyetlerinde ayrıntıya önem vermek, dürüstlük, müşteriye dönüklük, ürün çeşitlendirme v.s. Bunlar aslında evrensel değerlerdir. Sizden özellikle Türkiye koşullarını düşünerek günümüz iş görme kültüründe hakim olan 5 değer yargısını yazmanızı rica ediyoruz.

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....

IV) Fiyatlandırma/Rekabet

1) Rekabette hangi aşağıdaki faktörlerle ne ölçüde ağırlık verdiğinizizi "1-3" arasında derecelerle puanlayınız: (Ölçek Açıklaması: 1: Düşük 2: Orta 3: Yüksek)

Fiyat İndirimi Ürün kalitesi Taksitlendirme olanakları

2) Faaliyet alanınızda bulunan firmalarla

a) Fiyat konusunda rekabet edebiliyor musunuz?

Evet Hayır

b) Hayır ise:

Bu firmalar ölçek olarak sizin firmanızdan büyük mü?

Evet Hayır

3-Rekabet şansı sağlamanızı sağlayacak uzun vadeli kaynak ihtiyacınızı karşılayabiliyor musunuz?

Evet Hayır

V-Standartlaşma

1-Üretim standartlarınız meslek odanız tarafından mı belirleniyor?

Evet Hayır

2- Standartlara uymayan işletmeler ile ilgili meslek kuruluşunuzun yaptırımını var mı?

Evet Hayır

3- Teknik standartları karşılayabiliyor musunuz?

Evet Hayır

4- Uyum sağlamak zorunda olduğunuz standart tiplerini belirtiniz: (ISO vb.)

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....

VI-Mesleki İletişim

1-Bir meslek odasına üye misiniz?

Evet Hayır

2-Üyesi olduğunuz mesleki kuruluşlar: VAR: (aşağıya yazınız) YOK:

- 1-.....
- 2-.....
- 3-.....
- 4-.....
- 5-.....

3-Meslektaşlarınızla belli zamanlarda iş faaliyetler amacıyla biraraya geliyor musunuz ?

Evet Nadiren Hayır

4-Zaman içerisinde ticaret erbabı arasında mesleki dayanışma

Arttı Değişmedi Azaldı

5-Ticaret erbabı arasında finansal anlamda dayanışma ne durumdadır? (Örneğin zor duruma düşen tüccar veya esnafın kendisi ve ailesinin maddi ihtiyaçlarının karşılanması)

Çok Yoğun Yoğun Orta Düzeyde Seyrek

Finansal Anlamda Dayanışma Bulunmamaktadır

5-Meslektaşlarınızla mesleki görüşmeler haricinde bir araya geliyor musunuz?

Evet Nadiren Hayır

6-Meslektaşlarınızla bir araya geliyorsanız, genel olarak neler (spotif faaliyetler, sosyal amaçlı faaliyetler) paylaşıyorsunuz? Lütfen yazınız.

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

SORU FORMU BİTTİ

YARDIMLARINIZ İÇİN TEŞEKKÜR EDERİZ

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