# ULA

## AN ANATOLIAN TOWN

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# SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STUDIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

# ÉTUDES SOCIALES, ÉCONOMIQUES ET POLITIQUES DU MOYEN ORIENT

VOLUME XII

PETER BENEDICT

# ULA

## AN ANATOLIAN TOWN




LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1974

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BY

PETER BENEDICT

With 9 Maps

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*To*
CORDELIA
*And*
ALI

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Otu kekik, kuşu keklik olan yere gitme
Otu saz, kuşu kaz olan yere git

Stay not where the weed is thyme and the partridge thrives
Go where the grass is reed and the goose flies

*(from a nomad in the plain of Gökova)*

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# PREFACE

The data upon which this study is based were collected during fieldwork conducted in 1967-68. Preparatory work before arriving in the field area was undertaken in Istanbul and Ankara where time was spent in library research. The Ottoman archives in Istanbul and the various ministries in Ankara, especially the State Institute of Statistics, all contributed in providing valuable preliminary information. In February of 1968 I joined the faculty of the Middle East Technical University in Ankara where I spent several stimulating months in debate and discussion with staff and student body in critically evaluating my fieldwork and concepts.

The names of those who aided in this research are numerous and the depth of their aid immeasurable. In this respect I am particularly grateful to Professor Lloyd Fallers of the University of Chicago whose advice was enjoyed from research design to review of the manuscript. In Turkey I early had the good fortune to know Professor Halet Çambel of the University of Istanbul who introduced me to Turkey. Later, a gifted sociologist, Professor Mübeccel Kıray of the Middle East Technical University, brought me to appreciate the kinds of questions to be asked of Turkish society. I also wish to express my gratitude to Professors Şerif Mardin and Fatma Mansur who read early drafts of this manuscript and provided valuable comments. A special note of appreciation is extended to Professor Erol Tümertekin of the University of Istanbul who as colleague and personal friend helped in many ways to realize the publication of this study.

Without the formal assistance and private encouragement of the governor and the assistant governor of the province of Muğla, much of this study could not have been undertaken. This aid was locally continued through the office of the county-governor and the staffs of various government and municipal offices in the town of Ula, to all of whom I am grateful. An immense indebtedness, which could scarcely be enunciated, is owed to the people of Ula who gave freely of

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their knowledge, kindness, and compassion. Without their aid this study would have been impossible.

The field research for this study was supported by a research grant from the National Institute of Mental Health (1-RO4-MH 13527-01). In addition, a Faculty Research Grant from the University of Nevada aided in the completion of the manuscript. The skilled archival research of Mr. Cevad Bozkurtlar added a valuable dimension to the reconstruction of Ula's history. Ultimately this research in Turkey was achieved only through the cooperation of the Turkish government which issued a special permit allowing me to conduct research in a rural area.

Added to this list must be the names of Mrs. Alma Smith, Mrs. Ardan Yardım and Miss Nazmiye Özgüç whose editorial skills added greatly to this manuscript. My affectionate appreciation goes to my wife Cordelia who assisted in every stage of research and writing and to my children who made these labors worthwhile.

August 1973
Beirut, Lebanon

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## GUIDE TO TURKISH PRONUNCIATION

Turkish is spelled phonetically. Additional vowels and consonants have been devised to fit conversion to the Latin alphabet, and are pronounced as follows:

- i as in *i*t or *i*n
- ı something between the *i* in *fi*g and the *u* in *fu*g
- o as in *o*range
- ö same as the German *ö*
- u as in J*u*ne
- ü same as the French *u*
- c like a *j* as in *J*ohn
- ç like *ch* as in *ch*atter
- ş like *sh* as in *sh*e
- ğ the "soft *g*", elongating the vowel sound between two consonants following a vowel, i.e. Muğla—Moo-la and pronounced almost like a *y* between two vowels.

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# INTRODUCTION

The small town as an object of inquiry for anthropologists concerned with Turkey is an area of study still in its infancy. In the first published social study of a Turkish town, appearing in Turkish in 1964,[1] Kıray notes that studies to date have essentially focused upon village life in Turkey and that, except for brief excursions into urban problems, the entire middle range of small and large towns has not yet become the object of social science concern. Since the appearance of Kıray's study, few other sociological town studies have been undertaken in Turkey.[2] Rather, the emphasis in social science research by Turkish and foreign scholars has continued to be directed toward studies of village life, nomadism, and problems such as unemployment and life in squatter communities found in large urban centers.

A variety of factors aid in explaining the existence of this ethnographic void. To the anthropologist traditionally interested in looking at small-scale communities in-the-round, the town represents a community (or set of interrelated communities) of considerable complexity. Moreover, in the study of a town, the single community necessarily becomes less relevant than the region in which it exists. For it is the region which defines the functions of settlements through the requirements of interrelated activities. The insularity which many researchers posit for small-scale communities becomes unrealis-

---

1 This work (Kıray 1964) appeared as *Ereğli : Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası (Ereğli . A Pre-Industrial Coastal Town),* a study of a Black Sea coastal town, sponsored by the State Planning Organization.

2 Based upon work conducted in the late 1950's, Szyliowicz (1966) has published a study of political modernization in the town of Erdemli on the Mediterranean coast. Other research in Turkey includes unpublished studies by M. Meeker on the Black Sea coastal town of Of and that of L. Fallers on the town of Edremit in western Turkey. An excellent study of the coastal town of Bodrum in the southwest of Turkey by F Mansur-Coşar has recently been published (Mansur 1972).

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tic when a region becomes the focal point of study.[3] In fact, the apparent complexity of "town" and "region" as units of analysis seemingly "bespeaks a lack of theoretical concepts available for their analysis" according to Mitchell (1966:41) who doubts that anthropologists have yet the "perspective with which to view these phenomena and bring them into focus."

The dearth of town studies in Turkey is mirrored in the wider literature concerned with the social anthropology of the Middle East. In a recent survey of Middle Eastern ethnology, Louise Sweet (1969:228) contends that "The recent anthropological study of cities [and towns] is so meagerly developed that a paragraph or two only will suffice."[4] Of the few studies existing, only that of the geographer English (*City and Village in Iran,* 1966) attempts to consider the conceptual significance of an urban center when viewed within a regional context.

At least one scholar, Benet (1963:212), sees the paucity of urban sociology in the Near East as due to "disciplinary parochialism." Even the eclectic anthropologists, he asserts, fail to erode this stifling parochialism "because they are a notoriously agoraphobic lot, anti-urban by definition" (Benet 1963:212). Although Benet's remarks are an oversimplification of the situation, his argument does underscore the lack of interdisciplinary efforts in Near Eastern studies. All too often, accomplished descriptions and useful concepts developed in one discipline go unheeded by other disciplines in search of the same.

The present study is that of a small Turkish town, Ula, and its region. At one level, through the investigation of beliefs, values, and activities of town life in an historical context as well as in the present, it seeks to contribute to the understand-

3 Such is the intention of English (1966: XVIII) who, in his study of the Kirman Basin in Iran, proposes a "geographical" approach to a region in which "The distribution and diversity of settlements and their functional integration in a complex regional organization are of paramount concern."

4 To Sweet's list of urban studies may be added those provided by footnotes to Benet's (1963:211) article on "The ideology of Islamic urbanization."

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ing of processes of social and economic change occuring in Turkey. Still more specifically, it seeks to carry the concern with the study of such processes to the town, a level of settlement hierarchy hitherto little analyzed for Turkey.

At yet another level, this study is concerned with some of the conceptual problems related to terms such as "town" and "region" as they have been variously used by social science disciplines. The use of these terms by several disciplines has yielded such a bewildering array of referents as to diminish their use as heuristic devices. Best known is the development of the fields of urban sociology and economic geography. The two disciplines, both concerned with the regularities of urban phenomena cast in time and space, have pursued divergent theoretical orientations in the explication of such regularities.[5] Both in its European and American developments, the sociological approach stresses matters such as urban origins, the quality of urban life, rural-urban sociological differences, and the nature of urban settlements as social entities.[6] Geography, concerned more with the regularities of events within spatial systems, views the urban center in terms of its centrality, important vis-à-vis its functions within a network of flows. Without an understanding of the flows constituting a network, the concepts of rural-urban and town-region are unintelligible to the geographer.[7] Both urban

5 A number of the conclusions reached by the economist Christaller and the geographer Lösch, responsible for many of the seminal ideas embodied in central-place theory, were anticipated by the sociologist C.J. Golpin (Berry 1967:59, fn. 1). This line of thought has not been continued in later sociological developments.

6 De Coulanges, Maine, Weber, and Pirenne are among those who have attempted to construct institutional theories of urban conglomerates. The wedding of urban phenomena and environment embodied in the city as an ecological system was best formulated by the Chicago school of sociology during an era of American history when urban places were reeling from the turmoil of problems ranging from immigrants to the Depression.

7 Here see particularly Dickinson (1967) *The City Region in Western Europe* and Isard (1960) *Methods of Regional Analysis*. An interesting theoretical development of the dynamics of spatial systems, beginning with Thünen's theory of agricultural location, continues today in the works of exponents of central-place theory as applied to an understanding of the geography of retail and service business (Berry 1967).

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sociology and economic geography have contributed to an understanding of the structure of *place* and *process*.

A sociological concern with the study of Ula as a social entity, or place, benefits somewhat from a special literature which attempts to pose questions concerning the nature of Muslim urban settlements. The urban community, maintains Max Weber in his essay *The City,* is a unique blend of both an "urban mentality" and a set of urban institutions, the latter of which provide arenas in which private and public life merge (Weber 1921:80). In this sense of community Weber stresses that Muslim urban centers lack the forms of institutions which in the ancient Greek *polis* and medieval Italian communes united its inhabitants into a corporate unit (Weber 1921:88). Rather, for the Muslim urban situation, Weber sees elite groups, clans, guilds, and other forces as antagonistic to the notion of corporate community life, serving as competing sources of legitimization.

This theme, that of the divisive character of Muslim communities, is found also in the work of von Grunebaum. He notes that Muslim urban centers historically were unstable entities ridden by interquarter animosities based upon group loyalties, the desire to shield family groups, and ethnic and religious differences which tended to make the unity of the Muslim town functional and not civic (Grunebaum 1955:147-148).[8] Having as its focal points the mosque and market, the town provides a site for the satisfaction of religious duties and economic wants. Beyond that, a Muslim is above all a "citizen of the *umma Muhammadiyya* [community of Islam], but a mere resident of his town" (Grunebaum 1955:144).

Another line of inquiry considers the urban place as a relatively distinct social entity possessing a quality of life making it a sanctuary, a total society of sorts, within which a full Muslim life can be led (Lapidus 1969:47). To distinguish this quality of life from that of a folk or rural way of life the term "urban mentality" has often been applied.

Approaching urban places as social entities has been a

8 Lengthy descriptions of the internal organization of Muslim urban centers supplied by Gibb and Bowen (1950; 1957) and Lapidus (1967) consider in some detail the historical nature of urban divisive forces.

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prominent theme in urban sociology for decades. In the American sociological tradition, a concept of urban mentality was early employed in Park's seminal article of 1916 on the study of urban environments. Here Park states that

> The city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition (1916:13).

Wirth, reacting against a developing "urban ecology" approach in American sociology, strongly echoes Park's sentiments. In a 1938 paper he suggests that the study of the physical entity of a city and the functional unity it displays does not yield a concept of "urban in itself, but rather one must investigate attitudes which can be summed up by the term 'urban mentality'" (Wirth 1938:15). For Wirth, this mentality is a perspective on the part of urban dwellers, an urban sense of bearing leading to a distinct type of rationality. This rationality springs from the quality of urban human relationships which are "impersonal", "superficial", "transitory", and "segmental" (Wirth 1938:12). In short, an urban mentality for Wirth is a "secularization of life" (Wirth 1938:15), a toleration for the juxtaposition of divergent personalities and modes of life.

The analysis of complex communities poses a considerable number of problems for which the concept of "urban mentality" or well-drawn static dichotomies between urban and rural are inadequate. Communities are process as well as place and require other approaches for their understanding. For example, objecting to the notion of "social entity", the geographer Jones states that "stressing the contrast between town and country, and isolating the city as a discrete concept, in many ways falsifies the total picture beyond what is reasonable for analysis" (Jones 1966:10). For the geographer, the town or city viewed as a discrete system or social entity has little heuristic value.

The anthropologist Mitchell expresses concisely the difficulties inherent in depicting towns and cities as well-defined social entities.

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> In so far as the town is a unit, it is so either in terms of the complex network or exchange of goods and services which provides the *raison d'etre* of the town, or administratively as a local government authority. But these specialized relationships constitute only a small number of the total relationships of townsmen. There are many other aspects of behavior, domestic, religious, recreational, and so on - which appear to be relatively autonomous in relation both to one another and to the economic and administrative fields, and which in a classical anthropological type of study would be seen to be intimately interconnected with one another (Mitchell 1966:59-60).

This study of Ula is not solely a study of a "townscape" in terms of a special morphology of contemporary physical features and social forms. It is largely a narrative of a community's efforts both to respond to and act aggressively upon social and economic changes which gradually have been eroding the importance of the town, whether it be defined as a social entity or as a node within a regional network of interaction. The effects of this decline have permeated and continue to permeate the affairs of all of its inhabitants. Responses to these changes range from a marked exodus from the town to desperate efforts to seek out plausible avenues of new and remaining local economic opportunity. In the face of a dwindling base of economic alternatives, the understanding of the past and present factors entering into choice-making in Ula is the substantive contribution this study seeks to provide.

The approach utilized in this study treats Ula as a regional mediating center reflecting the region in which it is located. The intensity and quality of its role of mediator is commensurate with the changing needs of a dependent sphere of influence. The relations between town and region, urban and rural spheres of influence, are considered in terms not of their mutual exclusiveness but of their dynamic engagement within an historical perspective. Ula's demise as an important regional center is attendant upon shifts to other communities of functions historically performed by the town - an alteration in the engagement of urban-rural variables. Several factors underlie this change in the association of town with region.

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1. In its role as a mediating center, Ula possesses a set of functions which have changed and are continuing to change.[9] Considered here as functions are "only those activities which justify its [the town's] existence and development and which bring in the resources necessary to its continued existence" (Beaujeu-Garnier and Chabot 1967:106). The functions selected as exemplary of Ula's changing role over time are the political, economic, cultural, and psychological. The latter function subsumes the sense of identification for the inhabitants of the region which is provided by the town in its role of leadership.
2. A particular array of functions nucleated and arranged within the town greatly reflects the needs of a region for the services of the town. The mediating center, in turn, extends an impress upon its region or hinterland, and through this involvement an interdependence is established.

   > Were it not for the attractions and suggestions that the city exerts through these instrumentalities upon the rural population, the differences between the rural and urban modes of life would be even greater than they are (Wirth 1938:5).

3. The area toward which urban functions are variously directed, or in which its attraction is felt, is referred to as a sphere of influence. Synonymous terms include catchment area, hinterland, umland, and urban field. A single function has a "field" of attraction for which there is a minimal threshold of survival. Often the range and attraction of a function is increased or decreased by the relation of that function to other dependent functions. Functions have therefore a zone of influence and degree of intensity which determines their life span (Dickinson 1967:33).

   A single town such as Ula has several spheres of influence or hinterlands, each constituting a subregion which is internally uniform with respect to certain natural and cultural variables and therefore different from other sub-

9 Lapidus, reflecting on Muslim communities, employs the notion of "the city as a center of functions rather than of communities" (Lapidus 1969: 48-49, fn. 1).

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regions adjacent to Ula. Ula therefore plays a slightly different role for each of its respective hinterlands and conversely has established different dependencies with each.

4. The town takes on a degree of "centrality" through the fusion of regional needs with functions offered by the town. Various regional requirements become oriented toward a central place for fulfillment. The importance which comes through this centrality is at best a precarious situation for the town. The nature of the town-region dependency is different for each. The utilization by a rural-based population of the services of the town is at best discontinuous and is based essentially upon occasional need. A town's centripetal attractions are therefore periodic.

   Town-based craftsmen and merchants depend upon a rural-based clientele in order to maintain themselves above a certain threshold of economic survival. Their efforts are aimed not only at increasing the number of their clientele but also the frequency of their needs. Townsmen attempt to capture a region's periodic needs and elevate these to a permanent dependency upon what the town has to offer and upon which it, the town, depends for its existence. To this end, a given settlement within the hierarchy of urban centers stands to lose its central position when *field* and *center,* or region and settlement possessing nucleated functions, are fused at the next level upward in the hierarchy of settlement. It is this potential shift in dependency in town-region relations which makes the relationship an unstable one.

5. The town possesses both a functional unity as a mediating center and a civic cohesion resulting from the stratification of various social groups and the sharing of common institutions. Crosscutting such potentially divisive forces as families, lineages, clientage relations, and competing loci of political power, are the common legal, commercial, religious, and fraternal institutions which lend a certain quality of life to the town as a site. The town, therefore, is exposed to the possibility of losing its functional unity through its precarious dependence upon a rapidly changing hinterland.

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> On the other hand, the town exhibits a certain degree of civic cohesion fashioned out of kindred interests and common organizations encompassing diverse needs.

The town of Ula, viewed over time in its role as a mediating center, is illustrative of the actualization of the potential functional instability cited above. Ties which traditionally had bound region to town have been lessened to the point where the town's hegemony on political, economic and cultural leadership has passed in large measure to other hands. Both individual villages possessing new village-based functions and urban centers higher in the hierarchy of settlement are encroaching upon the town's former domain. Ula, whose regional existence was once predicated upon a region's needs for such a mediating center, has lost its significance as these needs have been antiquated or absorbed by other population centers.

An account of the social and economic changes occurring in Ula is also an account of the dysphoria faced by a number of once-important small market towns throughout Turkey. It is clear that not all traditional market towns are floundering in economic despair. Many are developing as relatively dynamic regional industrial centers, and still other settlements are emerging out of obscure village beginnings as manufacturing sites. However for as many examples which exist of small-town-made-good, there are other examples of towns unable to replace a dying traditional craft or respond to occasional succours from government or private enterprise. For yet others the problem is an inability to compete with nearby settlements for their traditional clientele or to reinstate themselves on the economic map after changes in regional road networks have left them in a backwater. In many cases towns have become mere legal entities, financially unworkable and economically sterile of opportunities.

The small town, or *kasaba,* of Turkey raises questions of interest beyond those of a purely economic nature. Provincial towns are noted as the sites for particular expressions of social action, political views, and religious sentiment, often being more conservative in beliefs than what is normally assigned to the "traditional village". The role of provincial towns

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in the career of a rapidly changing national society is as little understood in its social and cultural significance as in its economic import (Benedict 1971:151).

The processes of modernization and development in countries such as Turkey will eventually be better understood when the list of comparative studies is augmented further by investigations of towns and cities. The decline of small towns throughout Turkey, the increased pace of rural to urban internal population migrations, and the exponential increase in size of a handful of cities are events well-known to scholars of Turkey and to students of social change dealing with new nations. Less well known, perhaps, are the human responses to such transformations which seek to cope with change at the local level rather than to submit to the centripetal forces of large cities. Ula is instructive in this way. It exemplifies human efforts seeking to convert a malignant economy into a tolerable existence.

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CHAPTER ONE

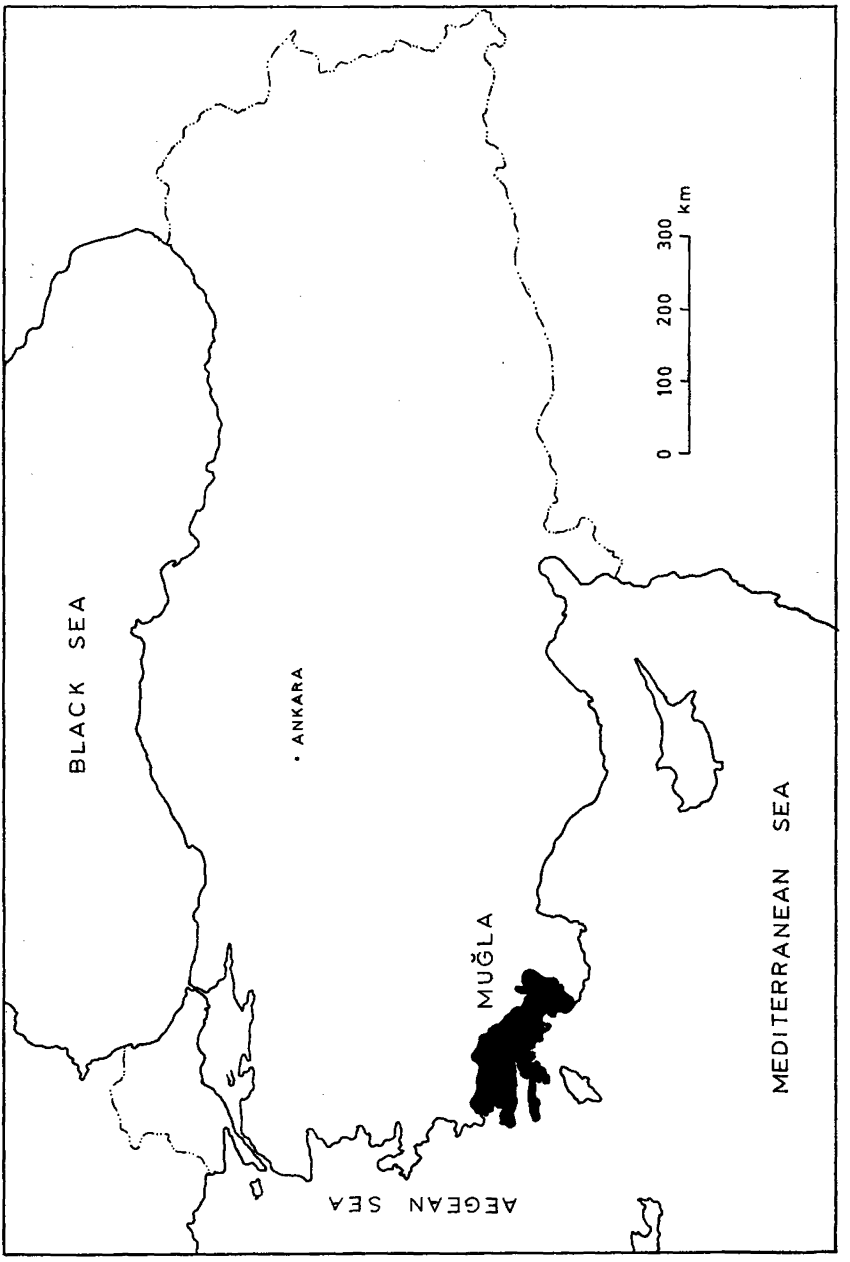
# TOWN AND REGION : CONTEMPORARY SETTING

Most of Turkey consists of a vast plateau encompassed by mountain ranges on all sides. The Pontic range along the Black Sea, the Taurus along the Mediterranean coast, and the meeting of the two in the east serve to seal off an inner plateau from the advantages of three coastal stretches. The plateau, characterized by flat arid expanses, numerous sunken basins, and massifs rising to over 2,000 meters, yields a bewildering array of land forms and micro-climates. In the west the plateau is accentuated by the merging of the Pontic, Aegean, and Tauric folds. The center region of western Anatolia is dominated by old low-lying massifs which separate the wide flat-bottomed valleys of the Gediz, Büyük Menderes, and Küçük Menderes rivers.

The most important of these rivers, the Büyük Menderes, rises in the plateau highlands at 1,000 meters and drains 24,600 square kilometers of mountain and plain in its course toward the sea (Cressey 1960:135). Dropping through steep upper canyons and cutting like a gigantic trough between mountain spurs, the Menderes flows onto a broad deltaic flood plain to the Aegean coast. Standing off this sinuous coastline are numerous islands and submerged prominences created by the tectonic forces which shaped the broken coastline.

Tracing one's path today from Izmir to Ula, the marshy coast passes abruptly to the agriculturally important center of Söke where fields of wheat, cotton, and tobacco combine in a mosaic of colored abundance. Moving yet eastward along the broad, flat-bottomed plain toward the prosperous market town of Aydın, the highway follows the course of the Menderes valley. Activity seems almost never-ending along this main transportation artery of the region, as trucks, buses, and cars careen down the road crowded with the carts, donkeys, and people of the numerous roadside villages. The region is

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**Map. 1. Turkey.**

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abundantly watered and endowed with rich alluvial soils upon which spacious gardens, fields, and groves thrive. The towns, factories, activity, technology, and agricultural lushness indicate the richness which makes the valley of the Menderes, leading like a corridor to the interior plateau region, one of the most agriculturally rich regions of Turkey.

From the vantage point of Aydın one looks southward toward a high seemingly unbroken mountain wall trending east-west. Here the lushness ends; with jagged peaks reaching upward to over 2,000 meters, the desolate mountain landscape extends from the Menderes to the Mediterranean. This southwest corner of Anatolia, once constituting the ancient Roman province of Caria and the Seljuk and Ottoman province of Menteşe, today is the Turkish province administratively referred to as Muğla (Map 1). It is here that the town of Ula is located, 15 kilometers distant from Muğla, the provincial capital town of the province of the same name.

## NATURAL VARIABLES

### RELIEF

The road from Aydın continues on toward Ula through the towns of Çine, Yatağan, and Muğla. The mountainous highlands of the province of Muğla are a continuation of the interior plateau as it slopes slightly to the west and plunges into the sea south of the Menderes delta (Map 2). Like fingers, the valleys of the Çine, Akçay and Vandalas rivers descend to the valley floor of the Menderes, providing natural corridors from the highland massifs. The road now follows the valley of the Çine river, enclosed on both sides by low foothills which reach ever more steeply up to the nearly vertical sides of jagged peaks. Low stone walls wind up and over the crests of the hilly and rocky slopes, enclosing gnarled olive trees intermingled with a thorny scrub vegetation within their limits.

Continuing southward one passes successively through the plains of Çine, Yatağan, and finally Muğla. Each of the three plains is similar to the others in relief and all are characteristic of the closed-in highland plains found in the province of Muğla. Such abbreviated plains, appearing to be self-con-

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tained and encircled by mountains, are connected to one another only through steep-walled circuitous gorges. This relief, which restricts entry into the highlands to narrow routes, greatly emphasizes the isolation of highland settlements.

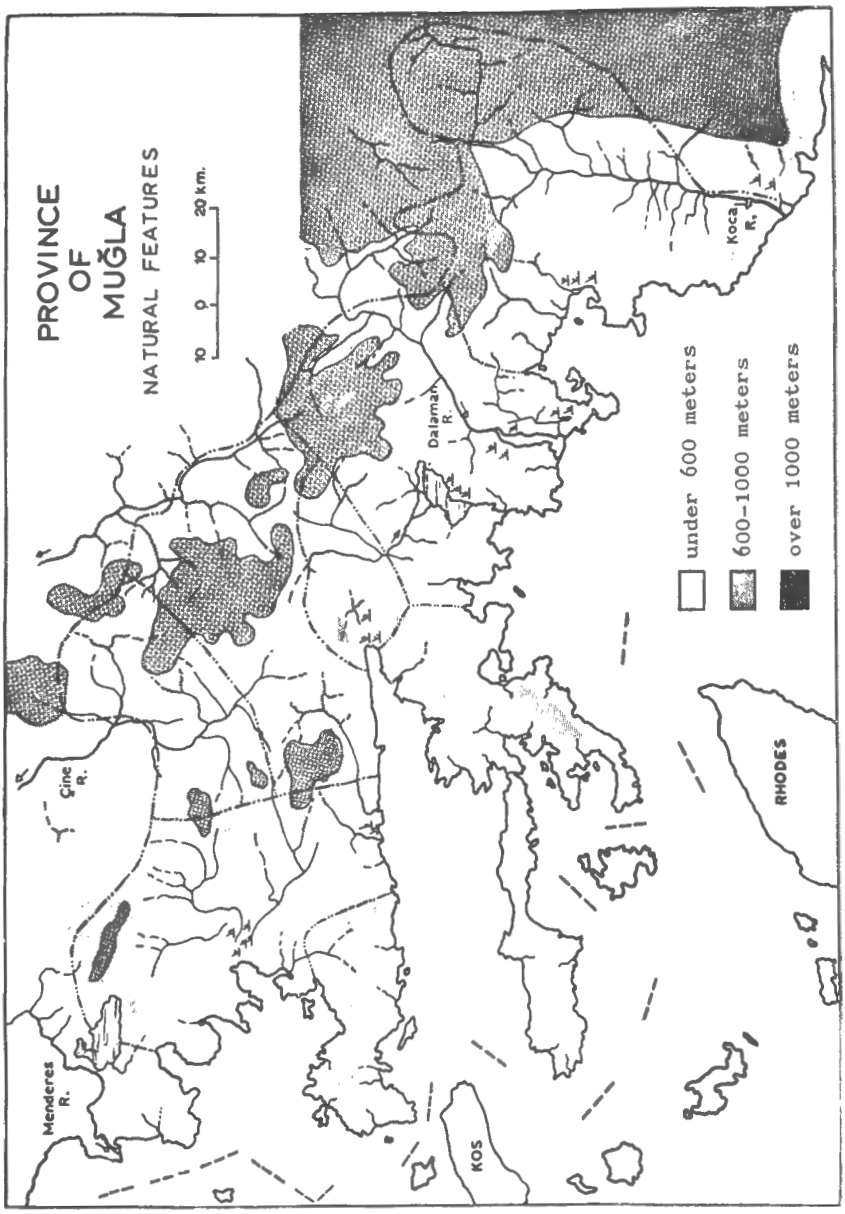
The town of Muğla, in the heart of the highlands at 650 meters, is the administrative center for the province and its largest town. It is situated on an abbreviated plain which is surrounded by slopes denuded of soil, paved with decomposed limestone, and patched with an inhospitable scrub-thorn growth. This scrub cover, broken by calcareous formations and numerous gullies gives most of highland Muğla a characteristically barren look. Given this karst-like topography having an alpine relief, arable land is restricted to small alluvial plains and valley bottoms. Cultivation, limited to these areas, suffers from a heavy concentration of rainfall in the winter, followed by a long hot moistureless summer.

The town of Ula, located in an adjoining plain fifteen kilometers beyond the town of Muğla, exhibits the same general topographical characteristics as the plain of Muğla. The road from Muğla, rising over low mountains and down again to the plain of Ula, divides shortly before reaching the town of Ula, one road continuing through Ula and on to Köyceğiz and Fethiye, the other leading more abruptly down to the coast to the ports of Gökova and Marmaris.

Bearing southward to the coast, the spurs of the plateau plunge abruptly from 600 meters elevation into the sea. The sheer walls of the southern face of the expiring plateau hug the Mediterranean coastline, allowing only a narrow coastal corridor in places. Stretching 1,360 kilometers from the Gulf of Edremit in the Aegean to the mouth of the Dalaman river in the Mediterranean, the sinuous outline of the coast consists of broken limestone cliffs, half submerged volcanic hills, jagged bays, and valleys drowned by marshes and creeks draining from the coastal mountains.

Despite the extensive coastline, only a handful of small ports provide shelter for maritime activity. The harbors of Fethiye and Bodrum and the now less important ports of Gökova, Güllük, and Marmaris lie in indentations in the otherwise unfavorable coastline. Some of these, such as Gökova, Ula's main historical economic portal, lie at the end of estuaries adjacent

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Map 2. Province of Muğla: Natural Features.

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to drowned valleys which, until recently, lay swampy and malaria-ridden. Muğla's coastal plains, with sandy, clayey, and gravel-packed soils which form alluvial fans, provide for more intensive agricultural activity than do the arid highland plains. It is within reclaimed coastal areas that most agricultural intensification has been evidenced in the past two decades.

Enclosed within a rugged mountainous complex and bounded by a coast isolated from the interior, the province of Muğla comprises 1.7 % of the total land area of Turkey and contains only 1 % of Turkey's population. Its major contrast in relief is between a discontinuous coastal zone where arable land is restricted to alluvial plains and a highland zone, highland Muğla, where arable land is restricted to abbreviated arid plains. Located in the highlands at a juncture between these two zones, Ula long was a mediating center for the regions immediately adjacent to it.

## CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

Muğla is a mountainous province having a minimal amount of arable land. Forest cover, unproductive rocky terrain, denuded slopes, bodies of water and marshland account for all but about 20 % of Muğla's total land area. Of this remaining 20 %, approximately one-half is devoted to field crops restricted to the narrow coastal plains and to the karstic highland valleys. This profile of land use, yielding such a minimal amount of arable land, is only matched by that of the mountainous provinces of eastern Turkey (Tümertekin 1959:79).

The complexity of relief in the province of Muğla provides considerable variation of climatic conditions. In a general sense, the province is exposed to a modified Mediterranean-type climate. The predominant characteristics of this type of climate include a heavy concentration of precipitation in winter, often appearing as snow in upper elevations and accompanied by prolonged cold temperatures, and hot dry summers (Erinç 1959:48). The humid coastal plains contrast in temperature and rainfall with the closed highland valleys 600-700 meters above the sea. Still other micro-climatic differences exist as a result of the penetration of coastal conditions inward through valleys opening onto the coast. Thus major differen-

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ces resulting from elevation, and micro-climates resulting from the disposition of relief, combine to provide a complex climatic situation.

Highland Muğla receives the greatest amount of precipitation, with an annual average of 1,180 mm., in contrast to the lower coastal averages of 777 mm. at Bodrum and 995 mm. at Fethiye (Muğla : Genel Araştırma 1966:5).[10] The mountain systems along the coast generally receive almost continuous heavy rain on their windward sides in the winter, in contrast to the coastal lowlands where precipitation is more dependent upon the periodic winter passage of cyclonic storms.

Winter temperatures are lower in the highland valleys than in the lowlands, often falling below zero degrees centigrade. Although summers in highland Muğla have high daytime temperatures of 15-25°C., evenings are often cool. In contrast, coastal temperatures are higher, often reaching 25-30°C. in July and August, mitigated only by the *meltem,* an etesian northwest wind bringing cool air and rain from April through September.

In sum, despite the higher rainfall pattern in the highlands, the concentration of moisture in essentially two winter months negates any beneficial effects which could last into the summer heat. As a function of this, highland agriculture generally is based upon winter cereals and summer crops which require little moisture, such as tobacco. In contrast, the coastal plains afford a greater opportunity for irrigated crops such as citrus fruits and for crops such as cotton, better adapted to the higher summer temperatures.

The vegetation of the province of Muğla represents a progression from coastal Mediterranean forms to that of the steppes of the Anatolian plateau. The two major indigenous plant domains coincide with coastal slopes and plains, affected by the humid Mediterranean climate, and the highlands where the aridity of closed-in plateau valleys and a denuded karst-like landscape are major factors. The contrasts in elevation

10 The full reference for this work is Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı, Planlama ve İmar Genel Müdürlüğü, *Muğla: Genel Araştırma,* but it is referred to in the text only as Muğla: Genel Araştırma.

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and climate provide for a wide variety of vegetation forms, and distinct zones of vegetation are not easily perceptible from coastal to highland elevations.[11]

A sizable amount of Muğla's land area is in forest cover. Now protected by law, this forest cover is distributed in the more inaccessible areas of the province where population density is low and agricultural activities are at a minimum or nonexistent. Most of Muğla seen from the road or in the vicinity of human habitation is characterized by eroded slopes and low commensal shrub formations. This shrub cover, referred to as *maki* in Turkish or *maqui* in French, often is

> a mixed association of evergreen plants, with tough and twisted wood, brilliant and often scented flowers, and shiny or glaucous foliage . . . This shrubby undergrowth of bushes and small trees may form a dense thicket, but is more often degraded by burning, cutting, or browsing (Mikesell 1961:21).

The ubiquitous maqui is difficult to characterize except that it is impenetrable, unpredictable in its components but dominated by thorny scrub which is next to impossible to eradicate, and occurs everywhere where forest degradation through overgrazing, over-cultivation, and extensive cutting and burning has taken place. Depending on soil depth and moisture, such thickets range from one to four meters in height. Maqui, however oppressive as a vegetation cover, is to the occupants of the area a source of firewood, dyes, food (those which bear edible drupes), medicinal plants, and building material. In a climate where factors of aridity and high summer temperatures limit other forms of vegetation, the thorny growth, with its ability to reduce moisture loss, thrives.

Despite historical evidence of extensive deforestation, Muğla remains one of the most densely forested provinces of Turkey. Approximately 67 % of Muğla's total area is considered forested. Although only 35.9 % of this area may be considered

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11 The geographer de Planhol, however, has determined three zones of vegetation based upon distinctions of cold winter forms such as *Pinus nigra,* several species of junipers, and other forms such as *Pinus brutia* and *Pinus silvestrus* (de Planhol 1958: 45).

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to be prime forest,[12] this is a figure still above that for most other provinces. The coastal marshy thickets of tamarisks give way to evergreen oaks and the wild olive or oleaster on the steep slopes. At elevations above 400 meters these forms are replaced by evergreen shrubs and deciduous trees which continue upward to juniper and a thorn cushion steppe.[13] Beneath this vegetation is a reddish-gray-brown soil (red podsol), a soil found over only 2½% of Turkey's surface and of which only 12 % is arable (Oakes 1958:180).

## VARIABLES OF POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

Ula is located in the province of Muğla, one of sixty-seven similarly constituted administrative divisions of Turkey (Map 3). The province is both an administrative unit of the central government at the provincial level and a self-governing administrative unit at the local level. As a unit of local government, the province *(il* or *vilayet)* of Muğla is divided into nine counties *(ilçe* or *kaza),* some of which are further subdivided into districts *(bucak* or *nahiye). Il, ilçe,* and *bucak* are respectively governed by a governor *(vali),* county governors *(kaymakam),* and district directors *(bucak müdürü),* all of whom are appointed by the central government.

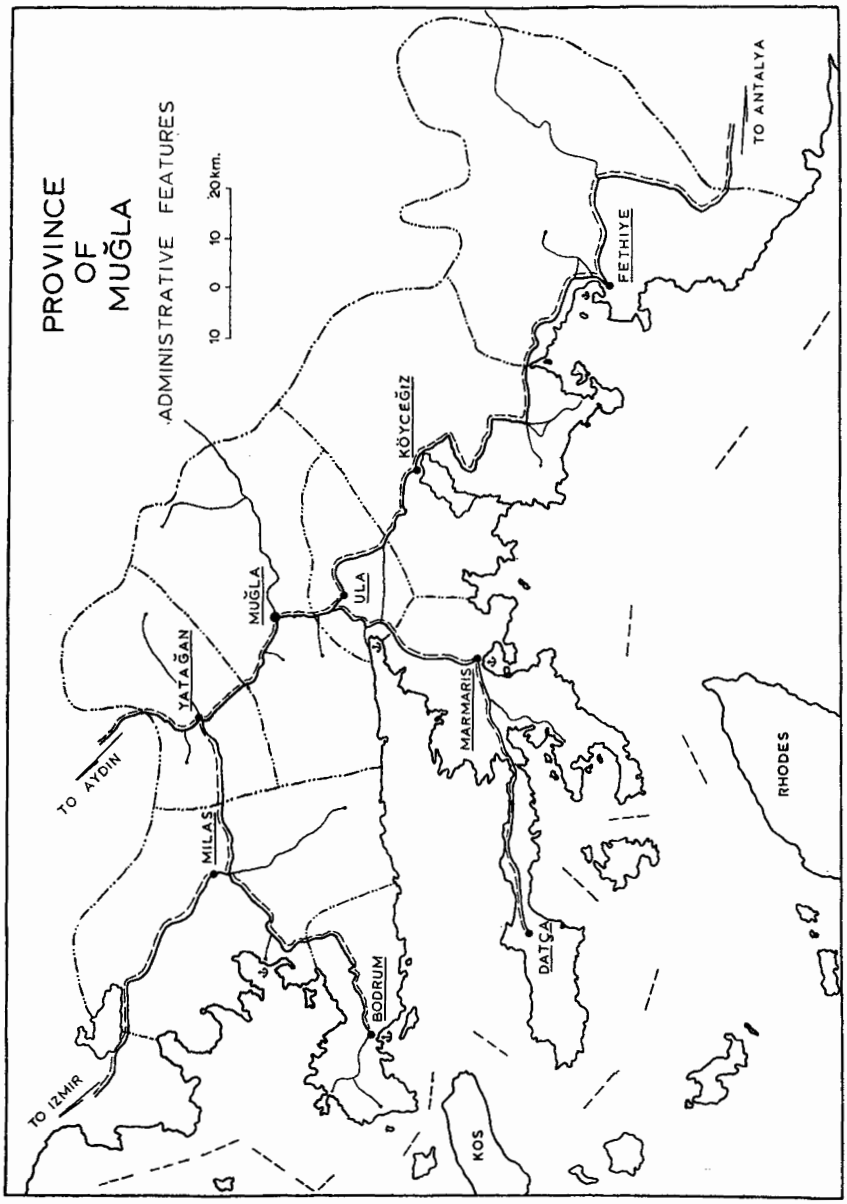
Each of the nine counties takes its name from that of its respective county-seat, generally a small town *(kasaba)* which serves as a functional center for that county. In the province of Muğla, each county-seat has municipal status as a unit of local government. The entire province is named after the town of Muğla which serves both as a central *(merkez)* county-seat with municipal status and as the administrative capital of the province. Thus at one level the region is unified by the provincial capital town of Muğla which serves as a focal point for its satellite counties. At a secondary level there are nine administrative regions, the counties, within which the county-seat in turn serves as a focal point for its satellite villages.

Ula is one of the nine counties which comprise the province

12 Personal communication. Muğla branch of the Ministry of Forestry.

13 Included among the evergreen oaks are *Quercus ilex, Q. coccifera,* and *Pinus brutia.* Above elevations of 400 meters are found forms such as *Quercus cerris, Q. aegilops,* and *Pinus nigra.*

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Map 3. Province of Muğla: Administrative Features.

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of Muğla today. The other counties of the province are Bodrum, Datça, Fethiye, Köyceğiz, Marmaris, Milas, Muğla, and Yatağan. The counties differ widely from one another as to land area, population density, and settlement size (Table 1). Ula is one of the smallest of the counties both in land area and population size. With the exception of Yatağan, all counties border on the sea and possess both coastal and highland zones.

## POPULATION

Muğla is one of the less populated provinces of Turkey, having only 25 individuals per square kilometer in 1965, compared to a national average density of 41 individuals per square kilometer. Although a western province, Muğla is in many respects dissimilar to the other provinces of western Turkey. Criteria such as a low population density, a high rural to urban population ratio, a predominantly agrarian livelihood base, a lack of industry, and the isolation resulting from a mountainous terrain, often the hallmarks of remote eastern Turkey, are criteria which also characterize Muğla.

Complex historical events and the exigencies of present economic conditions have greatly affected Muğla's population. Similar to the situation of other provinces, Muğla's population has been ravaged by the requirements of wars as distant as the Yemen and as near as its own War of Independence. Local ballads and folklore recount natural catastrophes, such as frequent and destructive earthquakes, and diseases, such as a plague which reputedly claimed the lives of thousands during the last century. Continuing until more recently are the destructive effects of malaria, endemic to Muğla's coastal plains until a scant twenty years ago. Many households within the coastal zone and neighboring highland expanses are able to claim an adult member or child lost to malaria before its eradication.

Within the thirty year period between 1935 and 1965, however, the population of the province increased significantly. For this period the population of the entire province increased by over 70 % to a total of 334,973, and some areas of the province witnessed even greater increases. For example, the coastal town of Köyceğiz, once under the pale of malaria,

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*Table 1*
*Comparisons between counties in the province of Muğla*

| *County* | *Land Area in Hectares*[b] | *Land Area as % of Province*[a] | *Population by District*[a] | *District Pop. as % of Total*[a] | *Population Density*[a] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muğla | 120,200 | 10.1 | 50,654 | 15.2 | 31 |
| Bodrum | 66,000 | 5.6 | 25,811 | 7.7 | 40 |
| Datça | 38,300 | 3.2 | 5,975 | 1.7 | 13 |
| Fethiye | 224,700 | 18.9 | 75,202 | 22.5 | 25 |
| Köyceğiz | 235,000 | 19.8 | 45,062 | 13.4 | 18 |
| Marmaris | 89,079 | 7.5 | 12,780 | 3.8 | 15 |
| Milas | 192,600 | 16.2 | 68,037 | 20.4 | 31 |
| Ula | 46,200 | 3.9 | 15,185 | 4.5 | 37 |
| Yatağan | 176,221 | 14.8 | 36,267 | 10.8 | 24 |
| TOTAL | 1,188,300[c] | 100.0 | 334,973 | 100.0 | 25 Av. |

a T.C.D.I.E. *1965 Census* 1968:483. The full reference for this work is Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Istatistik Enstitüsü, *1965 Census*. Hereafter all publications of this institute will be abbreviated as T.C.D.I.E.

b Muğla branch of Ministry of Forestry.

c Other totals given are 1,276,000 hectares (Hayat 1934:3314); 1,333,800 hectares (T.C.D.I.E. *1965 Census* 1968); 1,222,584 hectares (Uykucu 1968:21); and 1,204,282.7 hectares (Personal communication, Muğla branch of Ministry of Forestry).

experienced an urban growth of 165 % and a rural growth of 178 % in the thirty years after the eradication of malaria. Most of the population increase has occured in the coastal areas of the province and is attributable in large degree to the eradication of malaria and subsequent settlement of nomads and development of cash cropping.

Despite the increase in population in the years since the eradication of malaria, the scars of emigration are pronounced. For decades Muğla has sent more of its population outward than it has received from other provinces. The number of local-born living outside of Muğla nearly tripled from 1950 to 1960 (Tümertekin 1968:171). Frustrated by a lack of opportunities, the exodus from some small villages and particularly from highland towns for educational and employment purposes has markedly affected Muğla's population growth. This exodus, and the underlying reasons behind it, will be examined more closely in the case of Ula.

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SETTLEMENT

Muğla is a region predominantly rural in residence as well as agrarian in occupation. Each county tends to constitute a functional region in itself, characterized by a central small town and a number of dispersed outlying villages oriented toward the town. The population of the province is essentially concentrated outside of municipal urban centers in nucleated villages and small dispersed settlements. In the 1965 census over 82 % of Muğla's population was considered rural. This contrasts somewhat sharply with figures provided for neighboring provinces where a lower rural to urban ratio was noted. In some counties of the province as much as 99 % of the population can be considered as rural in terms of residence.

*TOWNS.* In general, Muğla's urban centers are smaller in size than most urban centers elsewhere in western Anatolia. The largest town and the provincial capital, Muğla, had a population of only 16,408 in 1965. This size is only as large as it is because of the numerous administrative functions performed by the town. As the seat of provincial government, Muğla's population is augmented with non-local civil servants, business employees, teachers, and others dependent on wages who are assigned to Muğla to staff the government offices, upper schools, and headquarters of the numerous regional offices found there. Despite its geographical centrality and administrative importance gained since the founding of the Republic, Muğla does not foster any significant economic functions. Except for a small limestone mining operation, the provincial capital is devoid of any major manufacturing functions. The economic life centers on the daily services and sales required to provision landless administrators and employees, craftsmen, merchants, and a sizeable element of individuals dependent upon a share-cropping relationship with powerful landlords who still dominate this district's agrarian structure.

With the exception of Milas (1965 population 12,987), an agriculturally important market town, all other county-seats fall considerably below Muğla's population size, ranging from 8,000 down to 1,000 in approximate size (Table 2). All towns function dually as county *(ilçe)* administrative centers and as market centers. As market centers, they service their im-

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mediate hinterland through the convening of a weekly market and through the small-scale services provided by town craftsmen and shop merchants.

*VILLAGES.* As Table 2 indicates, more than 85 % of the rural population of the province dwell in villages which are less than 2,000 in size. The predominant village size is in the range of 500 to 1,000 individuals. The rural settlement pattern for the province is characterized both by dispersed quarters or small hamlets called *mahalles* of a single village and by the tightly nucleated villages which are so characteristic of the plateau.

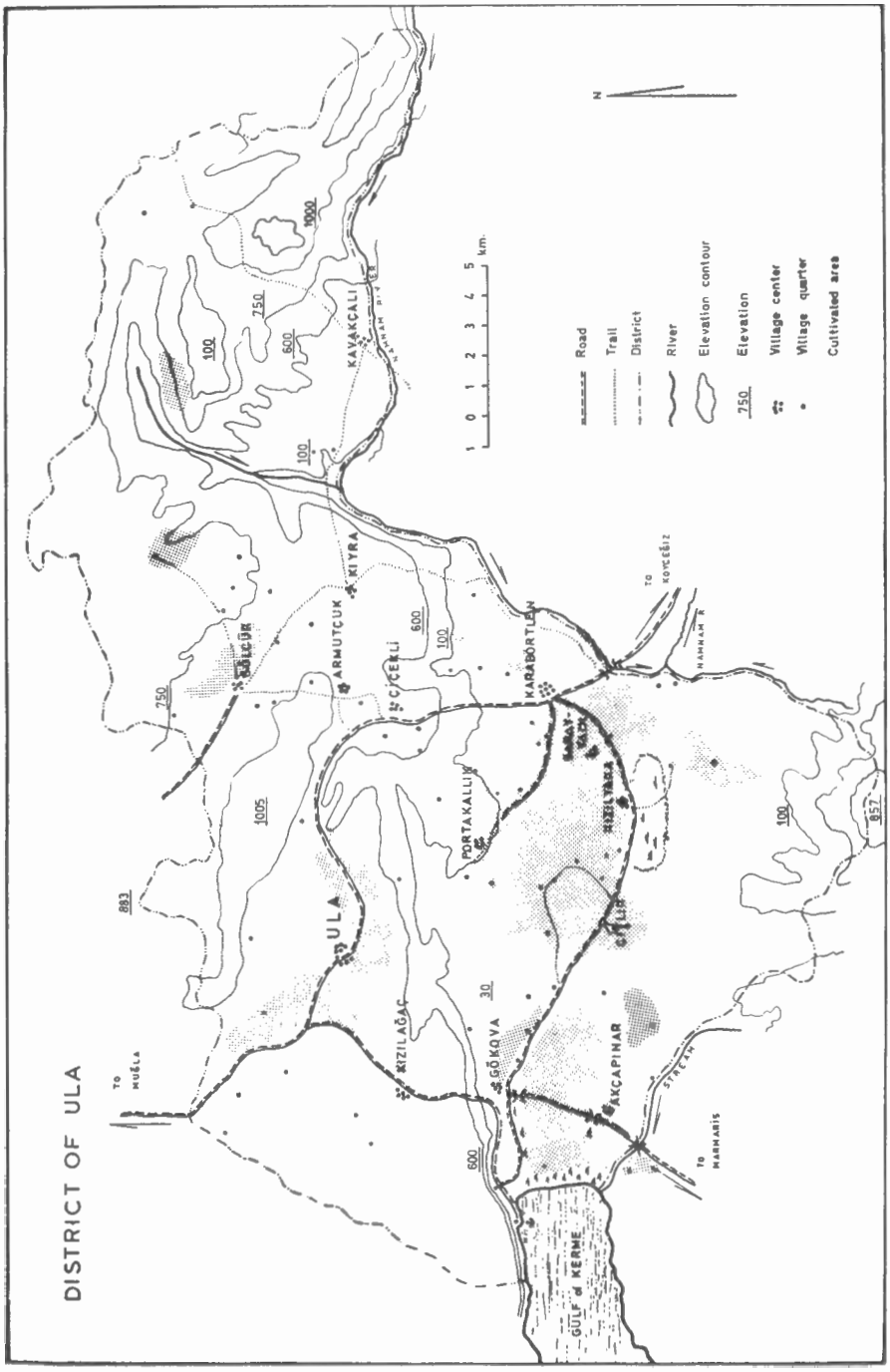
The county of Ula is typical of the dispersed settlement pattern (Map 4). Its most graphic example of dispersed settlements is found on the plain of Gökova which has been settled predominantly by nomadic groups within this century. The *mahalles* of Gökova often are no larger than a cluster

*Table 2*
*Settlement in the province of Muğla according to the 1965 census*[a]

| *Village Size* | *Number of Villages* | *Population* | *Population as Per Cent of Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1-100 | 2 | 162 | (.05) |
| 101-500 | 179 | 63,133 | 22.9 |
| 501-1,000 | 143 | 100,956 | 36.7 |
| 1,001-2,000 | 58 | 71,899 | 26.1 |
| 2,001 + | 15 | 39,493 | 14.3 |
| Total | 397 | 275,643 | 100.0 |
| TOWNS | | | |
| Bodrum | | 5,136 | |
| Datça | | 1,341 | |
| Fethiye | | 8,386 | |
| Köyceğiz | | 3,409 | |
| Marmaris | | 3,641 | |
| Milas | | 12,987 | |
| Muğla | | 16,408 | |
| Ula | | 4,616 | |
| Yatağan | | 3,406 | |
| | Total | 59,330 | |

[a] Source: T.C.D.I.E. *1965 Census* 1968:483.

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**Map 4. District of Ula.**

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of ten to fifteen houses and are comprised of one or several extended families. The most recently settled *mahalles* usually contain members of a single tent or nomadic *oba,* the large extended family which historically functioned as a single economic unit in the seasonal transhumance movement. Depending upon their length of settlement, the various *mahalles* represent increasing degrees of sedentariness. In some cases, the black nomadic tent can still be seen, attached to a new structure of stone or wood. However, present administrative laws which prohibit settlement by nomads on slopes designated as "forest area" are now compelling nomads to settle in already established quarters. These various quarters are in turn administratively linked to legally-defined villages.

## LIVELIHOOD

Residence alone does not account for Muğla's rural character; Muğla's population, for the most part, is compelled to gain its livelihood from the soil. Lacking factories and other manufacturing functions found in neighboring provinces, a high percentage of townsmen and villagers alike engage in agricultural pursuits. An occupational survey indicates that 82.4 % of the "economically productive" segment of the population, those between the ages of 15 to 64, were agriculturalists in 1960 (Muğla: Genel Araştırma 1966:11). Such surveys, however, are not always reliable indices of a region's occupational structure. In a region such as Muğla, bankers, mailmen, truckdrivers, and iron mongers alike, located in urban centers, derive a substantial portion of their subsistence and/or income from tilling the soil. To be an agriculturalist is not a primary occupation but a necessary involvement, one which serves to supplement other endeavors and to provide a cushion for failures. Whether through land ownership or through rental, sharecropping, or as wage labor, most of the families of small towns place a member of the family in a vineyard, garden, orchard, or tobacco field. Statistics concerning rural-urban ratios seemingly pertain only to the location of population residing within and without municipal boundaries and not to the complex of occupational pursuits.

A further complication in the determining of occupational

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structure is the attention paid by censuses solely to an individual's "primary" occupation. Table 3 indicates the occupational structure of the province of Muğla according to "primary" occupation for 1935 and 1965. However, involvement in a number of occupational pursuits by an individual, either simultaneously or serially through the year is a common occurrence which is masked by such census considerations. Many livelihood endeavors are too complex to categorize neatly in a tally of occupational structure. For example, itinerant tailors and cobblers qualify not only for the category of "commerce" but as well for "services". Many occupations such as "mining" and "construction" are seasonal, thus forcing the individual

*Table 3*
*A comparison of occupational structure for the province of Muğla between 1935 and 1965*[a]

| *Occupational Category* | *1935*[b] *Settlement Size* *10,000+* | *10,000-* | *1965 Settlement Size* *10,000+* | *10,000-* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting, Fishing | 74.4 % | 91.8 % | 21.1 % | 85.7 % |
| Mining, Quarrying | .2 | — | .4 | 1.2 |
| Manufacturing | 12.0 | 3.6 | 23.5 | 4.5 |
| Construction | 1.9 | .5 | 9.6 | 2.5 |
| Electric, Gas, Water, Sanitary Services | — | — | .4 | — |
| Commerce (wholesale-retail trade), Banking, Insurance | 3.2 | .9 | 12.6 | 1.4 |
| Transport, Storage, Communication | 1.2 | 1.0 | 6.2 | 1.2 |
| Services | 7.1 | 2.2 | 22.9 | 3.1 |
| Not adequately described | (Included in "Agriculture") | | 3.3 | .4 |
| | 100.0 % | 100.0 % | 100.0 % | 100.0 % |
| Population totals | 193,753 | | 335,135 | |

[a] Sources: Muğla: Genel Araştırma 1966:13; T.C.D.I.E. *Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics* 1969:965; and T.C.D.I.E. *1935 Genel Nüfus Sayımı* 1936.

[b] In 1935 only the town of Muğla had a population above 10,000. In 1965 Muğla and Milas were the two urban centers with populations greater than 10,000. Occupational censuses normally include only that segment of the population fifteen years of age and older.

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to switch between occupations as the seasons permit. Even more widespread is the common involvement by an individual in many occupations at a single given time. It is not infrequent to find a tailor with a small investment in a truck used for cartage, in machinery for a carpenter's shop, or in a share of a grocer's stock. This diversification of capital in multiple occupations and the diversification of labor in a number of income-producing pursuits is impossible to note in census figures.

The percentage of people involved in other occupations in the province increased at the expense of agriculture in the thirty year period ending in 1965 (Table 3). Although Muğla still lacks sizeable manufacturing and processing centers, there has been a dramatic increase in such trades as woodworking, automotive mechanics, and iron working. In all towns, retail and wholesale functions have experienced a similar increase, stimulated by both regional population growth (70 % over the thirty year period) and increased consumption norms for many items. A closer analysis would show, however, that attendant upon the increase of retail sales of specific goods, such as non-locally manufactured shoes, is the abrupt decline of certain local crafts, such as cobblers of various types. Unable to compete with changing conditions, people in many occupations have either shifted their focus of activity (e.g. the shift in emphasis by tailors from the manufacture of wearing apparel to the repair of factory-made clothing) or have moved completely from one occupation to another. In the following chapters the causes of this economic diversification are explored in some detail in the case of Ula.

## LAND USE

The general picture of land use for the province is complicated by the degree of intercounty differentiation (Map 5). The separate counties cannot be viewed as homogeneous subregions of the larger region, the province. Likewise, within each county are several zones, determined by differences in elevation. The county of Ula, for example, contains three general subregions or zones based upon the range of uniform characteristics found within them. Each zone respectively exhibits a complex

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**Map 5. Province of Muğla: Land Use.**

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of crops and livelihood forms generally distinct from the others.

Although the province exhibits a general bifurcation of cropping based upon elevation, a number of crops are found in both coastal and highland complexes. Tobacco is one such crop. An enigma in the economic future of the county of Ula, tobacco growing has expanded rapidly from highland slopes where it was first introduced, to all areas of the county. In terms of quality, tobacco thrives best on highland arid slopes where it takes advantage of winter rainfall and summer drought. However, it is also widespread on coastal plains where eucalyptus, poplar, and citrus groves, as well as fields of sesame, receive the benefits of irrigation from wells.

In the same manner, olive trees grow in more than one subregion, beginning at the foot of coastal slopes and extending to the outskirts of the town of Muğla at 650 meters above sea level. Wheat, barley, and millet, statistically major components of the highland complex, are also grown alongside sesame and cotton on the margins of coastal swampland.

In addition to subsistence crops such as cereals and vegetables, cash crops are widespread throughout the province. The meteoric rise of cash crops attendant upon the successful eradication of malaria in coastal zones has been a factor in the encouragement of a population increase in the province. In the thirty year period between 1935 and 1965 land devoted to the growing of cotton increased from a barely recordable amount to nearly 10,000 hectares.[14] Citrus fruits and olives have experienced similar growth as predominantly low elevation crops. Tobacco, more widespread from coastal to highland fields, has increased nearly 500 % in production in the years between 1927 and 1966.

The increase in acreage devoted to cash crops has been achieved at the expense of traditional crops. In the past three decades wheat and barley yields have increased by only 43 %. More dramatically, over the same period the complex of rye,

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14 Comparative data for determining crop yields comes from T.C.D.I.E., *Tarla Mahsülleri İstatistiği (1937-1939) 1940;* T.C.D.I.E., *Tarla Mahsülleri İstatistiği (1937-1946)* 1947; Muğla Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, unpublished 1966 agricultural census.

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oats, white millet, corn, and sesame has increased by a scant 1.5 %. For many inhabitants of the area, the shift to cash crops has markedly affected their way of life. The per capita income of villagers in the fertile coastal lowlands generally exceeds that of mountain villagers lacking the economic alternatives offered by cash crops. For many, however, at least one cash crop, tobacco, has come to be a source of increasing concern. A growing uncertainty over the tobacco market, rising operational costs, and decreasing profits have been factors compelling many to reevaluate their involvement with tobacco. The townsmen of Ula and many villagers in its hinterlands are exemplary of individuals caught in this economic plight.

## NETWORKS OF ACCESSIBILITY

Throughout Muğla's history, geography has played a crucial role in determining its relationship to neighboring provinces and to major urban centers throughout Anatolia. Until a short two decades ago most of the province's economic relations with external markets were channeled through its several ports. The main overland route connected the highland towns of Ula, Muğla and Yatağan with Aydın in the valley of the Büyük Menderes. This route was long and difficult to traverse and was usually accomplished by camel trains in four to five days. For the obtaining of many commodities, it was far easier to rely on coastal shipping and the relatively short haul from ports to highland towns.

The province today no longer needs to rely upon its ports for staple commodities not locally produced within the region. Since about 1950, a shift to overland transportation, attendant upon major improvements of interior roads, has taken place. At the time of this study in 1967, a newly opened road from Aydın to Yatağan made it now possible to reach Muğla from Aydın in about two hours. Before this road was constructed, the access route to Yatağan from Çine was a tortuous ride along a narrow track which held almost 200 dangerous mountain curves in the short distance of thirty kilometers.

A second approach into the highland interior of the province is from Izmir through Söke, Milas, then Yatağan. The Söke-Milas portion of the route is well constructed and ser-

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vices a rich agricultural area. From Milas into the highlands, the quality of the road is reduced to a stabilized gravel track. From Muğla southward, the road to Marmaris and to Fethiye is of stabilized gravel which, although passable in all weather conditions, has discouraged many tourists from taking advantage of a scenic coastal area.

Muğla's main ports are located at Fethiye, Marmaris, and Bodrum, but are, however, limited in facilities. Their loading facilities and the other amenities provided by larger ports such as Mersin, farther east along the coast, are inadequate to handle anything more than boats of the local fishing fleet, the State Maritime coastal passenger vessels, and certain ore boats. Other secondary ports in the counties of Ula, Datça, and Milas are yet more limited in operations. The functions of these ports are largely restricted to the exportation of commodities such as lumber, coal, and chrome, and the minimal provisioning of the immediate hinterland of each port, a function which was considerably more crucial in the past.

Muğla lacks railroad and airport facilities. The traveler from Ankara to Muğla must allow twelve hours for the trip by car, and from Izmir to Muğla at least five hours. Beyond the main artery connecting county towns in the region, many village roads are passable only by jeep. Many mountain villages can only be reached by pack animal or on foot. Private cars, except for those of tourists, are rarely seen. Highway and road activity consists of jeeps, trucks, microbuses, and old 15-to-25 passenger buses serving most plains villages. Mountain villagers need only descend a short distance before reaching a jeep or bus stop on a secondary road. The jeep and automobile *dolmuşes*, or shared taxis, ply the secondary roads day and night, and for reasonable rates carry passengers as far as the next town, where buses and *dolmuşes* are available for longer trips. Stake-sided trucks up to nine tons are always to be found on main roads and are willing to take on passengers for cheaper rates.

Movement within the region has now been simplified by the increase in numbers of vehicles and the stabilizing of secondary roads. But Muğla, as a western province, still lags in road development. A single asphalt stretch of road exists between Izmir and Milas, the remaining primary roads being stabilized

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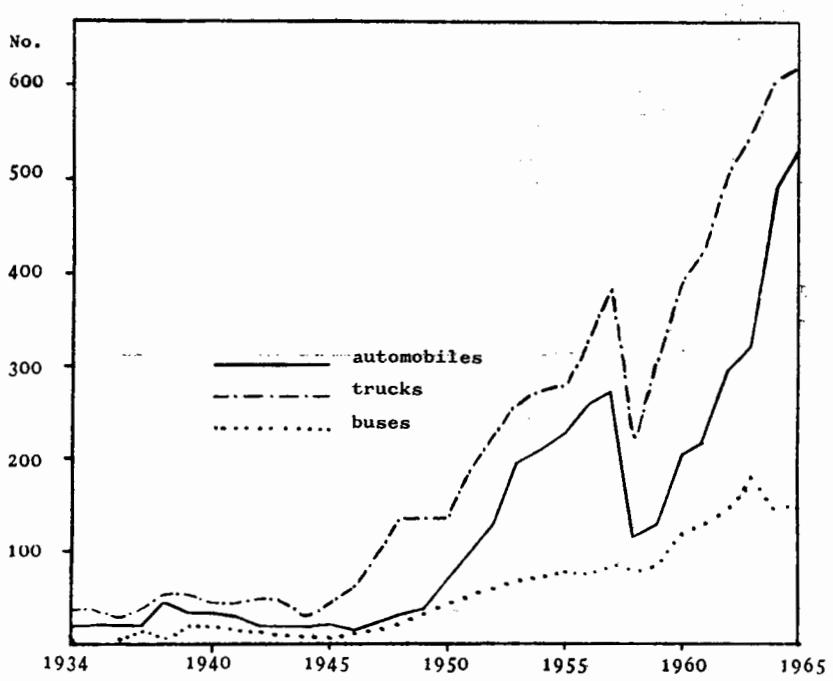



**Figure 1. Vehicle Increase in the Province of Muğla Between 1934 and 1965. Sources. T.C.D.I.E. publications in the series "Kara ve Deniz Taşıtları" and in the series "Zirai Bünye ve İstihsal".**

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gravel or dirt.[15] The poor quality of road surfaces is responsible for higher than usual cartage rates because of deterioration on vehicles and a high annual accident rate,[16] not to mention the many Turkish and foreign tourists annually discouraged by the prospect of traveling on inferior roads. The present quantity of vehicles, although still low at the ratio of one vehicle per 159 population (Muğla: Genel Araştırma 1966:47), is a stark contrast to the situation existing only a short time ago when entire counties could boast of but one or two vehicles (Figure 1).

Major improvements in the network of roads within the province have brought a number of changes to small highland towns such as Ula. Internal market systems benefiting from better roads, have provided new opportunities for individuals to enter into market trade as full-time marketeers or sellers of their own agricultural produce. For Ula, this has been a particularly important economic alternative for townsmen who have been beset by the economic problems of the town. The meteoric rise in cartage activities, witnessed by statistics on truck increases in Figure 1, is another way in which townsmen of Ula have reached beyond a traditional consumer area to gain an income from other towns and provinces. Other benefits of an improved road system range from increased educational opportunities to owning a better and cheaper steel plow. There are, however, certain changes which can be considered deleterious to a traditional pattern of regional activities.

A large part of Ula's regional importance historically was based upon the dependence of a rural clientele. The nearby town of Muğla hardly posed a threat as a competitor for this village-based clientele. The town of Muğla, until very recently, did not qualitatively differ much from Ula in terms of the array of economic functions offered. A larger population in

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15 There are 859 kilometers of stabilized roads and 684 kilometers of dirt roads in the province (Muğla: Genel Araştırma 1966: 47). The asphalted portions of the stabilized roads are minimal. A plan exists to asphalt the road from Çine to coastal Marmaris.

16 In 1965, 77 accidents occurred in the province in which eleven persons were killed (Muğla: Genel Araştırma 1966: 47).

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Muğla generally meant only more of the same kinds of services and commodities offered by Ula.

Perhaps a factor of more importance than the mere proximity of Muğla, a sense of intense regionalism served to tie certain villages to individual towns. Ula's villagers identified with and frequented Ula for most things from religious worship to retail purchases. Indeed, before Ula became a county or *kaza,* such villagers were compelled to travel to Muğla for certain legal-administrative needs. However, seldom did this formal tie adversely influence a traditional affinity with Ula for someone originating from a village of Ula.

Such regionalism has, in large measure, ceased to play the important role it once possessed in shaping regional activities. A now relatively affluent and burgeoning rural population is taking advantage of a developed road system and transport facilities to maximize its economic satisfaction. Within a single day a villager from the county of Ula can do business in Aydın, or Fethiye, or even Izmir if transportation is well arranged. The economic attraction which Ula once possessed for a traditional rural-based hinterland is no longer operative, resulting in the loss of the vital resources necessary to Ula's continued existence. Although friendships are maintained between townsmen and villagers, and brides are still exchanged, there is decidedly a growing situation in which villagers are economically bypassing Ula. They do this by establishing relations in other larger towns and/or founding village-based economic enterprises which have been hitherto the domain of Ula.

The following chapters describe Ula as a settlement, as a node within a regional system, and as a site for a changing field of social distinctions. Throughout, an attempt is made to trace the factors which underlie various forms of choice-making employed by townsmen. Many of the choices described are epiphenomena - the effects of far-reaching social and economic changes upon a traditional community.

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CHAPTER TWO

# ULA : ITS STRUCTURE AND HINTERLANDS

## URBAN STRUCTURE

Situated between two mountains, the Alçın to the north and the Lâleli to the south, Ula rests against a denuded slope in a small highland valley eight kilometers square in area. The valley differs little from other highland closed plains for which the only routes of access follow twisted steep sided gorges connecting one to the other. A single river, dry in the summer months, and numerous wells provide vital sources of water for irrigation of the patchwork of tobacco fields, vineyards, and gardens which extend across the valley floor.

Approaching the town from Muğla, the road to Ula passes through an increasingly dense array of poplar trees, windbreaks of shrub, and groves of fruit and nut trees. These give way on one side of the road to the town cemetery and, closer yet to the town, to a row of two-storied windowless storage depots. Suddenly the stabilized gravel road becomes a long cobblestone street, Ula's main street. The high whitewashed walls along the road mask the courtyards of private residences which extend back as a maze from the main street.

All the administrative features of a county-seat are in evidence as the road continues past a government credit cooperative, government branch offices, and a lower and middle school. Leaving behind the residential quarters, the road continues through the bazaar in the center of the town. Here flanking both sides of the now narrow street are small open-fronted stores with merchandise displayed in front of the dim interiors. At the center of the bazaar are located the headquarters of both the *kaymakam,* or county governor, and the gendarmerie post. Rising above the surrounding buildings, the minarets of the town's three mosques are seen at various points on the perimeter of the bazaar area.

Continuing past the coffeehouses and a side street leading to the open market place with its scrubbed concrete aprons,

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the main road turns left before reaching the residential quarters at the other end of town. On the left is the town park, an open square with an austere bust of Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, situated in its center. Shortly beyond the park, as abruptly as it began, the town ends. The road continues southeastward, rising out of the valley of Ula on its way toward Köyceğiz and Fethiye.

Ula is an administrative center having in its charge thirteen villages within an area of 407 square kilometers and a combined 1965 rural-urban population of 15,185 individuals, of which 4,616 reside within the municipality. Further, it is a regional economic center having, in addition to its approximately 275 fixed retail businesses, a major weekly periodic market which convenes on Friday. As a service center, Ula performs a wide range of urban functions, each possessing a specific field of influence. Ula is not just a large village or an arrangement of services; it is rather the locus for a clearly defined set of values and social distinctions between landlord, merchant, administrator, craftsman, laborer, and farmer. For its inhabitants, Ula, the place, provides a sense of identification which allows one to claim to be *Ulalı,* "of Ula". For its inhabitants, Ula, the process, provides means of livelihood.

## TOWN MORPHOLOGY

The morphology of the town of Ula is typical of many Anatolian towns whose growth has been free of the distortions provided by external influences such as railroads or major highway arteries. A single road passes through the center of the town and thus through the town bazaar. Land use within the town is sharply delineated according to function. Nucleated within one compact core in the center of town, the various areas devoted to commercial, religious, work, transportation, educational, health, storage, military, administrative, and recreational functions are clearly distinguished from the radiating residential areas (Map 6). This bifurcation between zones of residency and other land uses has, in addition to its geographical expression, important social implications. Town social traditions which greatly restrict the use of commercial functions by women and which seclude residential quarters

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from the commercial sector all find expression in a customary body of rules and regulations shared by townsmen.

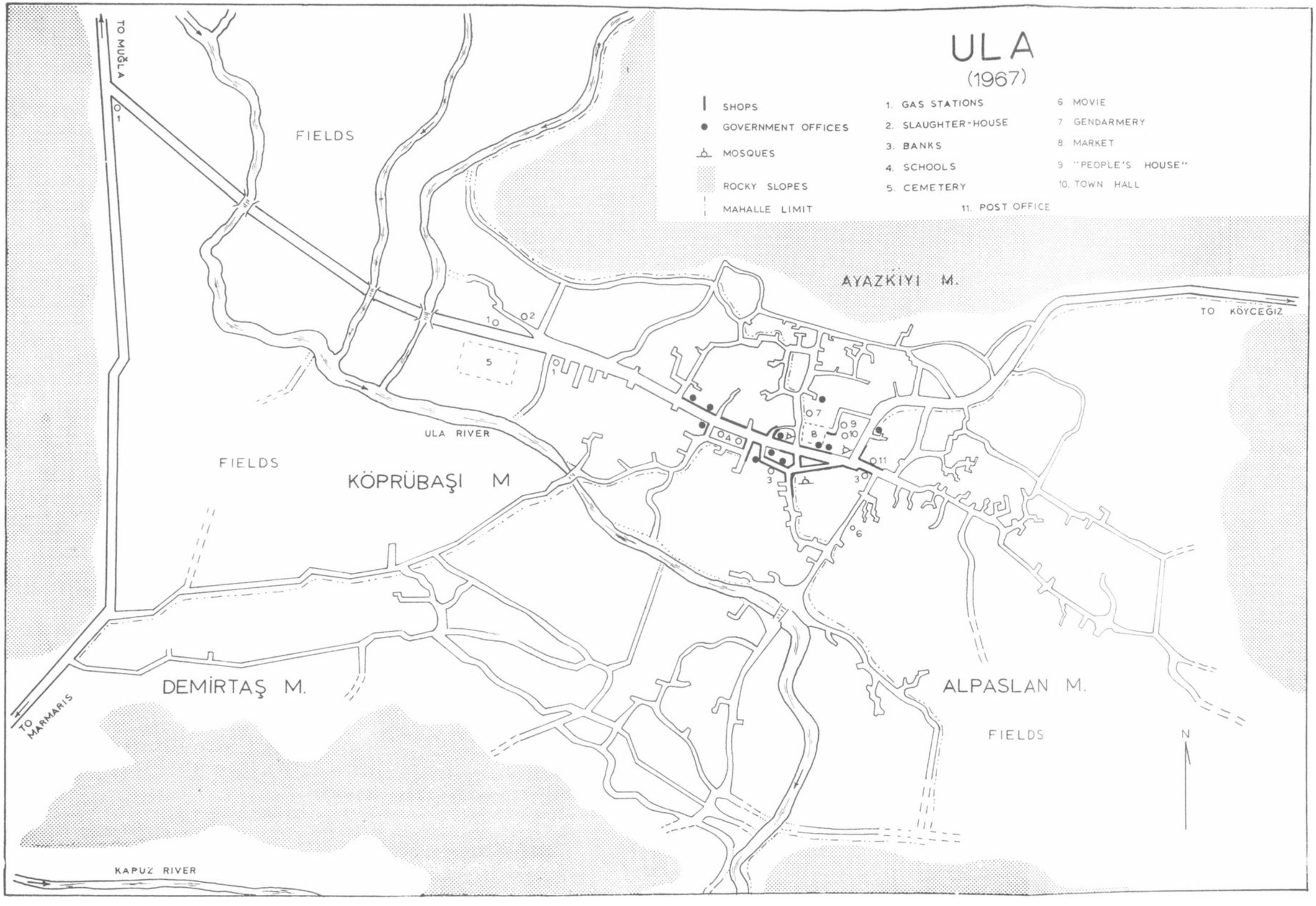
Ula's population size (4,616) is average for market towns in Turkey. Soysal (1967:23) suggests that a town, or *kasaba,* must have a population of at least 2,000; however, it is more convenient to follow official census categories based upon administrative functions and which designate a settlement as urban if it possesses a municipal-type administration (T.C.D. I.E. *1965 Census* 1968: XIII). Over 16 % of Turkey's towns are contained within the population range of 3,251-5,000 inhabitants. And fully 36.7 % of all urban places are contained within the wider population range of 2,751-7,000 (T.C.D.I.E. *1965 Census* 1968: XLV), a range of population size which places Ula near the center.

Ula's main commercial street forms an "L" as it bisects the town. Stretched along its long arm from one end of town to the other is a "string" development of stores, workshops, storage depots, administrative offices, and recreational spaces. A secondary development of similar functions clusters along a smaller street which bisects the main street in the center of town. This intersection constitutes the approximate center of town and divides the town into four quarters or *mahalles*, each administratively a distinct subunit and each socially a "territorial" unit imbued with distinct traditions providing a strong sense of identity.

The direction in which the various non-residential facilities of the town may expand is strictly determined by both geographical and traditional factors. By far the oldest section of town is the densely nucleated center of commercial structures and its immediately adjacent residential areas, the latter which historically have successfully served to deter the encroachment of stores and workshops except along the main street. Ula's commercial sector, therefore, has of necessity expanded along its main axis where it encounters no residential barriers. Administrative offices, agricultural cooperatives, banks, schools, gasoline stations, and repair shops extend end upon end from the old commercial center of Ula outward along both legs of the "L" to the town limits.

The domestic quarters are spatially isolated from the non-residential sectors of the town. Traditionally barred from en-

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**Map 6. Ula (1967).**

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tering the market area of town, women generally remain in the sanctuary of the residential *mahalles* where there is little reason for strange men to enter for commercial purposes. Expansion of residential areas, therefore, tends to develop along the outer edges of already established *mahalles* where there is little possibility of the commingling of commercial and residential zones.

The four residential *mahalles* of Ula are not merely administrative sectors but are, as well, clearly defined social units. Together they comprise approximately 80 % of land use in Ula[17] and contain 1,167 private dwellings. The *mahalles,* with their corresponding present populations are: Demirtaş 1,091; Köprübaşı 1,238; Ayazkıyı 876; and Alparslan 1,411.

Within each *mahalle* are found smaller, informal sub-*mahalles* known as *semts*. These smaller units are numerous within each of the four *mahalles*, and often one identifies his residence not by *mahalle* name but by *semt*. *Semt* names are descriptive, often derived from a physical feature such as a tall tree or from the name of an extended family residing in the locality for many generations. In addition, each street and passageway has a modern administrative name.

The antiquity of the four-part town division found in Ula is unclear although it appears to extend back at least to the last century. A municipal town map drafted in 1938 shows the same four distinct geographical *mahalles*, albeit with different names. The present-day *Alparslan mahallesi,* named for an eleventh century Seljuk ruler, was at that time called *Hacı Ali Ağa mahallesi,* after a powerful landlord, Hacı Ali, whose lineage resided in this quarter. The present-day *Demirtaş mahallesi* (iron ore) was at that time called *Demirsofu mahallesi,* the meaning of which is unclear. *Köprübaşı mahallesi* (the bridge-head) was formerly *Cami-atik mahallesi,* referring to the area of an old mosque. And *Ayazkıyı mahallesi* (referring to its northern exposure to the drafty mountain winds) was formerly *Nalıncı mahallesi,* or *mahalle* of

17 The large amount of land devoted to residential use in Ula contrasts sharply with the results obtained by Schultz in his study of six Turkish urban centers. Schultz found the residential area to average about 43% of the total land available in each center (Schultz 1964: 142), almost half of Ula's allocation.

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the maker of wooden shoes. The 1938 mahalle names are mentioned in documents of the nineteenth century (see *Aydın Salnamesi* 1896). However, a different administrative structure is suggested for Ula prior to the eighteenth century, indicating that Ula at that time was divided, administratively at least, into twelve quarters. These quarters were named after their respective neighborhood place of worship-the *mescid.*[18]

The character and viability of the *mahalle* divisions of large Muslim cities have been given careful consideration by Lapidus (1967) in his excellent study of Muslim urban society. Drawing upon ethnically heterogeneous cities such as historical Damascus, Aleppo, and Cairo, Lapidus emphasizes the divisive forces characterizing urban life in the large Muslim centers. In this he is not too dissimilar from Weber and von Grunebaum who likewise view the institutions of the Muslim city as divisive. In such a setting he sees *mahalles* as

> small, integrated communities. By quasi-physical isolation, close family ties, ethnic or religious homogeneity, strong group solidarity, economic and administrative unity ,and spokesmen elites, they were analogues of village communities inside the urban agglomeration (Lapidus 1967:95).

Lapidus presents several reasons to explain *mahalle* (Arabic *Hārāt, Maḥallāt)* discreteness in historical Muslim urban centers. Traditionally composed of extended kin, they possessed a high degree of solidarity resulting from the containment of members of an agnatic clan within geographical boundaries (1967:91). Further, the *mahalles* of Muslim urban centers possessed a high degree of occupational homogeneity, some *mahalles* taking the name of the principal occupation, such as tanning, of the residents (1967:86). Sectarian religious affiliation likewise often was a basis for *mahalle* solidarity (1967:

18 *Mahalle* designations in the *Tapu Defteri* of 1507 appear as *Cemaat-i Mescid-i,* "the neighborhood of the *mescid* of," and are followed by the specific name of the *mescid.* They are : Camii Ula el mezbur, Yukarı Dükkan, Sinan Beğ, Han, Dalcakavak, Hisar, Karacaağaç, Arslan, Asitane, Kariye-i Kazancı, Veled-i Divane Halil, and Şeyh. Nalıncı was added by 1554 (Tapu Defteri 1554, No. 337; and 1507, No. 61). In Evliya Çelebi's account of Ula for 1671-1672 he speaks of Ula as having twelve *mahalles.* This would follow the sixteenth century divisions.

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86). And finally, "the solidarity of the quarters was reinforced by the important social and administrative responsibilities which devolved upon it" (1967:92). Often quarters were administratively represented by a single individual, a community leader.

Ula offers several important departures from the criteria suggested by Lapidus for an understanding of the nature of *mahalle* composition found in large centers. First, Ula's ethnic and religious homogeneity negates inter-*mahalle* differentiation based upon sectarian affiliations. Secondly, *mahalle*s in Ula do not exhibit occupational homogeneity. Although restricted in its work area to one section of the bazaar, the historically dominant craft of cobbling, with its guild-like characteristics, did not compel craftsmen to reside in a specific *mahalle*. Each of the four *mahalle*s has historically contained representatives of all occupational categories in more or less equal proportion.[19]

Other of Lapidus' observations, however, are reflected in the composition of Ula's *mahalle*s. Lineages appear to have resided in the same locality for many generations, resulting in a high degree of residential solidarity by a single extended family. *Semt* boundaries coincide in many cases with the area occupied by a single lineage. *Mahalle*s today still provide striking demographic evidence of the attempt to settle members of an agnatic group close to one another, space permitting. What has changed, however, is the increasing tendency of families to arrange inter-*mahalle* marriages. In the past, brides were taken almost exclusively from within the boy's own *mahalle*.

Further, Lapidus suggests that in Muslim urban centers seldom did a single social class dominate a *mahalle* because: "Economic, religious and social life were not so differentiated from each other as to create the basis for any radical separation of classes by quarter. Quarters were communities of both rich and poor" (1967:87). Such is partly the case in Ula. Each quarter is more or less similar to the next in distribution of

19 A single exception is the segregation of the occupational group of weavers who make fiber mats, *hasır*s, by hand. Their spatial segregation is matched by a degree of social isolation, few marital ties being formed with non-*hasır* makers.

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income and representation of prestigious families. The social distinctions made in Ula based upon wealth, prestige, and individual qualities are not reflected in differential residence patterns.

To an extent some residential differentiation is based upon price, the most expensive property being located immediately adjacent to the bazaar area. Radiating outward in concentric rings, the price of property decreases until it reaches the outer limits of town. At the town perimeter an incipient "squatter" zone opening onto non-urban lands encircles the town. Because few vacancies occur nearer the center and property is expensive, the few villagers desirous of settling in Ula locate on the outskirts. Most of the spacious old homes of *ağa*s (large landlords) are located in *Alparslan mahallesi,* perhaps because of its location on higher ground, but most certainly because of the original settlement of several prominent landholding lineages some centuries ago in this area of town.

Non-local residents live wherever they can find rentals, of which there are few in the town. The non-local civil servants and teachers are dispersed in all four *mahalle*s, there not being a sector reserved solely for their residence.[20] The majority rent their dwellings, which generally are among the better appointed houses in town, all possessing electricity and having a piped source of water in the house or courtyard.[21] With the exception of non-locals, people own rather than rent their dwellings.

To the casual observer, the residential quarters of Ula are striking in their uniformity of architecture. Upon close examination, however, there is seen to be great variation among the dwellings, for prestige and income of the owner dictate choice of building materials and size of house. The house is generally

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20 With the attainment of *kaza* status and its accompanying influx of non-local civil servants, some medium-sized towns in Turkey have developed residential sectors exclusively occupied by members of this group (see Kıray 1964:22-23).

21 Of the 1,167 houses existing in Ula in 1965, 759 have electricity and 532 have water subscriptions. A few more houses are wired for electricity but it is not in use. Of the approximately 275 shops, 109 have electricity and only 20 have water (Ula municipality, personal communication).

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constructed of trimmed stone, poured concrete blocks, or brick, and has a tiled roof.[22] The exterior of the house is usually plastered over and whitewashed, with new coats of whitewash applied periodically. Common to each house is an attached garden or courtyard encircled by a high, whitewashed stone wall making it impossible for street pedestrians to view the interior of the courtyard. House windows generally do not exist on the ground level on the street side; rather they face out upon the spacious veranda and courtyard. Access to a house generally is first through a garden door, then through a door off of the veranda.

The total effect is one of isolation. No house window, no courtyard activity is readily exposed to the street. Within the seclusion of the house area women have a maximum amount of freedom of movement and are able to perform household activities without the necessity of covering their faces and heads. However, once they step outside onto the street, they must cover themselves in a manner prescribed by local tradition. Ula custom dictates that a woman's street garments should cover as much of her head, body, and extremities as possible. A few younger women of the town, rejecting some of the traditional expectations of women, also often reject the traditional mode of dress. However, ideally a woman travelling outside her house area should be garbed in a broadcloth coat of a subdued color, heavy stockings, and a headscarf or large shawl capable of being drawn across the face. Generally, a woman's activities should remain within the confines of her own *mahalle,* but if she must go to the fields or to the opposite side of town, her passage should be through a maze of back streets in order to avoid entering the bazaar area.

The establishment of county *(kaza)* administrative status in 1954 effected sweeping changes within the period of a decade. The introduction of a new social group, that of non-local civil servants, a heightened political awareness which generated local political polarization, and the cumbersome structure of dual government are some changes which are described

22 Eroğlu suggests that the use of brick, concrete blocks, rectangular roof tiles, and glass for windows were recent innovations at the time of his description of Ula in the late 1930's (1939:172).

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in proceeding chapters. Before the creation of *kaza* standing, women seldom left their own *mahalle* except to work in the surrounding fields. Local prescriptions kept them from entering the bazaar area and from attending the weekly market which then convened in the commercial center of town. Few ever left the town to travel to another district or to the nearby provincial capital of Muğla. Work groups for women were only *mahalle*-wide in composition and women of other *mahalle*s were known more through discussion than through personal dealings. However, in the wake of administrative changes brought about by the newly created *kaza* status came a small cadre of non-local civil servants and their wives. These non-local women initiated a number of social changes through example and display. Attendance at the weekly market, now removed from the still-restricted bazaar area, attendance at the Sunday movie matinee, and inter-*mahalle* visiting are but a few of the new freedoms introduced to the women of Ula by the wives of civil servants through their behavior.

Although some traditions have been eroded by the influx of non-locals to the community, others still persist today. *Mahalle*s remain the domain of those living in them, and identity as a resident of a particular *mahalle* continues to be of great importance.[23] A man not embarked upon a particular task invites suspicion of his activities when entering a *mahalle* other than his own.

Distinctions based upon *mahalle* residence are generally not, however, carried into the bazaar area. Men open their shops and stores wherever they happen to gain access to a vacancy. Only the coffeehouses, a social arena frequented by men throughout the day and evening, and grocery stores are linked to particular *mahalle*s, a phenomenon resulting at least in part from geographical considerations. Access from each of the four *mahalle*s empties into the main street at a different point. Men, more so in the past than now, frequent the coffeehouse nearest the intersection of their residential street with the

23 When questioned about residents of *mahalle*s other than their own, people draw distinctions ranging from abilities to morals. The conviction is commonplace that people of other *mahalle*s are less ambitious, poorer, and more prone to deviance than themselves.

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main commercial street. However, in the years since the creation of *kaza* status in 1954, political awareness has created alliances which cut into traditional fraternalizing groups. Coffeehouses today reflect a clientele based more upon political compatibility than on *mahalle* orientation.

In addition to the clear bifurcation of urban space between residential and non-residential areas, townsmen utilize a third type of space. Perhaps as many as 70 % of households today cultivate one or more *dönüms*[24] of land located outside the town. Through circuitous backstreets and passageways, women move between their *mahalle* and fields. Continually fragmented through bilateral inheritance, the small plots of land nevertheless provide a useful supplementary income through the growing of tobacco as well as such staple commodities as cereals, grapes, and vegetables. These fields, along with the small garden usually appended to the house, are vital to family budgets in compensating for inadequate incomes obtained from town commercial functions.

The average size of landholding is small. In a survey of 725 registered landholders residing in Ula,[25] the average household ownership of land is a plot about 2 to 2 1/2 *dönüms* in size, near enough to a well to be irrigated from ditches and close enough to town to be reached within an hour's walk. At least one-half to two-thirds of the plot is annually alternated between tobacco and a field crop. The remaining area is used for viticulture, potatoes, or several garden crops.

The land use pattern for areas of cultivation by residents of each town *mahalle* is indicated in Table 4. Most of the non-urban land cultivated by town residents is located in the highland sector of the county of Ula.

Although a townsman's identification with his particular residential quarter is often strongly expressed, this does not serve as a divisive factor in the life of the community. All townsmen share in institutions which cut across *mahalle* differentiations. In Ula, perhaps due to its homogeneous sectarian

24 One *dönüm* is equivalent to 1,000 square meters, about .25 acre.

25 The number of town-based landowners in each size category is : 0-5 *dönüms:* 351; 6-10 *dönüms:* 179; 11-15 *dönüms :* 88; and more than 16 *dönüms* : 107.

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and ethnic composition, involvement in a common legal framework, in common religious institutions, and in common norms of the community all bind townsmen together into a kind of "civic" corporation. In many respects it is this civic unity which serves to separate town from country. Although villagers also share in the religious, legal, and commercial functions of Ula, few share in townsmen's strong sense of identification with place and values governing life in Ula. It is, however, precisely the functional unity of Ula, the nucleation of urban functions, that ties town and country into what Lapidus has termed a "regional community" (1969:73-74).

*Table 4*
*A land use profile for the town of Ula by mahalle*[a]
(In dönüms)

| *Mahalle Name* | *Vineyard-Garden* | *Tobacco* | *Other Field Crops* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Köprübaşı | 518 | 1,086 | 1,406 |
| Demirtaş | 310 | 698 | 739 |
| Ayazkıyı | 434 | 990 | 772 |
| Alparslan | 232 | 1,078 | 902 |
| TOTAL | 1,494 | 3,852 | 3,819 |

[a] Source: Unpublished 1967 statistics compiled by the Ula Chamber of Agriculture.

## POPULATION

The county of Ula contained an urban population in 1965 of 4,616 and a rural population of 10,569 distributed in thirteen villages. The urban and rural populations have experienced dramatically different rates of growth. Although the rural population of the county increased by 85 % in the thirty year period between 1935 and 1965, the town population increase for the same period is less than 15 %.

Chief among the factors accounting for the variation in growth has been the eradication of coastal malaria and the subsequent intensification of settlement of nomads. As a result, both coastal towns and villages increased in population

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over the thirty year period at a rate phenomenally higher than that of their counterparts in the highlands. In the highlands a marked differential between urban and rural population growth can be noted, in large part the result of the pronounced emigration from certain towns affected by a narrowing base of economic alternatives. Ula, more so than other highland towns, has experienced little population growth.

Several interesting contrasts are seen between the structure of urban and rural population in the county of Ula. A number of census anomalies appear in a comparison of age-sex population profiles. To an extent, these anomalies are the result of census misreporting and historical factors. Figures 2 and 3 provide data on town and village population, with Figure 4 synthesizing certain relevant features of the two.

In comparing the two populations, it is seen that within the age groups of 0-4 and 5-9 years is contained less than 8 % of the urban population but nearly 14 % of the rural population (see Figure 4). A possible explanation for this important variation is age misreporting, also evident in censuses obtained from other areas of Turkey. The demographer Shorter suggests that age misreporting occurs

> . . . when many respondents, especially women, do not know their true ages and exaggerate them following the attainment of puberty, marriage, or motherhood. At the bottom of the age pyramid, also, there are upward transfers, from the age group under 5 to the age group over 5 (Shorter 1968:4).

This phenomenon would generally result in a deficit in the 0-4 age group and an excess in the 5-9 group. Although noted in the rural pyramid, this does not obtain for the urban pyramid where there is an unexplainable 5-9 age group deficit. Although artifical devices are little known, a rhythm method of birth control appears to be used by many town residents. The town doctor, the several health officers *(sağlık memurs)*, and men who served in health services during their military service are the most frequently consulted agents of birth control information for men. Unless they have cause to visit a doctor in a larger urban center, women generally receive only word-of-mouth information from other women. The defi-

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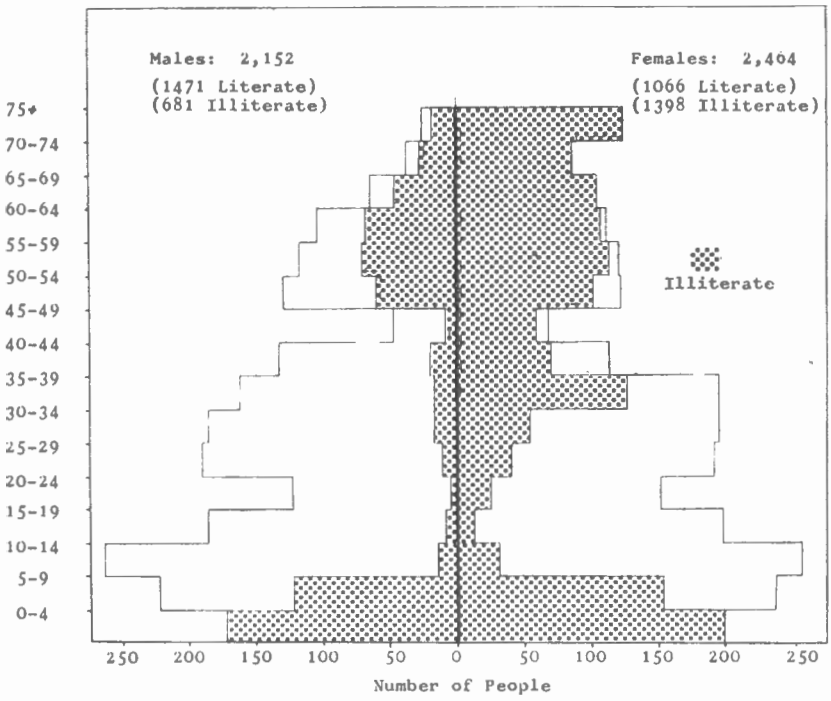



**Figure 2. 1965 Population of the Town of Ula by Age, Sex, and Literacy. Source: Unpublished data of the 1965 Census provided by the Institute of Statistics, Ankara.**

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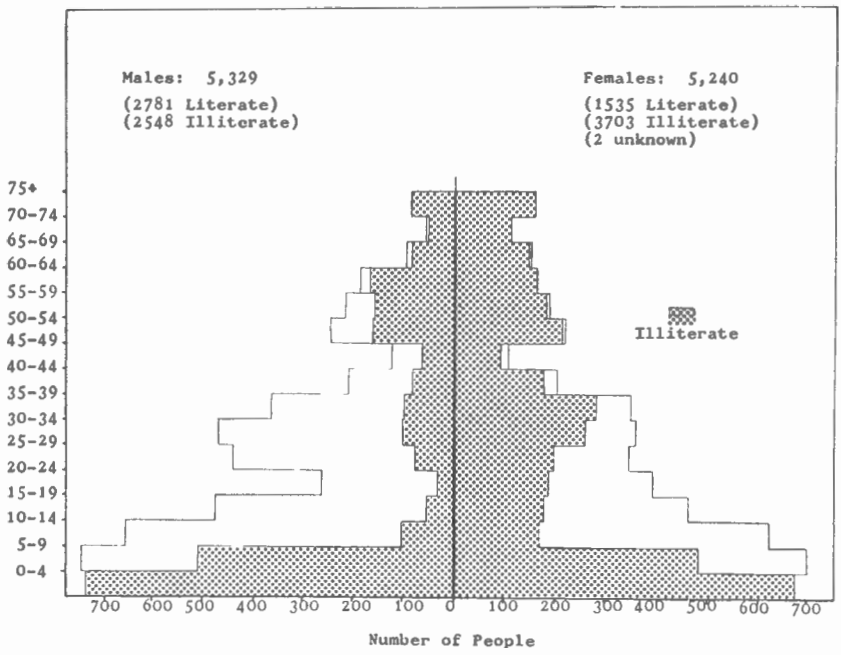



**Figure 3. 1965 Population in the Rural Areas of the County of Ula by Age, Sex, and Literacy. Source: Unpublished data of the 1965 Census provided by the Institute of Statistics, Ankara.**

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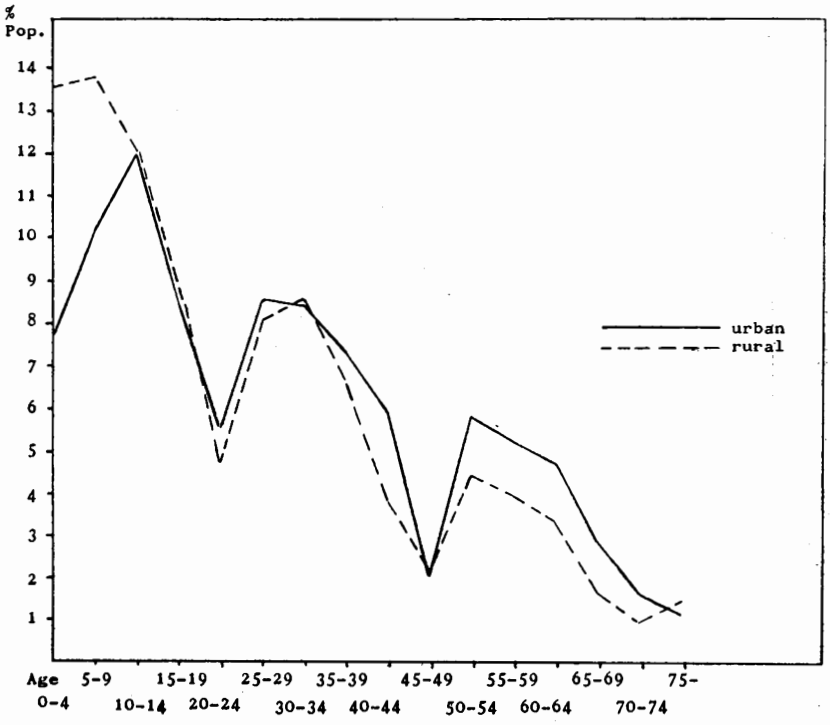



**Figure 4. Comparison Between Urban and Rural Population Within the County of Ula by Percentage in Age Groups. Source: Unpublished data of the 1965 Census provided by the Institute of Statistics, Ankara.**

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cit of urban population seen in the lower age groups may partially be accounted for by the recent receptivity to birth control ideas in the town.

Other census peculiarities occur in both rural and urban age pyramids. Small but significant birth cohorts, or age group deficits, are observed particularly in the 20-24 and 45-49 age groups. The birth cohort for males in the 20-24 age group is partially explained by the fact that absentees are not counted in the census. Compulsory military duty at age 20 contributes to the cohort by removing many males of this age from the community. One reason can be suggested for the female birth cohort for this age group. Census data from elsewhere in Turkey suggests that female age misreporting occurs during and near puberty, depleting the age groups 10-14 and 15-19 and at the same time inflating the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups (Shorter and Demeny 1968:32). This appears to be the case for both the urban and rural populations represented in Figures 2 and 3. Although the deficit for the 20-24 age group occurs in both the rural and urban populations, it is more pronounced in the urban population.

Another significant cohort existing in both the urban and rural age pyramids is the deficit in members of the 45-49 age group (Figures 2 and 3). This cohort, affecting both males and females, has also been reported from censuses elsewhere in Turkey. The birth cohort is a response to wartime conditions, the members of this age group having been born during the period 1916-1920, a time which encompasses World War I and the Turkish War of Independence. A general decrease in the fertility rate and increase in the mortality rate accompanied wartime mobilization. The result was to create "true irregularities caused by the movement of truly small birth cohorts through the age distribution for successive censuses" (Shorter and Demeny 1968:29).

Generally the age pyramid of Ula's urban population does not differ significantly from that for the total urban population of the province. In a measure of the "economically active" population, that is, individuals between the ages of 15 and 64, there is marked similarity between the town of Ula and other urban areas within the province. Of Ula's male population, 63.4 % are between the ages of 15 and 64, compared to the

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overall provincial urban total of 62.3 % for males in this age range. However, only 55.7 % of the rural male population is found between the ages of 15 and 64 years. This discrepancy between urban and rural proportions of "economically active" males is in part accounted for by the correspondingly higher proportion of the population found in the 0-14 age group in the rural areas.

One of the most striking features of Ula's urban population is the lack of religious or ethnic heterogeneity. The four and one-half thousand townsmen of Ula are a remarkably homogeneous population in terms of ethnicity. This homogeneity is made the more remarkable by the existence in the neighboring towns of Muğla, Milas, Marmaris, and Köyceğiz of small but definite representations of Turks of Albanian, Rumanian, Salonikan, Cretan, Macedonian, Cypriot, Bulgarian, and Circassian extraction. Non-Muslim groups, which include Gregorian, Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant Christians, and Jews, also exist in the province although constituting but 0.03 % of the total provincial population (Table 5). The few non-local born living today in Ula are several individuals of Albanian origin and about a dozen Circassian women who left natal homes in the nearby village of Doğuşbelen, in the county of Köyceğiz, to marry Ula men. The existence of these few non-locals in the town is often masked by declaratory statements to the effect that "there are no foreigners in Ula", a matter of some pride in Ula.[26]

Without exception, Ula's indigenous population contains no religious minorities; all are *Sunni* Muslims of the *Hanefî* school. In the valley of Gökova several *Çingene* or gypsy families have settled in a quarter of their own. Equally set off is a small settlement of *Tahtacıs,* reputedly associated with a *Shiite Bektaşi* sect. A segregated quarter called Çörüş, containing approximately 200 *Tahtacıs,* is located near the village

26 The existence of the coterie of non-local civil servants and their families in Ula is ignored by locals in considerations of Ula's homogeneity. To them, the civil servants are a separate "transient" population whose ties to the town are transitory, and purely administrative. Assigned to Ula from other parts of Turkey, these civil servants are often uprooted after a residency of some years to be sent to new administrative posts elsewhere.

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*Table 5*
*Ethnic composition of the province of Muğla for 1888, 1901, and 1965*

| | *Counties of Muğla, Yatağan, and Ula** | | *Total of all Counties in the Province* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *1888*[a] | *1901*[b] | *1888*[a] | *1965*[c] |
| Muslim | 41,572 | 45,644 | 131,484 | 334,863 |
| Greek Orthodox | 1,115 | 1,260 | 10,026 | 24 |
| Other Christians | 114 | ? | 114 | 31 |
| Jewish | 4 | 216 | 427 | 36 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 107 | 19 |

Sources: a Cuinet 1894:647
b *Aydın Salnamesi* 1901
c T.C.D.I.E. *1965 Census* 1969:230-231

* These counties contain the highland towns of Muğla, Yatağan, and Ula. Ula possessed an exclusively Muslim population for all periods for which nineteenth century census information exists.

of Kızılyaka. This group still maintains its traditional economic specialization as itinerant sawyers, transporting their motor driven band saws to locations for conversion of logs into lumber.[27]

A number of significant population changes have occurred within the province in the past half-century. A gradual process of Greek emigration from Turkey had begun as early as 1912 (Ladas 1932: 335). In 1923, following World War I and an agonizing Turkish War of Independence, an agreement was reached at the Conference of Lausanne to attempt an exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Under a treaty ratified in 1923 and effected early in 1924, it was agreed that a compulsory exchange of populations take place in which Muslims residing in Greece and Greeks residing in Turkey be exchanged (Ladas 1932:420). Between 1923 and 1930 about one and a quarter million Greeks were transferred from Turkey to Greece (Lewis 1961:348). Exempted were

27 Some *Tahtacıs* in the province are completely itinerant while others have settled and are engaged in cartage and other commercial endeavors in towns. The town of Ortaca in the county of Köyceğiz is one such example of the urban settlement of *Tahtacıs*.

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Muslims residing in western Thrace and Greeks residing in Istanbul.

Muğla's non-Muslim population was lower than that of the other neighboring provinces. Cuinet's (1894:647) presentation of census material for the year 1888 for western provinces indicates the following percentages of non-Muslims for provinces of interest in this context: Muğla 7.5 %, Aydın 9.5 %, Sarukhan 15.7 % and Izmir 44 %. Most Greeks residing in the province of Muğla (Table 5) lived in the town of Muğla, totalling over 1,000 in number at the time of World War I. Shortly before the commencement of open hostilities during the War of Independence, Greeks residing in the town of Muğla began in 1919 to emigrate to Greece via coastal ports (Eroğlu 1939: 133). By the time of the 1923 Convention for Exchange of Populations, most Greek residents of the province of Muğla had departed. The impact on Muğla was neither drastic nor did it necessitate a major economic adjustment. As Greeks had never played a major economic role in the highlands, what readjustment there was was mainly concentrated in coastal ports. Although a few Greeks resided in the countryside as millers, none had taken up residence in Ula, despite the fact that they provided some services for the town. One such service of eventual impact to the economy of the town was the role played by certain Greeks in the introduction of tobacco-growing skills. For several critical years (see Chapter 5) they served as mentors for Turkish cultivators. In Ula today, beside extensive tobacco cultivation, wooden architectural trim, stone walls, and culvert bridges are but a few reminders of the specialized services once provided by Greeks.

Historical and contemporary Ula has been free of the divisiveness which often attends ethnic and religious heterogeneity. A strong sense of attachment to place and a high degree of social solidarity have bred a sense of exclusiveness which townsmen of Ula employ when dealing with those not of Ula. This self-awareness is evident when townsmen make statements about the moral worth and performance of residents of other towns throughout the region. Conversely, Ula is considered as a traditional and conservative secluded town, a *kapalı kasaba,* by its neighbors in other settlements. The people of Ula are characterized by others as being "cordial to

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visitors", "intensely ambitious", and "distinctly conservative" in their outward appearances and activities. In many respects Ula is an anomaly when viewed in regional perspective. In the face of rapid socio-economic change experienced by all urban centers in the province, townsmen of Ula have tenaciously clung to many traditions and values which have governed public and private life for centuries.

## ULA'S HINTERLANDS

Two basic tools used in the defining of a region are based upon the concepts of *uniformity* of characteristics and the *functional* integration of characteristics (Bogue 1957:377). An example of the former approach is the delimitation of a unit in which characteristics are internally more homogeneous than the larger area from which it has been extracted. Designation of agricultural regions by predominant crop complexes is one such example from Turkey. Related physiographic or climatic regions are often coincidental with regions defined in this manner.

The second means of defining a region is based upon the concept of a "nodal" type of region. A region is nodal or functional

> if its parts are interdependent and are tied together by a division of labor or by exchange of goods and services. The outstanding trait of this type of region is that inevitably the functional integration takes the form of outlying areas being oriented toward a central place or node (Bogue 1957:377).

Thus, rather than emphasizing uniformity or homogeneity of characteristics, a region defined functionally takes into consideration the *circulation* of characteristics and the *centrality* of nodal points where functions are performed by integrating centers. A region viewed in this sense is, in short, a field of association. As such it is possible to derive indices of centrality based upon the functions provided by a center for a hinterland and, conversely, hinterland functions provided for urban places. Examples of a region defined in this manner include a trade area, the range of a specific good such as newspaper circulation, or the sphere of influence of a specific

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function such as administrative jurisdiction. An important aspect of this concept is that the boundary established for any given function, e.g. administrative, commercial, or cultural, need not coincide with any other nodal boundary (see Bogue 1957:384ff). A synthesis of both concepts of region provides a means of describing the various mechanisms which serve to articulate spatially segregated activities.

Ula and the small plain in which it is located are situated at the juncture of two subregions, each of which is more or less internally uniform in terms of socio-economic variables. Within the administrative boundary of the county it is possible to isolate three subregions for purposes of description. Based upon criteria of elevation, crop-complexes, networks connecting settlements, settlement history, and various socio-cultural variables, the three subregions are: a coastal plain, a highland plain containing the town of Ula, and the mountainous stretches rising above Ula. Although the first two are totally contained within the administrative boundary of the county, the mountainous stretches also straddle several adjoining counties. These three internally uniform subregions also constitute a single nodal or functional region in which the settlements of mountain and plain are oriented both toward the town of Ula and, within recent years, increasingly toward the provincial capital of Muğla.

This field of association, which consists of settlements possessing different types of attractions for one another and networks along which contact is facilitated, is a relatively new configuration for this general area. Settlement in Ula's hinterlands of mountain and coastal plain is, comparatively speaking, recent. Two factors have played a major historical role in shaping the nature of settlement history for Ula's hinterland. The ravages of coastal malaria and the increased tempo of the twentieth century settlement of nomads are important factors to consider when attempting to understand town-region relations.

## MALARIA

A wealth of archeological remains attests to a considerable degree of settlement activity in pre-Ottoman periods throughout

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this region of Turkey.[28] From antiquity to the twentieth century, however, it is clear that endemic malaria was a retarding factor for the expansion of settlements and the exploitation of resources throughout the coastal plains.

The Greek chronicler Strabo, for example, in his *Geography* describes the inhabitants of coastal Caunus (near present-day Köyceğiz) as "somewhat dark and yellow". Further he states that "Although the country is fertile, yet the city is allowed by all to be unhealthy in summer . . ." and that Caunus is a place where "even the dead walk about . . ." (Strabo, trans. 1906:28).

Some ancient ports such as the great commercial center of Ephesus were situated in malaria-ridden marshes. By the tenth century A.D. the old city of Ephesus had been deserted and abandoned to silt and marshes. From Ephesus to Telmessus (Fethiye), most embayments along the coast had become marshes, a situation aggravated by the standing waters resulting from periodic torrential floods. A decline in the economic fortunes of coastal centers led to depopulation of the area, accompanied by an increase in the conditions sponsoring malaria.

The apparent depopulation of the area was noted by some nineteenth century western travelers to the coastal regions of Muğla. While traveling from Minara to Makri (Fethiye) in 1840, Hoskyn (1842:151) noted that :

> We observed in some parts, the earth terraced up on the sides of the mountains, now neglected and uncultivated, but showing the labour and industry once employed to raise food for the redundant population of the neighboring cities, and offering a sad contrast to the present state of

28 Ruins of well-known classical towns such as the ancient ports of Halicarnassus, Telmessus, Myndus, Cnide, Idyma, Cedrae, and Physeus lie in close proximity to one another on the coastal plains. In the mountainous highlands lie the somewhat less well-known ruins of towns such as Alabanda, Alinda, Stratonikeia, Mobolla, and Mylasa. Strewn across highland valleys and coastal plains are the rubble of massive walls, elaborately carved rock tombs, artificially modified caves, pieces of pottery, ancient implements, broken figurines, and coins—the remains of intense cultural activity.

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> the country, where the large rich plains are almost uncultivated.

Most of the "large rich plains" which Hoskyn saw in passing to Fethiye were, in his time, under the spectre of malaria, occupied only in the winter by nomadic groups.

The region's entire expanse of coastal lowlands was, in the nineteenth century, malaria-ridden. Life was tolerable in the coastal towns only under a form of transhumance in which most of the town residents spent the summer in highland summer settlements or *yaylas*.[29]

Newton's trip from Marmaris to Muğla in 1855 provides glimpses of the extent of malaria in the region and the low density of the rural population.[30] Newton traversed Ula's nearby coastal plain of Gökova and visited the small port of Gökova before starting up the road to reach Muğla 600 meters in elevation in the highlands. Referring to the plain of Gökova, he describes it as "a swampy tract covered with thickets", and the port as consisting of "two or three houses on the shore, one of which is the residence of the quarantine officer" (1863: 625). "The ankorage at Djova [port of Gökova] is good", he states, "but the place is very unhealthy in summer, and the few inhabitants have a wan, fever stricken look" (Newton 1865:40).

The low fertile expanse of the plain of Gökova, located only 10 kms from Ula, described by Newton as a swampy tract, was little populated until controls over malaria were initiated in the 1930's. In 1937 Robert (1937) describes a settlement pattern of seasonal transhumance which had probably prevailed for centuries. The inhabitants of the few small villages existing

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29 From the narratives of nineteenth century travelers it is seen that this form of transhumance was extensively practiced in the region. Viewing Fethiye in 1840, Hoskyn (1842:155) speaks of the entire Turkish population as passing the summer at *yayla* settlements, drawing Greek craftsmen and merchants to service such temporary communities. While visiting Fethiye during the summer two years later, Spratt and Forbes (1847:2) found the otherwise active commercial port virtually uninhabited.

30 For Marmaris itself Newton states that "the village of Marmaice consists of a handful of houses situated on the edge of a marsh where Malaria prevails" (1863:624).

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on the Gökova plain either abandoned their settlements and fields entirely during the months of active malaria, or moved their families to highland *yaylas*, the men traveling to the malaria-ridden fields to work during the day and returning each evening to their *yayla* settlements.[31]

Developing governmental concern with coastal conditions stimulated the initiation of widespread local projects to drain marshlands in 1926.[32] Much of Gökova, unproductive at that time, was owned by large landowners from Ula. A few of these landowners, or *ağas*, strongly opposed the government plans under which the marshlands would be removed from their traditional ownership. Title to the land was to be awarded to any group or individual who drained marshland. Efforts by villagers lasting from 1925 to about 1940 resulted in the release of over 2,000 *dönüms* of swampland to villagers. The strong opposition of the landowners toward government and villagers alike was stemmed by local authorities and several progressive governors. The loss of some of their traditional lands in Gökova is one factor in the decline of the large landowners, or

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31 Robert describes transhumance for two villages on the Gökova plain in 1937. About Akyaka, located near the pier-town of Gökova, he states :

> Il n'y a que quelques maisons; en Septembre le village était vide et les maisons fermées, les habitants étant a la montagne. Le lieu est tres insalubre infesté de moustiques (Robert 1937:480, fn. 2).

Concerning the practice of transhumance at another village, that of Ferik, which is situated in a lower part of the plain near the sea, he writes :

> Le village de Ferik est habité seulement pendant l'hiver; pendant l'été, les habitants sont, près de là, mais à 600 mètres d'altitude, sur le plateau de Kızıl Ağaç où ils ont leurs champs (Robert 1937:480).

32 The control of malaria along the southern coast of Anatolia was late in being effective. Some abortive attempts in the first years of the present century are cited in Ottoman documents but consist solely of fumigation measures (Süyev 1952:15). Rather than attacking the source -the expansive swamps of the region- areas adjacent to homes were fumigated. This lack of understanding of the manner of malaria control led to the failure of the program. Results of a medical survey of Antalya in 1924 indicate that at least 86% of those examined suffered from malaria (Süyev 1952:22). The enactment of an organized program to combat malaria did not take place until the passing of Law No. 839 in 1926 (Süyev 1952:3).

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*ağas*, of Ula. The historical impress of these large landowners upon the town and their present situation is discussed at length in Chapter 3.

The intensification of settlement in coastal areas of Muğla cannot be considered apart from the effects of malaria. It was not until after the eradication of malaria that these potentially rich coastal areas became fit for habitation. Prior to the establishment of an effective drainage project, Gökova was only utilized by nomads seeking winter pasturage and by a relatively small number of semi-settled agriculturalists. As a result of effective malaria controls, the coastal area has witnessed a rapid transition from activities of minimal subsistence agriculture based upon unirrigated grain farming to an intensified system of irrigated cash cropping.[33] The burgeoning sedentary population of the Gökova plain today is attributable to the reclamation of the plain and is, to a major degree, the result of rapid and intense settlement of nomads, a process which was greatly accelerated after 1930.

## NOMADS

In the last century malaria greatly inhibited permanent settlement in the plain of Gökova and affected the health of those who lived in the highland plain of Ula and who occasionally worked in Gökova. The temperate winter climate of the region, however, attracted large numbers of nomads who transhumed between the warm winter coastal plain and the high mountain summer pastures. A low population density, extensive forest coverage, unproductive rocky slopes, and a minimal amount of cultivated land characterized the region in the last century. In 1856 Newton noticed that

> The whole route from Marmarice [Marmaris] to Mughla [Muğla] is singularly destitute of villages, cultivation, or even animals. The greater part of the road traverses pine forests and mountain passes, where the only signs of man

33 Although a similar process of change to intensified cash cropping after the eradication of malaria has occurred along most parts of Turkey's southern coast, few examples have been documented. See N.N. Lewis (1949:286) for an analysis of this process for Syria.

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> are the black tents of the Turcomans or their lonely graves scattered about in the glades of the pine forest . . . Now and then the monotony of our route was relieved by meeting a long string of camels, with their melodius chime of bells, conveying the produce of the interior to the ports of Djova [Gökova] or Marmarice, along roads fitter for goats than for beasts of burden (1862:43-44).

And further :

> Patches of ploughed land occur here and there in the midsts of tracts covered with brushwood. Not a single village is visible on this road and the district is evidently very poorly populated (1863:627).[34]

Only ten families remain nomadic today of the several hundred families, who, as recently as thirty years ago, populated the plain during the winter months with their sheep, goats, donkeys, and camels. Today many of the mountain and coastal villages of the region are composed either in part or exclusively of the sedentarized fragmentary remnants of nomadic tribes. The opening of cultivable land, the draining of swamps, and the development of cash crops are activities which must be, in large measure, attributed to nomads who settled in the plain.

Descriptions of nomadism in the region of Muğla and Ula are almost nonexistent for the nineteenth century. The accounts of travelers, whose primary concern usually was with historical ruins, make few references either to settled or nomadic populations. Neither do Ottoman census estimates for the last century include the nomadic population, although oral history cites harassment by the Ottoman government to make nomads settle temporarily for census purposes. In a single reference to nomads for that time, Cuinet states that in the 1880's there was a plethora of nomadic tribes within the prov-

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34 According to available maps from this period, Newton's route in 1856 should have taken him by the villages of Kızılağaç and Gülağzı; yet he makes no mention of them, suggesting a later date of settlement for the villages. Some thirty years later, Kızılağaç had a population of 77 and Gülağzı a population of 155 (*Aydın Salnamesi* 1888), and by 1965 their population had increased respectively to 573 and 435 (T.C.D.I.E. *1965 Census* 1968:485). (See Map 4)

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ince of Smyrna, which at that time included the Muğla region (Cuinet 1894:352).[35] Recourse must be made to oral accounts therefore, in order to obtain an idea of the settlement of nomadic groups within the province of Muğla.

Most of the settled nomads in Gökova today are remnants of two tribes — the Kara Koyunlular and the Çepni.[36] Both of these tribes have a wide distribution of settled members found in the neighboring provinces of Aydın, Denizli, and Antalya. Immediately to the southeast, however, in the adjacent county of Köyceğiz the predominant groups are the Kara Tekeli and the Çayırlar.

The Kara Koyunlular was a major nomadic tribe of the region with a sizeable population in 1900. Its pattern of transhumance involved not only those who made the seasonal trek to Gökova, seemingly a small group in comparison to tribal numbers, but hundreds of other families ranging as far as coastal Bodrum. By best estimates, around 1900 at least eighty to one hundred tents of the Kara Koyunlular made the fifteen day trek from the Bozdağ and Sandras mountains of Denizli to Gökova annually. As early as 1880, several tents began to establish permanent dwellings on the periphery of

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35 Little mention is made of nomadic groups of the region in early census material. For example, the first Ottoman census of 1831 considers primarily those males eligible for military conscription and residing in villages and towns. Later in the century, the *Aydın Salnamesi,* an otherwise valuable encyclopedic source, does not take into account the nomadic population of the region. Cuinet gives a partial listing of nomads in the province of Smyrna for the 1880's citing the existence of the Ak Koyunlular, Kara Koyunlular, Sarı Tekeler, Kızılbaş, Çepni, Bedir, and Yaghdji tribes (Cuinet 1894:348). In addition, he estimates that the province contained at least 2,000 gypsies (Cuinet 1894:352). However, which of the above mentioned tribal groups were represented in the Muğla region within the province of Smyrna is not made clear in his description. The English traveler Fellows (1838:187) also states in his journal that the mountains were greatly inhabited by "gipsies" which in all likelihood were nomads.

36 There exist several fine historical studies on the Kara Koyunlular tribe, focusing mainly upon the florescence of the political power of the tribe which occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see Sümer 1967; and Uzunçarşılıoğlu 1937:58-59). By 1500, Kara Koyunlular formal power had waned in the face of competing Ottoman central authority.

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the plain, which later were to become the sites of present-day villages. In this early and minor period of sedentarization Çepni and Kara Koyunlular tribes did in fact occupy the same sites, and in the years since 1900 intermarriage has all but erased clear-cut social distinctions between the two groups in these localities.[37]

By the end of the nineteenth century almost the entire coastal plain of Gökova, 60 square kilometers, was still traditionally owned by a small number of powerful landlords or *ağas* who resided in the urban centers of Muğla, Köyceğiz, and Ula. The nomads who used the plain for winter grazing shared it with sedentary agriculturalists who, in another form of transhumance, resided in the plain proper during the winter and in the nearby highlands in the summer. Both groups contracted with landlords for use of the plain. Those who cultivated land in the plain did so by various arrangements of sharecropping or rental. Nomads, as well, had to obtain rights to pasture their livestock in the plain through contractual arrangements with landlords.

Settlement by nomads on the Gökova plain was a sporadic and gradual process until the 1940's. Many families alternated

37 Oral reconstructions of tribal history collected from settled nomads in Gökova provide a number of conflicting accounts for the Kara Koyunlular and Çepni tribes. In one account, emphasis is placed on a symbiotic relationship between the two tribes, a relationship forged over time during which tribal distinctions have been eroded. But wherever there is spatial segregation of Çepni and Kara Koyunlular in the plain of Gökova there exist different oral accounts of recent tribal history. In these situations Kara Koyunlular members are quick to deny historical ties with the Çepni, pointing out that the Çepni are Alevi or Shiite Muslims whereas they, Kara Koyunlular, are Sunni orthodox Muslims. In addition Çepni are considered by them as being thieves and debauched. The Çepni, in such localities, affirm a lack of historical ties but at the same time emphatically deny being anything other than Sunni Muslims themselves. They merely point out that historically they were tied to a Çepni Hacı Bey *Muhtarlığı* (office of centralized tribal authority) and never administratively related to the Kara Koyunlular tribe. Thus two situations obtain, one asserting a peaceful historical coexistence between the two tribes and the other stressing historical conflict based upon religious differences. However, even in the most pronounced cases of animosity between the Çepni and Kara Koyunlular, overt hostilities are unknown.

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between spending the entire year on the plain and moving to mountain pastures for the summer months. Settlement usually was on the lower part of the slopes peripheral to the plain, where tents were erected for living quarters and corrals for livestock. At the time of settlement many households possessed fifteen to twenty camels and up to 200 sheep, some of which were sold and others of which were pastured summers in the mountains through arrangements with still-nomadic households.

The settlement pattern seen today on the Gökova plain is one of dispersed clusters of residences. Each of the settlements is considered a quarter of a larger village which is made up of 4 or 5 such residentially separate groups. At times settlement occurred on sites which had traditionally been the household's winter quarters, later developing into a village quarter whose membership primarily is composed of members of one agnatic line. In other localities where nomadic settlement occurred adjacent to a small but already existing sedentary population, a gradual process of intermarriage between the two has now obliterated major distinctions.

After settlement, most nomads turned to agriculture. Through contractual arrangements similar to those of the already sedentary population, they worked the fields of large landlords. By the sale of their large holdings of sheep after settlement, nomads were able to purchase land, surpassing sedentary agriculturalists in their ability to expedite the fragmentation of large estates at an early date. The large livestock holdings of nomads provided an excellent source of liquid capital for the purchase of land from some landlords who were willing to sell then largely unproductive tracts. As a result of the settlement of nomads, in one small hamlet alone private ownership of land in the form of small holdings had increased from 10 % in 1945 to over 75 % by 1965. Everywhere in the plain, whether through the purchase of land by sedentary agriculturalists or by nomads in the process of settling, land under cultivation increased rapidly after 1945.

Three important conditions fostered the acceleration of settlement of nomads who had previously employed the plain of Gökova for winter grazing. These are the eradication of malaria, competition for their winter grazing areas from pop-

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ulation increases and the expansion of cultivated areas, and the availability of new economic alternatives after 1945.

The eradication of malaria through projects involving the drainage of a sizeable portion of the plain had been essentially realized by 1948. The semi-sedentarized agricultural population of the plain ceased its compulsory transhumance between plain and highland after 1940 and settled in the plain on a year-around basis. Mortality resulting from malaria was radically decreased and, together with an influx of settlers from the highlands, this caused the population of the plain to experience an increase of nearly 100 % between 1935 and 1965. A major portion of this population increase is attributable to the intense settlement of nomads which occurred essentially after World War II.

The most important of the conditions fostering the settlement of nomads in this area was the dwindling of land available for winter grazing. In order to maintain large flocks of sheep and goats, space given to winter and summer grazing had to remain unchanged. However, the expansion of cultivated areas in the coastal lowlands came at the expense of areas for winter grazing. Although their mountain summer pastures remained unaffected, the nomadic groups found it increasingly difficult to winter their livestock in the lowlands. In Gökova, landlords gradually withdrew grazing rights extended to nomads in favor of cultivators who, through rental or sharecropping, provided larger revenues than did the pasturage fee. With competing forces irrevocably reducing potential grazing areas, the nomads' simple equation of one sheep needing one *dönüm* of land became increasingly difficult to obtain.

The right of way to mountain pastures long enjoyed by nomadic groups changed in character as well. Villagers along the route began to demand exorbitant fees for use of pasturage and to place restrictions upon passing groups which made it difficult to traverse the route. Disputes over property damage and putative claims of extensive theft by nomads damaged the relationship between nomad and villager. Furthermore, governmental restrictions on the use of forested state lands often curtailed traditional routes long employed to reach pastures.

General economic changes occurring after 1945 in the region

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further influenced the inability of nomads to maintain their traditional way of life. Everywhere land became more valuable. The availability of capital in the form of bank credit and the rise of tobacco as a productive cash crop encouraged many villagers either to increase the amount of land they rented and/or to purchase land. The nomad, beset with operational problems such as the shrinking of winter grazing areas, became ultimately the most aggressive purchaser of *ağa*-owned land. Using his flocks and herds as a source of ready capital, he moved rapidly into the ownership of land previously used by him as grazing area.

The settlement of nomadic groups in the coastal plains and highland valleys of the region has been of inestimable importance in encouraging major economic changes. Known by indigenous villagers as being *açık göz,* or as having a keen awareness for opportunity, settled nomads have indeed been the sponsors of extensive agricultural innovation and generally represent today the most successful of village cultivators. During the past decade they have been in the vanguard of the development of truck gardening and poultry and livestock raising.

Comparative material, however, suggests that settlement of nomads has not met with equal success elsewhere in Turkey. Commenting broadly on this process, de Planhol maintains that :

> Representing as they do a form of poverty-line economy, they [nomads] are condemned to permanent nomadism for lack of adequate resources to buy their way into the settled communities (1959:529).

For Gökova and adjacent areas, however, factors of time and place were propitious for the nomads' converting of their "adequate resources" —livestock— into landholdings. With the opening-up of the Gökova plain by successful control of malaria and the circumstantial curtailment of their nomadic existence, they were able to purchase land at a time when land was still greatly unproductive and inexpensive. Settlement in this region occurred well before the nomads' capital became inadequate to deal with the rising price of land and a rapidly changing agricultural structure.

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## SUBREGIONAL DIFFERENCES

One subregion of the county is the plain of Gökova and the settlements contained therein (Map 4). Bounded on one side by the sea and on two sides by steep mountains, at its northeast extreme the plain rises gently to an elevation of approximately one hundred meters before encountering steeply rising mountain slopes. Located within the approximately sixty square kilometers of the fertile flood-plain are seven village entities. The seven villages are in fact composed of numerous dispersed settlements, ranging in size from only several houses of one extended family to as many as twenty-five houses. Table 6 indicates comparative demographic data for each village for the periods 1891, 1935, and 1965. The large village of Karabörtlen, located at the juncture of plain and mountains and on the main transport artery between Ula and the port town of Köyceğiz, serves as a minor bulking center for produce of the plain and as a center for a modest array of retail businesses.

The seven villages are considered "plains villages" by the residents of the county. An effective transportation system consisting of stabilized gravel and dirt roads connects all settlements in the plain. Along these routes cars, jeeps, microbuses, passenger buses, and trucks transport goods and villagers to other settlements on the plain, to the highland town of Ula, and to the coastal town of Köyceğiz.

The plains villages are prosperous when compared to villages located elsewhere in the county. Arable land is extensive and the degree of cultivation intensive. In addition to dry-farmed cereals and irrigated tobacco, crops which also exist elsewhere in the county, the well-watered plain allows extensive cultivation of sesame, cotton, citrus fruits, and vegetables (Table 7). Along the base of the slopes rising from the coast, olives are grown in some abundance.

The second subregion of the county is the highland valley of Ula in which are situated the urban center of Ula and the single village of Kızılağaç. This village, like those of the plain, consists of a number of dispersed quarters. Within easy walking distance of Ula, many villagers from Kızılağaç find employment in the town in such capacities as laborers in the

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*Table 6*

*Urban-rural population growth in the county of Ula between 1891 and 1965*

| | *1891*[a] | | *1935*[b] | | *1965*[c] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Settlement Location* | *Population* | | *Population* | | *Population* |
| Coastal Plain | | | | | |
| Gökabad* | 765 | | 1,299 | Akçapınar | 972 |
| | | | | Çıtlık | 1,180 |
| | | | | Gökova | 1,241 |
| Karabörtlen* | 1,008 | | 1,524 | Karabörtlen | 1,020 |
| | | | | Portakallık | 1,213 |
| | | | | Sarayyanı | 615 |
| Kızılyaka | 584 | | 1,042 | | 1,255 |
| Highland Valley | | | | | |
| Ula (town) | 2,550 | | 4,024 | | 4,616 |
| Kızılağaç | 77 | | 251 | | 573 |
| Mountain | | | | | |
| Armucak | 177 | Armutcuk | 269 | | 407 |
| Çiçekli | 136 | | 271 | | 346 |
| Gölcük* | 1,179 | Gölcük | 422 | | 714 |
| | | Kavakçalı | 347 | | 569 |
| | | Kıyra | 302 | | 464 |
| TOTAL | 6,476 | | 9,751 | | 15,185 |

Sources: a *Aydın Salnamesi* 1891. Twelve other villages have been assigned since 1891 to other administrative districts.

b Eroğlu 1939:183.

c T.C.D.I.E. *1965 Census* 1968:490.

* Between 1891 and 1935 the village of Gölcük was split into three villages: Gölcük, Kavakçalı, and Kıyra. Between 1935 and 1965 Gökabad was split into the villages of Akçapınar, Çıtlık, and Gökova; and Karabörtlen was split into the villages of Karabörtlen, Portakallık, and Sarayyanı.

tile works. Others in small numbers travel fifteen kilometers to work in the provincial capital of Muğla. With frequent intercourse with Ula, the inhabitants of Kızılağaç enjoy almost daily use of Ula's economic, religious, and recreational functions.

The agricultural profile of the valley of Ula differs from that of the coastal plain in its lack of citrus fruits, olives,

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*Table 7*

*Estimated[a] agricultural yields for the county of Ula for 1966*

| *Settlement Location* | *Wheat* | *Barley Oats Rye* | *Sesame* | *White Millet Corn* | *Tobacco* | *Olives* | *Citrus* | *Vegetables* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coastal Plain | | | | | | | | |
| Akçapınar | 5,128 | 9,275 | 44,127 | 17,983 | 62,597 | | 126,030 | 543,275 |
| Çıtlık | 6,220 | 11,248 | 53,514 | 21,810 | 118,995 | | | |
| Gökova | 6,525 | 11,801 | 56,145 | 22,881 | 108,074 | 700,000 | | 691,237 |
| Karabörtlen | 5,372 | 9,713 | 46,214 | | 82,299 | | | |
| Kızılkaya | 6,609 | 11,954 | | | 128,745 | | | |
| Portakallık | 6,367 | 11,514 | | 22,326 | 156,989 | | 156,470 | 674,488 |
| Sarayyanı | 3,238 | 5,853 | | | 71,340 | | | |
| Total Kilos | 39,459 | 71,358 | 200,000 | 85,000 | 729,039 | 700,000 | 282,500 | 1,909,000 |
| Highland Valley | | | | | | | | |
| Ula (town) | 24,343 | 44,034 | | | 350,419 | | | |
| Kızılağaç | 3,025 | 5,471 | | | 68,307 | | | |
| Total Kilos | 27,368 | 49,505 | | | 418,726 | | | |
| Mountain | | | | | | | | |
| Armutcuk | 2,146 | 3,883 | | | 25,592 | | | |
| Çiçekli | 1,813 | 3,281 | | | 5,803 | | | |
| Gölcük | 3,747 | 6,774 | | | 20,824 | | | |
| Kavakçalı | 3,025 | 5,477 | | | | | | |
| Kıyra | 2,445 | 4,422 | | | 5,836 | | | |
| Total Kilos | 13,176 | 23,837 | | | 58,055 | | | |

[a] Data as obtained by the Ula branch of the Ministry of Agriculture survey teams are reliable as approximations only. Yields given above are expressed in kilos.

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sesame, and cotton and a greatly reduced amount of vegetable gardening. Tobacco, the predominant crop in the Ula valley, generally is dry-farmed and rotated with wheat, barley, and oats.

The third subregion of the county is the mountainous region above the town of Ula and includes what are referred to throughout the county as "mountain villages", together comprising less than one-sixth of the total county population. Again consisting of a number of dispersed quarters, the villages are located in small steepsided valleys in the high mountains. They are poorly connected one to the other by paths and dirt roads, the latter being traversable only in the summer by jeep.

Arable land in this subregion is severely restricted to cleared slopes, where tobacco is grown, and to strips along mountain watercourses. The major sources of income for mountain villagers are tobacco, beekeeping, animal breeding, labor in nearby chrome mines, and the sale of firewood in Ula and Muğla. Individual income for mountain villagers is far below that of villagers residing in the other two subregions (Table 8).

The town of Ula is situated at the juncture of the two subregions of plain and mountain, and in a number of ways it forms the only symbiosis taking place between the two. As an administrative center, Ula compels all villagers within its jurisdiction to use specific town institutions. From the obtaining of government-provided credit to the legal settlement of disputes, it encompasses inhabitants of both subregions as well as its own. Further, as the only major market center in the county, Ula provides the means for circulation of goods between the subregions.[38] The citrus fruits, olives, and vegetables of the coastal plain; and the firewood, butter, cheese, and livestock nearly exclusive to the mountain villages are brought into the weekly market of Ula for exchange and sale. In addition, both plains and mountain villagers purchase extra-regional goods from itinerant marketeers located in the market of Ula (see Chapter 6).

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38 The village of Karabörtlen has a small weekly market which convenes on Friday, the same day as Ula's market. Its attraction is very minor in comparison to Ula's.

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*Table 8*

*Estimated income from agriculture for the county of Ula for 1966*[a]

| *Village Location* | *Population* | *Total Arable Dönüms* | *Computed Income (in Liras)*[c] | *Per Capita Income*[b] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coastal Plain | | | | |
| Akçapınar | 972 | 4,402 | 964,737 | 992.5 |
| Çıtlık | 1,180 | 3,341 | 1,050,413 | 890.1 |
| Gökova | 1,241 | 2,892 | 1,846,065 | 1,487.5 |
| Karabörtlen | 1,020 | 1,979 | 748,809 | 734.1 |
| Kızılyaka | 1,255 | 2,758 | 914,712 | 728.8 |
| Portakallık | 1,213 | 2,197 | 1,560,914 | 1,286.8 |
| Sarayyanı | 615 | 1,621 | 505,991 | 822.7 |
| TOTAL | 7,496 | 19,190 | 7,591,641 | |
| Highland Valley | | | | |
| Ula (town) | 4,616 | 9,165 | 2,502,652 | 542.1 |
| Kızılağaç | 573 | 1,342 | 484,325 | 845.2 |
| TOTAL | 5,189 | 10,507 | 2,986,977 | |
| Mountain | | | | |
| Armutcuk | 407 | 1,043 | 183,527 | 450.9 |
| Çiçekli | 346 | 228 | 44,325 | 128.1 |
| Gölcük | 714 | 1,451 | 153,414 | 214.8 |
| Kavakçalı | 569 | 346 | 6,181 | 10.8 |
| Kıyra | 464 | 157 | 45,846 | 98.8 |
| TOTAL | 2,500 | 3,225 | 433,293 | |
| GRAND TOTAL | 15,185 | 32,922 | 11,011,911 | |

[a] Source: Unpublished data of the Ula Branch of the Tobacco Growers' Bank.

[b] Income was obtained by using crop yield estimates and İzmir wholesale price indices for those crops listed in Table 7. Additional information concerning local price fluctuation for agricultural produce and unrecorded income from agriculture would modify per capita income figures provided in this table.

[c] In 1966 nine Turkish liras were equivalent to one American dollar.

As a node, Ula brings plains and mountain villagers together in a common setting for such divergent activities as religious worship, the annual sale of tobacco, and the obtaining of long distance transportation. Although certain associations between regions are forged through the mediating functions of Ula, many differences are reinforced. In addition to servicing townsmen, specific retail grocers establish credit relationships

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with a clientele derived only from plains or mountain villages. A spatial segregation often is seen in the mosque during Friday services, placing mountain villagers on one side of the mosque. On Fridays, the day of the weekly market, coffeehouses become the recreational locus for villagers almost exclusively of one or the other subregion. Disputes occasionally arise when a coffeehouse is frequented by both plains and mountain villagers. The villagers from these two subregions often use different urban services and seldom establish lasting ties with the same townsmen.

Mountain villagers are considered by some townsmen and plains villagers to be morally different from themselves. Women and girls from mountain villages, it is rumored, have loose morals and are shamelessly flirtatious. Brides, townsmen often claim, are not taken by them from mountain villages. On the other hand, villagers from the plain of Gökova are considered to be more "honest", their women "clean", and their "customs are closer" to those of the town. The greater compatibility between town and plain is reflected in the more numerous affinal links and quality of social relationships which exist between the two.

The closeknit ties which exist between town and plain are understandable in a historical perspective. In the last century, the port activities of Gökova, mentioned in Chapter 3, stimulated the growing of certain crops for exportation. *Ağa*s, urban-based in Ula, Köyceğiz, and Muğla, maintained extensive holdings on the plain and focused their attention on the development of resources such as balsam, cereals, and tobacco. Although the extensive land holdings of the *ağa*s included the mountain expanses as well, little or no economic development took place in that area. Mining, which employed only a handful of villagers, was the only economic activity involving mountain villages and urban capital. Even the exploitation of forest resources such as turpentine, balsam, and lumber utilized either townsmen or itinerant *Tahtacı*s. Rural-directed activities originating from the urban center were almost totally directed toward settlements on the plain of Gökova. Thus townsmen claim greater affinal and social ties, clientage relations, and cultural compatibility with plains villagers.

The plains villages have historically been favored over their

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mountain counterparts in dealings with the urban center of Ula. The first villagers to obtain credit from government lending agencies or private banks were from the plain. Village schools, village "people's houses", village mosques, retail services, public sanitation, and waterworks all favored plains villages. In short, Ula's attraction as an urban center providing an array of urban functions has, until quite recently, been much less pronounced for mountain than for plains villages.

Ula's hinterland, as administratively defined, extends uniformly over thirteen villages. When considering other characteristics, however, Ula may be viewed as having three hinterlands, each forming separate associations with Ula based upon the nature of the region and the attraction the urban center has for it. Ula is a node situated at the juncture of two distinct subregions, each of whose characteristics are internally more uniform than those of the total region from which it has been divided. As a mediating center, Ula is not so much a place as a process, having a complicated field of association.

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CHAPTER THREE

# ULA : SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS

In its role as a mediating center, Ula possesses a number of diverse functions. This diversity is, in part, mirrored in the myriad of occupational forms identifiable in the town and in the formal structure of a number of Ula's institutions. An analysis of these diverse activities, however, presupposes an understanding of the system of social stratification which influences community attitudes and activities in Ula.

It has been suggested that pre-industrial cities and towns display marked similarities in their class structure (Sjoberg 1960:109). A Near Eastern expression of these predominant social distinctions appears in the study of Kirman, an Iranian city of nearly 20,000 inhabitants (English 1966). English states :

> At the top of the social structure is an urban elite, a small (probably a twentieth of society) group of powerful families who control the elements of production in the city and its hinterland. Beneath this elite group there is a small but growing middle class of intellectuals, second-rank civil servants and bureaucrats, progressive merchants and professionals, making possibly a tenth of society. Next is the large commoner class composed of petty bazaar merchants, service workers, artisans and craftsmen, and agriculturalists - the bulk of the urban population. At the base of the social order are people isolated by occupation or background from those higher in the socioeconomic scale (1966:71).

There are a number of similarities between the scheme of social patterning in Kirman and in Ula. Although only about one-fourth the size of Kirman, Ula possesses an equally deep historical background, a more or less similar array of contemporary urban institutions, and a similar regional role, all important factors for the crystallization of such social distinctions. The value of comparison with Kirman and like centers in the Near East does not, however, lie in the simple

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stressing of broad commonalities. Rather, its value is in pointing out the significant ways in which Ula, until recently an isolated Anatolian mountain town, differs from conceptual formulae purporting to have wide application.

The townsmen of Ula differentiate between at least four socially distinct predominant groups in Ula referred to as *sosyal tabakalar,* or social levels. These consist of landlords *(ağas),* merchants *(tüccars),* civil servants *(memurs),* and craftsmen *(esnafs).* Although the poor exist in Ula, they do not constitute a separate social distinction within a scheme of stratification. Quantitatively small in number, the chronic poor represent an economic condition and not a social group. Numerically small as well, are those who sell their labor in unskilled tasks in the town and are referred to as *amele.* Most *amele*s found in Ula are people from nearby villages or townsmen who tend fields for a major portion of the year and who in addition undertake miscellaneous tasks as ancillary activities.

The social distinctions found in Ula cannot be explained solely in terms of the town's present occupational structure nor upon the differential access to opportunity of each group, so often the main basis of class distinctions in a sociological sense (see Parsons 1949:328-329). Rather, social distinctions, as currently perceived in Ula, are as well distilled out of an historical awareness that each group possesses of itself, grounded in what Sjoberg calls "similarly valued objective criteria" (1960:109). These factors which lead to a distinct life style include kinship affiliation (a shared sense of status within a plurality of kinship units), access to power and authority, achievement of occupational excellence and/or educational attainment, the nature of possessions, and moral and personal attributes (Sjoberg 1960:109). In this way it is feasible to speak of an *esnaf* or *ağa* "culture", depending upon the group considered, as: sharing a set of common symbols, being aware of its exclusiveness in relation to other social categories, and possessing a self-awareness of its common historical and contemporary role in the life of the community.

The seeming "rigidity" of these social distinctions or subcultures, evident when viewed in an historical perspective, is being eroded by recent processes of economic and cultural

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change. These changes are acting in some measure to replace the traditional insularity of group distinctions by new forms of group interaction. In this sense "similarly valued objective criteria" are becoming the criteria of larger groups whose distinctiveness has come to be defined in other ways. Beyond economic considerations, the decline of the town as a mediating center is, as well, a social narrative on the complex of changes experienced differentially by each of Ula's social groups. Historical detail will be provided insofar as such detail assists in the understanding of social class changes.

## LANDLORDS *(AĞAS)*

The term *ağa* has a wide variety of meanings in Turkish.[39] In Ula the term was and still is most specifically used to designate historically wealthy landlords and certain members of their lineages. Concerning the criteria needed to merit the title of *ağa* there is little consensus among townsmen in Ula, but conversely there is no question as to which individuals merit the title. *Ağalık,* or the quality of being an *ağa,* in one sense long consisted of those attributes and circumstances which, through a unique historical situation, converged into a role which was awarded a legal status. Personal attributes, a distinct life style, wealth in the form of extensive land holdings, and a monopoly over political authority combined historically into a position of duty or office in Ula society. As an office it was an hereditary charge, a sense of duty and obligation invested in a family and lineage.

One townsman suggests that an *ağa* is someone who pos-

39 As a modifier it is used in kinship terminology to denote seniority, as in *ağabey* (older brother), historically in occupational designations such as *hanağası* (innkeeper), and in titles such as those of military office. As an honorific title it often was appended to other honorific titles to form the designation of a position, as in *Ağa Efendimiz* ("our *ağa efendi*"), the Ottoman post of deputy to the Grand Vizier (Encyclopedia of Islam 1960, Vol. 1:247). *Ağa* may mean "chief", "master", or "landowner" as well, and it is in this latter sense that the term *ağa* is employed by the people in Ula. In its contemporary use when referring to landlords, the term does not denote any formal legal status.

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sesses and *is* history himself. The imagery most frequently used is that of the benevolent warrior or chieftain, a protective caretaker of the community who combines benignity with brutality. "One can become a hero through might alone, but an *ağa* only through generosity" *(Yiğitlik vurma ilen, ağalık verme ilen)* is a saying in Ula. Acts of generosity to the community in general and to individuals in particular were a necessary element of the role of *ağa,* building sets of expectancies which tied *ağa*s to the people as firmly as indebtedness tied people to *ağa*s.

Although a primary requisite for being an *ağa* in Ula was extensive landownership, it was not necessarily the wealth of the land alone as much as the symbol of the land upon which emphasis was placed. The symbols of land — moral strength, generosity or largesse, and authority, all ascribed to *ağa*s — were inherited and could not be earned or bought. Often far more wealthy than *ağa*s, merchants historically have been excluded from the elite class of *ağa*s. To be an *ağa* was and is a social condition.

While recognizing the differences between feudal Europe and Ottoman Turkey, it does not seem inappropriate to apply the western concept of nobility to Ula's *ağa*s. As were their European counterparts, in Ula *ağa*s were landed (a prime requisite), were legally entrusted with authority, were usually literate, and possessed a certain bearing and code of ethics, all features which closely coincide with the image of the European noble. Most important, perhaps, Ula's landed *ağa*s *(toprak ağası)* possessed two characteristics stressed in Bloch's analysis of European nobility :

> To deserve the name [of noble] such a class must evidently combine two characteristics. First, it must have a legal status of its own, which confirms and makes effectual the superiority to which it lays claim. In the second place this status must be hereditary... actual power is not enough... it is necessary, in addition, that social privileges as well as hereditary succession should be recognized by law (Bloch 1964:283).

One of the most profound changes occurring in Ula's stratification in the past two decades has been the almost total disenfranchisement of the small elite of *ağa*s. Once the pro-

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viders, protectors, and patrons of Ula, *ağa*s today have all but withdrawn from Ula's public life to be replaced by a group of progressive merchants. An examination of the nexus between the historical validation of authority, kinship, economics, and achievements which once underscored the legitimization of Ula's *ağa*s aids in an understanding of the nature of this shift in community leadership.

## AUTHORITY

The manner in which specific lineages of *ağa*s historically garnered authority in Ula is difficult to determine. It is clear, however, that the fortunes of prominent lineages were shaped by two sources: the conferring of power by outside forces and the local aggrandizement of influence. In order to understand how authority was confirmed and maintained it would seem necessary to recount briefly some features of Ottoman administrative history and relate these to the history of individual *ağa* families of Ula.

The reconstruction of the social history of the province of Muğla must, in addition to oral history, rely heavily upon sources of three types: accounts of western travelers, those of Muslim travelers, and official Ottoman documents. The nineteenth century, a time of increased interest in Turkey and in its antiquities, saw a number of western travelers and consular officials passing through the region of Muğla.[40] At least two prominent Muslim travelers were acquainted with the region of Muğla. Ibn Battuta, writing in the fourteenth century, provides a frail account of regional personages. More detailed is the account of Evliya Çelebi who journeyed through Muğla in the seventeenth century. Ottoman documents pertaining to regional conditions are abundant but as yet little analyzed. The few documents consulted here have provided information

40 For the eighteeth century, some notable examples are the travels of Choiseul-Gouffier in 1740, Pococke in 1743-44, and Chandler in 1764. The nineteenth century saw an increase in western travelers through the area, the most important being Beaufort, Leake, Fellows, Hoskyn, and Spratt and Forbes in the first half of the century, and Newton, Ritter, Collingnon, Benndorf and Niemann, Diehl and Cousin, Deschamps, Hula-Szanto, Paton and Myres in the latter half of the century.

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on subjects such as land use, administrative structure, taxation, and general census characteristics.

Muğla's history is still largely unknown despite some research to date by a number of scholars. Although located adjacent to the cosmopolitan province of Smyrna (Izmir), Muğla remained until the latter part of the nineteenth century a remote mountain stronghold of defiant suzerains. Caravans to and from the east passed to the north of Muğla, avoiding its tortuous mountain trails. Lack of communication with the Sublime Porte in Constantinople, the nature of its terrain, and its seaward orientation are the themes which directed much of Muğla's administrative and social history.

The leading families in Ula claim to date back to the early years of Ottoman rule and in one case back into the short-lived period of the emirate of Menteşe. The emirate of Menteşe was one of the first to be established in western Anatolia in a campaign against an already weakened Byzantine empire. During approximately one hundred years of rule which ended in 1390, the warlike emirate fought both external powers and internal dissent within its own borders to preserve its power. There is some evidence that Ula was a fortified town during this period of continuous internal strife during Menteşe rule.[41]

Following Beyazit's defeat of the Menteşe dynasty in 1390, the small town of Muğla, only 15 kilometers from Ula, was selected by the Sublime Porte as the regional capital of an administrative area initially consisting of 20,000 square kilometers (*Islam Ansiklopedisi* 1957:723). Attempts by the central government to articulate a vast Ottoman realm composed of remote and semi-autonomous regions resulted in a series of changes in the administrative status of each region. By the latter part of the seventeenth century Menteşe was already a subdivision of the *eyalet* of Anadolu (Gibb and Bowen 1950: 143). The next change in regional status occurred in 1810 when the area, along with the similarly constituted neighboring

41 Hakses (1940:14) suggests that the name Ula itself is derived from the name of a successful Menteşe dynasty military leader, an Ulama bey, whose name was given to the town in 1335. Another source also suggests the possibility that this person ruled Ula as commander of a garrison post for some years during the 1330's (Eroğlu 1939:170).

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regions of Sarahan and Smyrna, was appended to a new administrative province — the *eyalet* of Aydın (Gökbel and Şölen 1936:110). Although the pace of centralization quickened under Sultan Mahmud II (d. 1839), at the local level in places such as Ula centralizing efforts were little felt until the last part of the nineteenth century. At that time major administrative changes finally began to effect a change from rule by local power elites to rule by central government.[42] Although data on early power elites in Ula are meager, through historical sources which document situations in nearby small towns and through oral history collected in Ula, a general picture can be drawn of the early activities of Ula *ağa*s.

Within the region of Menteşe, as throughout the Ottoman realm, the majority of land fell within the category of crown lands, or *mîrî*.[43] A small portion of this land was maintained by the State, yielding revenues directly to the Sultan. The Sultan, however, reserved the right to issue title *(berat)* of fiefs to individuals. Large fiefs were controlled by *sipahi*s and smaller ones by *timarcı*s. Local gentry, military leaders, court officials, and tribal chiefs all were eligible to obtain fiefs (Da-

42 In a further effort to modernize the administrative hierarchy throughout Anatolia, the Grand Vizier Fuad Paşa in 1864 enacted the Law of Vilayets (provinces) which was based essentially on the principles underlying French administrative divisions. The purpose of this law was to group existing provinces into larger entities under the direct control of able administrators. Thus the *eyalet* of Aydın became the *vilayet* of Smyrna (Izmir). In this process, the administrative region of Menteşe was reduced from 20,000 to a new size of 13,000 square kilometers.

The 1864 law brought each area into a relatively efficient scheme of administration, establishing for the first time a centralized chain of command. Each province was governed by a *vali* (governor). A province was divided into *sancak*s, each governed by a *mutasarrıf*. *Sancak*s were divided, in turn, into *kaza*s, governed by *kaymakam*s, a *kaza* into *nahiye*s governed by *müdür*s. Within *nahiye*s were villages, governed by *muhtar*s.

43 Other categories of land included the *vakıf*, a religious endowment divided into land donated by the State for religious foundations and land bequeathed by individuals for pious purposes or for the convenience of pilgrims to Mecca. This land was exempt from taxation (Farley 1862:12). Still another important category of land was freehold property or *mülk*. Land in this category was purchased from the government for house property, orchards, etc., adjacent to a village and was liable for taxation.

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vison 1968:38). In return the *sipahi* or *timarcı* was to provide men for military service and revenues to the State, a portion of which was to serve as a stipend to the fiefholder.

By the seventeenth century the fief system had fallen into disorder. Lineages prominently in control of local government began to gain control of former fiefdoms. The State increasingly converted numerous fiefdoms into tax farms, a move designed to increase revenues to meet new military expenses. The rise in power of these tax farmers, or *mültezims*, in regions such as Menteşe contributed to the decreasing control by the central government over its realm.

A number of landholding lineages in Ula originally obtained their claim to large estates as tax farmers or *mültezims*, and until the reforms of the late nineteenth century aggrandized their wealth and political rank in the region through this office. In a number of ways the history of the *ağa* lineage of Karaoğlu[44] in Ula typifies the manner in which political and economic prominence was garnered and maintained.

Descendants of the Karaoğlu family claim a residency of many centuries in Ula for their lineage. According to Karaoğlu family history, members of their lineage had established themselves in Ula as early as the eleventh century, claiming an ultimate origin in central Asia. It is further asserted that in the mid-fifteenth century Sultan Murad II awarded an extensive fiefdom to this lineage. It is certain that one hundred years later Hacı Ali Çavuş, a prominent member in the Karaoğlu genealogy, founded a mosque in Ula in 1551, his name and the date being inscribed on a mosque portal stone. Between Hacı Ali Çavuş, living in the sixteenth century, and Hacı Salih Efendi, living in the eighteenth century, nearly two hundred years are telescoped into only two intervening generations which are cited in the genealogy. It is possible that the social prominence of Hacı Ali Çavuş and Hacı Salih Efendi as "famous relatives" overshadowing intervening genealogical members accounts for the telescoping effect. Hacı Salih Efendi, a charismatic individual living between 1750 and 1800, is described as having been appointed regional tax collector along with his role as *mültezim,* or tax farmer, of the by then large

44 Names of local personages used here are pseudonyms.

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family estate. He is also credited with clearing extensive tracts of cultivable land, planting oranges in the plain of Gökova, building the region's first waterpowered flour mill, improving the existing system of beekeeping, initiating animal husbandry on a large scale, and bringing Negroes from North Africa to Gökova for field work. As an important ancestor in the genealogical account, he is in various descriptions often overly credited with innovative talents.

Beginning with the first half of the nineteenth century, details regarding the Karaoğlu lineage become more reliable. A Hacı Ali Bey, also treated as a "famous relative" and credited with many noble and innovative talents,[45] seemingly spent some years in Constantinople at the Sublime Porte. It is this frequently related account of Hacı Ali Bey's putative close relationship with Sultan Mahmud II[46] (b. 1785, d. 1839) and Mahmud's son Abdülaziz which enables this member of the Karaoğlu lineage to be dated with some precision. Desirous of military training for his son, Mahmud II supposedly employed Hacı Ali Bey to offer military lessons to Abdülaziz at the palace. After a few years Hacı Ali Bey asked the Sultan to release him from his obligation in order that he might rejoin his seven children in Ula. In return for his services, the Sultan reputedly awarded Hacı Ali Bey a large estate to tax farm in the vicinity of Ula. Upon his death (in the 1850's? Hacı Ali Bey's vast holdings of land were divided among his children, to each of whom was assigned a responsible steward, *kahya,* to manage the estate. Descendants of Hacı Ali Bey were all considered by townsmen to be *ağa*s. Through their entrenched political power, at various times they governed Ula as influential government-appointed tax collectors, intermediaries with outside

45 In addition to tax-farming, Hacı Ali Bey built at least one public bath in Ula, as well as a *medrese,* or religious seminary, and neighborhood places for worship *(mescits).* Further, he established numerous public facilities and reputedly turned over considerable portions of his income to the poor people of the town in the form of *vakıf.*

46 As a reformer, Mahmud II brought about an end to the Janissaries and created new schools of military instruction for a reformed army. He was succeeded first by his son Abdülmecid who died in 1861, then by his second son Abdülaziz.

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governmental authorities, and in the first half of the present century as mayors of the town.

Another ağa lineage in Ula traces its beginning of local power to the sixteenth century. One local version claims that the founders Hasan and Hüseyin were highly placed military officers who accompanied Sultan Süleyman on his successful campaign in 1522 to liberate the Island of Rhodes from the Christians.[47] Supposedly as a reward for distinguished service in battle, Sultan Süleyman awarded the officers vast tracts of land within the region of Menteşe. Dividing the region roughly into western and eastern halves, the two men, as *sipahi*s, administered their domains as fiefs.

In his history of Muğla, Eroğlu draws upon Cevdet Paşa's famous history of the Ottoman Empire for an account of this period. Cevdet Paşa provides a different version of the history of the lineage than do local oral accounts.

> Approximately two and one-half to three centuries ago, Hasan Çavuş, a faithful and a good servant [of the state], was awarded farms and land by *dergâhi* Ali, the chief *kapıcı,*[48] extending from the Menderes River to Fethiye and including the *kaza*s of Muğla, Marmaris, and Köyceğiz. Afterward his sons Hacı Bekir and Ömer revolted against the state. To meet this revolt, the *vali* of Anatolia, Ali Paşa, was sent with a large army and punished them both. They were tried, accused, and hanged (translated from Eroğlu 1939:132).

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47 Upon his return from Rhodes in 1523, Sultan Kanuni Süleyman rested in Ula for a period of time with his army, attesting to a town size great enough to host the large army. Süleyman had departed Istanbul on June 16, 1522, with 100,000 men to travel overland to the southern port of Marmaris (Eroğlu 1939:132). He apparently stopped in Muğla on July 23 and arrived in Marmaris on July 26 (Öztuna 1964:153). Upon the completion of his successful campaign on Rhodes, he returned to Istanbul, stopping to rest in Ula sometime between December 7, 1523 (Eroğlu 1939:132) and the beginning of the next year (Tekindağ 1968:60).

48 It was not until 1654 that the Grand Vizier became known as the Chief Kapıcı and acquired the residence known as the Paşa Kapısı or Pasha's Gate, the Bab-i Ali or Sublime Porte. Thus the quotation would imply that the Vizier awarded the lands after 1654 to Hasan Çavuş, and not during the rule of Sultan Süleyman, as oral history suggests.

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The approximate date which Cevdet Paşa provides for the revolt and retaliation is 1791 (Eroğlu 1939:133). Choiseul-Gouffier affirms that a Hasan Çavuşoğlu held a powerful position in Muğla in 1740 (see below). Demircioğlu, in a study of local politics in the *sancak* of Suğla, near Aydın, states that a Hasan Çavuşzade was a *mültezim* in 1779 (1965:12). Beyond these suggestions, it is difficult to verify specific details of the succession of the lineage. Oral tradition suggests that the Hasan Çavuş administration was crushed by the armed forces from Aydın of Ali Paşa, Indeed, in a small area of Ula lie the ruins of massive walls and house foundations. Local inhabitants claim this to be one of the sites of the battle which raged against a Hasan Çavuş who lived in Ula. One local version states that the son Bekir fled to Rhodes, only to return later, with the help of the Sultan's wife Mihriban, to regain his land. Yet another version states that one of the sons fled to Köyceğiz, later to be restored to power. In all cases, exact genealogical detail is weak, and the one family presently living in Ula which claims to have a genealogical connection with the Hasan Çavuş lineage can provide only a most sketchy account of their biological linkage.

By the turn of the present century descendants of this lineage were influential landowners in Ula, supposedly the stewards of the remnants of the vast holdings awarded to them in the sixteenth century. Prominent in local politics, at least one member was twice elected a member of Atatürk's Parliament. This individual was respected in two environments: both in the capital among a small urban intelligentsia and in Ula as a generous patron and community leader. It is reputed that when he went to mosque services in Ula, adults and children would line the streets and two of his attendants would throw money to children in his wake.

Ula was never fraught with intense factionalism between *ağa*s. In their roles as landowners, tax collectors, "officials" of local government, religious leaders, and recognized intelligentsia, *ağa*s as a group were relatively conflict-free internally. In this sense, Ula's local power structure differed greatly from that existing in some other parts of Turkey, particularly the east. There, the continued local success of a powerful *ağa* usually was largely dependent upon the ascrip-

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tion of a large following of supporters through the patronage of large patronymic groups and the continuous display of physical force. Indeed from available oral accounts, Ula's *ağa*s appear to have functioned somewhere midway between the role of European aristocracy, when one looks closely at the nature of local patron-client relations, and chieftains, when their militant relations with the central government are considered. The belligerency displayed toward the central government by local *ağa*s well into the last half of the nineteenth century in the general environs of Ula is amply documented. It is during the latter part of the last century that local elites began to experience a curtailment of their political power and, at least for Ula, the commencement of a downward spiral of their economic hegemony. A few narratives concerning these early changes should help to understand this process.

The internal political machinations in Menteşe underwent a number of phases before the reforms of the late nineteenth century. An increase in the number and power of *mültezim*s resulted in the appointment of a single lieutenant governor of the province, having the title of *mütesellim* around 1741. Under the 1864 Law of Vilayets, the *mutasarrıf,* a government-appointed civil servant, was appointed to the old office of *mütesellim,* abolished 22 years earlier in 1842, and served as lieutenant governor.[49] The abolition of the office of *mütesellim* ended nearly one hundred years of local rule characterized by violence and intrigue. Factions continuously vied to gain control of this office through which they could then control local politics and aggrandize their own personal wealth. At the time that the government-appointed *mutasarrıf* took control of the *sancak,* at the *kaza* level *kaymakam*s were as-

49 As an administrative unit known as a *sancak,* Menteşe was, from the fifteenth century, subject to an overlord, the *sancak beyi.* Around 1741 in an attempt to curb the conflict between *mültezim*s, the *sancak beyi* appointed a single *mültezim* to serve as lieutenant governor of the province. This office, having the title of *mütesellim,* passed through the hands of a series of local personages until its abolishment in 1842 (Uykucu 1968:97ff). Between 1842 and 1864, when the reform of provincial administration took effect, military governors, with the assistance of local councils, collected taxes and maintained order (Lewis 1961:380).

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signed to wrest control from local *ağa*s, to maintain order, collect taxes, and effect conscription measures.

Several western travelers visited the vicinity of Ula at a time around 1741 when the first governmental attempts at reducing the power of local *ağa*s was beginning to be felt. Choiseul-Gouffier visited the town of Muğla (Moglad), only 15 kilometers from Ula, in 1740, one year before the first government-appointed *mütesellim* was installed in office. At this time Hasan Çavuşoğlu was in power. Hasan is described by Choiseul-Gouffier as being rich "by his own doings" and the lineage head of a network of kin-related local rulers which included Ula. Hasan explained to Choiseul-Gouffier that he instructed each of his sons in the science of statecraft, thereafter placing each, supported by a retinue of kin, in administrative positions in various localities (Choiseul-Gouffier 1842:60).

Hasan's strength is described as a "state within a state defended by mountains" (Choiseul-Gouffier 1842:214). His independence of the Ottoman government was a precarious one, and, concerned about his advancing years, Hasan confided to Choiseul-Gouffier that he doubted the ability of his sons to maintain a strong empire free from internal strife (Choiseul-Gouffier 1842:215).[50] At the close of Choiseul-Gouffier's visit to Muğla, Hasan provided him with guards and, as a gift, a horse to continue his journey westward. At Eskihisar, a large village not too distant from Muğla, Choiseul-Gouffier encountered Hasan's grandson, who had been installed there.

Archival documents indicate that in the following year, 1741, a Yusuf Bey was installed as the first *mütesellim,* usurping Hasan Çavuşoğlu's position as the local authority (Uykucu 1968:97). Although appointed for a term of only one year by the *malikhane mutasarrıfı,* a court official responsible for large estates held on life-tenure, *mütesellim*s were able to perpetuate their stay in office by cultivating high ranking palace officials and using the influence of their superior, the *sancak*

50 Hasan's concern is embodied in his remark to Choiseul-Gouffier: "Je paie un fou pour m'amuser, et des gens sensés pour s'occuper de mes affaires; si le Sultan avait fait de même, les efforts de ses armées, mieux dirigées, n'auraient pas échoué récemment devant un petit nombre de Russes" (1842:216).

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*beyi.* In large measure the system of *sancak beyi*s, rural *paşa*s, and their appointed *müteselli*ms was autonomous from and at times openly defiant of central governmental control.

The existence of regional autonomy is also suggested by the account of Pococke who traveled from Aydın to Milas in 1743-44. At the village of Eskihisar, about 25 kilometers from Muğla, he encountered a situation in marked contrast to that of Choiseul-Gouffier only three years earlier. Upon arrival, Pococke presented his letter of safe passage, a *ferman* or imperial edict, from the Sublime Porte, to the local overlord.[51] Noting that it was the Sultan's *ferman* and not one from the local *paşa,* the overlord rejected it (Pococke 1743-44:64-65). The overlord declared that although he did not recognize the central government at the Porte in Constantinople, he would however accept gifts as a gesture of good will. Enraged, Pococke refused the request. Likewise infuriated, the overlord threatened to harm the janissary soldier assigned by the Porte to protect Pococke before a compromise was finally reached (Pococke 1743-44:64-65).

The long period of strife surrounding the office of *müteselli*m came to an end in the late 1830's. It was followed by a period of rule in which a succession of governors or *mutasarrıf*s, all of whom were non-locals, were appointed directly by the central government. The installation of government administrators gradually reached into districts such as Ula where local overlords once held near-absolute power. Several accounts witness this period of change.

Fellows, in 1838, traveled from Fethiye to Muğla and back again to Fethiye at a time when the office of *mutasarrıf* was then only two years old. He notes that the *mutasarrıf,* or governor, at Muğla was

> very civil but throughout the southern part of the country... [of Menteşe] the firman is looked upon in quite a different light from what it is where the Sultan's new policy is more rapidly working its way (Fellows 1838:250).

In Fellow's words (1838:286), the once powerful *müteselli*m

51 It is uncertain whether at this time the position was still filled by Hasan's grandson.

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was replaced by 1838 by "a mere agent, sent generally from Constantinople, to collect all taxes for his master the Sultan".

The change in local administration is perhaps most vividly documented in Fellow's account of his visit to Köyceğiz, located only 44 kilometers south of Ula. Köyceğiz, given the poor state of internal communication at the time, had long been a seat of local autonomous power.[52] Speaking of conditions prior to his visit in 1838, Fellows says of a once powerful Köyceğiz *ağa* that

> Ten ships of war, subject to his command, then floated in the lake [Lake Köyceğiz] and all the country around was dependent upon him, and served him through fear ... The power of the family is now extinguished ... All these families know that the Sultan is watching them ... and this knowledge has completely cowed these haughty chiefs (Fellows 1838:186).

Again :

> All the governors in the district are the remnants of the old Derebbes,[53] whose power but a few years age threatened that of the Sultan; they were then continually at war with one another (Fellows 1838:186).

Although data specific for Ula are lacking, these comparative examples indicate the regional condition of which Ula was a part. Within the town, however, the various *ağa* lineages were bound together by a number of factors. Rather than serving as rivals, the several most important *ağa* lineages of Ula constituted a fairly homogeneous social group in terms of shared attitudes and objectives, reinforced by the biological ties of extensive intermarriage. Their separation from the rest of the community was not only achieved through physical segregation but as well by their keen self-awareness of the exclusive role they played in town and regional matters.

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52 Additional evidence of the decline of powerful *ağas* in Köyceğiz is provided by Hoskyn (1842:144) in 1840 and by Ritter (1859:912-913) in 1857.

53 The term *Derebey* generally refers to powerful local notables who held considerable sway over local overlords and whose administrative power was considered dynastic in form (Gibb and Bowen 1950:194).

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INTERRELATIONS

Without exception *ağa*s of Ula had as their principal place of residence the town, a few also maintained summer quarters to oversee agricultural activities in various rural localities. Today within the town, the most prominent four *ağa* lineages continue to reside in the *mahalle* or quarter of *Alparslan,* formerly called *Hacı Ali Bey* after a personage in the Karaoğlu lineage discussed above. Within the quarter, the families of different patri-lines are spatially separated from one another; thus, instead of an "*ağa* quarter" there are *ağa* compounds scattered through a single quarter of the town. The dwellings of each lineage traditionally were clustered in a restricted area or compound, often walled in its entirety. The *ağa* compound was often extensive in area, containing all the houses of agnatic kin. The compounds were restricted areas, the rest of the population gaining entrance only upon the granting of permission or in the course of the provision of a regular service.

In the past the several *ağa* lineages socially interacted with one another through a number of activities. A round of structured visiting between *ağa* families, for example, was much more prominent in the past than it is today. These visits took place at periodic intervals, each *ağa* family having a specific day to remain at home for formal visits from other *ağa* families.[54] In the past this included the entire family, but today often involves only the women and children. One particular *ağa* family usually held an evening of festivities twice yearly, from which non-*ağa* residents of the town were excluded. Gathering in what was then part of their courtyard and is now the municipal park for the festivities, members of *ağa* families listened to music, engaged in mixed dancing (at that time a practice peculiar to *ağa* families), or were entertained by wrestling matches or camel fights. To such festivities only upon rare occasions would a non-*ağa* be invited, usually a wealthy merchant having extensive economic ties to an *ağa* family.

54 A structured round of visiting called *kabul günleri* presently exists in Ula. It involves wives of merchants and civil servants and an occasional *ağa*'s wife. This phenomenon is described below in a consideration of civil servants.

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In addition to social events, the several *ağa* lineages were tied together through networks of intermarriage. Perhaps more so than other townsmen, *ağa*s attempted to arrange patrilateral parallel cousin marriages whenever possible. Often in the absence of eligible females at this level, a FaFaBrSoDa marriage was a frequent alternative (see Figure 5). Reasons now given by *ağa*s for their past preferential marriage patterns include early compatibility of mates, knowledge of family background and of moral attributes of both parties, and the containment of land to members of the same lineage, all arguments well known in the literature on marriage.

For many of the same reasons, marriages between separate *ağa* lineages were arranged (Figure 5). Because of extensive social ties between *ağa* families, intimate knowledge of a girl's family and her moral character was possible, as well as supposed early compatibility between the two parties. Occasionally it was judicious to merge the estates of two *ağa* families of different lineages by arranging a marriage between families, for daughters as well as sons received a share of the inheritance of an *ağa*.[55]

A master genealogical chart of the prominent *ağa* families in Ula would show them all to be related through marriage. In addition, *ağa* marriages taking place outside of Ula generally linked Ula *ağa*s with *ağa* families in Muğla or Köyceğiz or as far as Rhodes or Aydın. Marriage preferences served to isolate further *ağa*s from other segments of the community. Even with town merchants, some of whom possessed material wealth greater than that of *ağa*s, marriage links were almost nonexistent. Residential segregation, intragroup social and biological ties, and a monopoly on leadership positions all served to reinforce a sense of kinship among the elite as well as a sense of distinctness from the rest of Ula's residents.

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55 Although ideally a man's estate was to be divided between all children, in the past it was unusual for daughters in Ula, in other than *ağa* families, to claim a share of the inheritance. A daughter normally relinquished her share in exchange for the providing of a dowry by her father.

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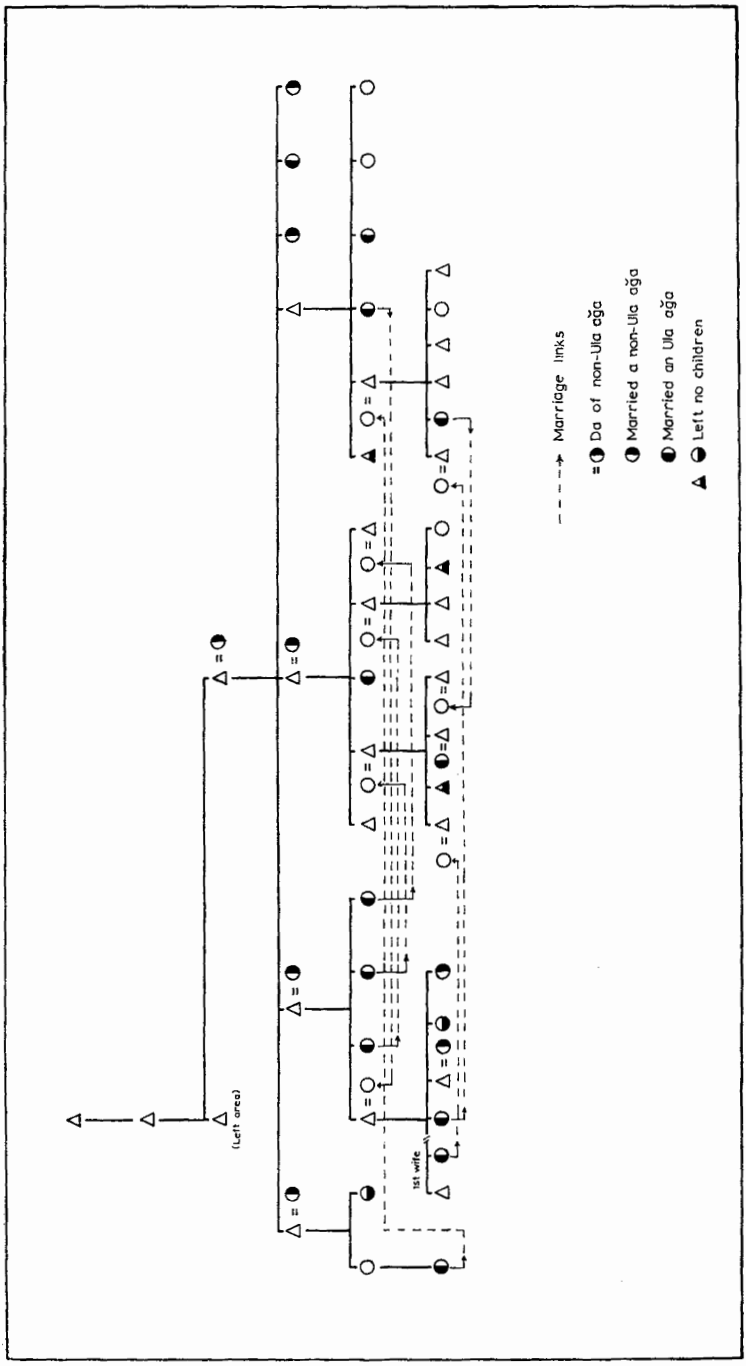



Figure 5. Marriage Links Within and External to an *Ağa* Lineage.

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ACHIEVEMENTS

*Ağa*s long were the major traditional holders of economic and political power in Ula, a state reflected today in the remnants of their once vast landholdings. As described above, the large estates of *ağa*s were gradually accrued through the obtaining of tax farms, rights to *mevat* or "waste land", and tracts of forest land from governmental institutions at various points in time. By the time of World War II, as much as 75 % of private land in the county of Ula was still owned by not more than fifteen to twenty *ağa*s residing in Ula, Muğla, and Köyceğiz. Although impressive in total area, much of this land was unsuitable for cultivation and included extensive marshland in Gökova, land covered with degraded forest or maqui, and denuded slopes. Of the restricted amount of land suitable for cultivation, at least 25 % remained fallow in any given year. However, the income derived from their holdings was still sufficient to maintain *ağa*s in the life style dictated by their status, a situation which was to change dramatically after World War II.

Positions of leadership in the community were the total province of *ağa*s for centuries. For almost forty years, until 1946, the office of mayor of Ula was filled by an *ağa,* and local politics were controlled by *ağa*s through their influence over the municipal council. *Ağa*s were amply represented on province-wide councils and frequently acted as advisors to various provincial governors. As mentioned earlier, twice an *ağa* from Ula was a member of the National Parliament representing the entire province of Muğla. The directorships of the local branch of the Republican Peoples Party and, when founded in 1946, of the Democratic Party, were filled by *ağa*s. Until the late 1940's, *ağa*s filled or influenced every administrative and political post in Ula. It was not until the advent of the multiparty system in the early 1950's that this hegemony was dispelled in Ula.

To be an *ağa* in Ula in the early years of this century required the maintenance of a life style markedly different from that of other social groups. Much of an *ağa*'s income was channeled into the accumulation of status possessions and the expected maintenance of appearances. Many commodities previously

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unknown in the region were in this way first brought to Ula by *ağa*s for their own use. Some western items thus introduced to Ula include glass windows, wood burning stoves, western shoes, phonographs, secular books, western clothing, and somewhat later, Ula's first cars. The western dress adopted by *ağa*s and their wives admixed with a traditional clothing distinctive of *ağa*s, and both differed from the general traditional dress of Ula.

*Ağa*s early took pride in their educational achievements. They claim credit for the construction of the first primary school in Ula to stress a secular education, which opened in the last part of the nineteenth century. In addition, several *ağa* families organized a special school for their own children just after World War I and employed a non-local tutor. Supposedly the first students to attend universities from Ula were the children of *ağa*s, although financially rich merchants could also have afforded to do the same.

*Ağa*s traditionally supported and in some cases supervised Ula's religious functions. The religious functions supported by *ağa*s included Ula's mosques, religious schools, and the partial economic sustaining of students who came to Ula to attend the two religious seminaries located there. As well, *ağa*s directed the income from certain economic holdings to the maintenance of mosques. Religious observance, however, took two extremes in expression. In every generation at least one *ağa* in Ula generally was personally prominent in religious affairs either as an accomplished religious teacher, a *hoca,* or as one who officiates in a mosque as *imam.* But at the other extreme a few *ağa*s were noted to have never made a gesture toward religion other than formally scoffing at orthodox observances. In this, however, they were beyond reproach, for *ağa*s adhered to their own sense of social norms. To finance the building of a mosque but never to worship in it, to supply money for charitable foundations to take care of the poor but to continue to tax highly the peasants in their charge, and to flog publicly and penalize adultresses and the unscrupulous but to live themselves removed from public reproach was the expected behavior of some but not all *ağa*s who combined the roles of benevolent patron and pugnacious patriarch.

There is little question that *ağa*s were long the innovators

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and patrons of Ula. Of cultural benefit they built both secular and religious schools, mosques, a town library, and introduced a wide range of material culture to the town. Of technological benefit they were responsible for the introduction of tobacco (see Chapter 5) and numerous improvements of public works in Ula. Of political guidance, for fifty years they managed Ula in many offices. And as benefactors they seldom refused an appeal to feed and clothe Ula's poor and sick.

Today, except in name and the deference paid them upon appropriate occasions, individuals in the role of *ağa* no longer exist as a decisive force in Ula. Because of events inexorably connected to a shift in economic and political power to merchants, *ağa*s have been divested of the material basis of their previous importance.

The decline of *ağa*s as a governing class was neither swift nor violent. The seeds of this shift in power and authority, as indicated earlier, were present in the last century. As one *ağa* expressed it, "we have been eaten from all sides — by merchants and by peasants — and have at the same time rotted inside because of our *zihniyet*" or mentality. *Ağa*s have indeed been devoured by a number of external forces as well as by their own intransigency to economic and social changes.

The erosion of *ağa* economic power began in the nineteenth century through their increasing dependency upon merchants, a process more fully described below in a consideration of merchants. As merchants increased their economic contracts and agreements with *ağa*s, one effect was to increase the debt relationship *ağa*s had with merchants. Humiliated to take a crop to market, an *ağa* would instead store his crop and have the merchant come to the storage area to evaluate the yield and price. Undoubtedly this resulted in a low price offered by the merchant because of transport fees involved and the *ağa*'s often poor knowledge of the wholesale price structure existing in Izmir. When in desperate need of money, an *ağa* would readily sell his crop to a merchant before harvest, a practice described by many as usually existing only between sharecropper and *ağa*, not *ağa* and merchant.

Changes in the agricultural situation of peasants and the settlement of nomads after World War I further aided in the decline of *ağa*s as a force in Ula. Increased availability of ag-

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ricultural credit made it possible for peasants to purchase land at a time when *ağa*s greatly needed funds. At this time also the intensified settlement of nomads, who applied their livestock as liquid capital toward the purchase of land, served to hasten the fragmentation of large estates. In both cases what was not purchased was often taken de facto through settlement on lands for which *ağa*s asserted traditional claims. Previously engaged in a form of sharecropping with *ağa*s, many landless cultivators began to demand the rental of *ağa* lands as an alternative, an arrangement giving to them a greater share of the profits. Undoubtedly *ağa*s took advantage of increased financial assistance from banks and government sources as did peasants. However, *ağa*s still had to depend upon recruiting laborers to work their fields, for tobacco, the predominant crop, could not be mechanized. The proliferation of small landholders meant that the labor market available to *ağa*s was greatly diminished, forcing *ağa*s to reconsider their sole economic asset — land. The rent or sale of their land were the two main alternatives remaining for *ağa*s hard-pressed for money to maintain a life style.

That *ağa*s as a group and individually have experienced large changes is recognized by both *ağa*s themselves and the rest of Ula's population. Most townsmen, in discussing the demise of *ağa*s, speculate that political and economic considerations aside, the principal factors are psychological ones, a world view which has failed to cope with change.

Townsmen too believe the *ağa*s' misfortunes to be the result of their *zihniyet*. Literally meaning "mentality", this word pertains to their orientation to life. A lifetime of training, an education defining how an *ağa* is to relate to the community, is the major basis for this *zihniyet*. In this particularistic training *ağa* children were quickly taught the criteria of social worth. The nature of respect, how to garner it and on what basis to award it to others, was stressed. One *ağa* relates that once as a youth he played the *saz,* a musical instrument, in the presence of an aged villager. The villager, feeling that the youth was disrespectful to him grabbed the instrument and broke it over the young *ağa*'s head. Respect for the villager's old age, a well learned criterion of status, compelled the youth to do nothing more than beg the villager not to tell his father

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of his disrespect. Furthermore, recounting the manner in which, in their youth, they were taught to regard with social distance those of lesser status, *ağa*s speak of learning to be detached from performing activities considered as demeaning, such as marketing one's own crop. In short, one was taught the art of giving work to others, of meting out what was considered as not appropriate to social position.

*Ağa*s themselves are painfully aware of the change in their economic standing in the face of the town's continued expectations for them. It is these expectations which the *ağa*s find the most restricting. A favorite story still recounted forty years after its occurrence concerns an *ağa* who was honestly desirous of selling some of his land in order to open a coffeehouse in Ula. Thwarted in his intentions because it was impressed upon him by his friends that to operate a coffeehouse would be beneath the dignity befitting an *ağa,* he publically exclaimed "I cannot free myself from this *ağalık* [or *ağa* status] which is attached to me as a tail" *(Kuyruğuma yapışan şu ağalıktan kurtulamadım).*

The *ağa*s' condition today is in part the result of the community's continued attitudes and expectations toward them. It is the community which will not allow the *ağa* to free himself of this "tail" of largesse. The community clings tenaciously to sets of expectations which still symbolically describe the configuration of a now empty office.

These expectations elicit interesting responses. Despite present financial poverty, one *ağa* describes the necessity of drinking the best quality of *rakı* in public, while the richest merchant in town can publicly drink the raw alcohol used to light lamps without the need to worry about gossip or status. Another *ağa* incurs large debts he can hardly afford to merchants for clothing and shoes in order to maintain his personal appearance while in public, smokes expensive cigarettes in public and the cheapest in the privacy of his home, and buys a cheap door-knocker and then in embarrassment refuses to place it on his door.

Despite the impoverishment of some, generosity is still expected of all *ağa*s. Still viewed as providers, they are expected to house the traveler, counsel the troubled, and clothe and feed the poor. The expectation that others have of an *ağa's*

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ability to pay keeps him from asking the price of an article or in embarrassment prompts him to send a small boy across the street to bargain for a load of needed firewood instead of going himself. This *ağalık,* or quality of being an *ağa,* then, is today little related to wealth or power. Instead, it persists in the form of a social condition involving historically established expectancies between *ağa* and the community.

If the narrowing range of economic alternatives has affected the community as a whole, it is particularly severe for *ağa*s who do not possess the plasticity of the rest of the community. For the aged it means a withdrawal from community life. This seclusion is unlike the seclusion from the community of the past when *ağa*s took strength from their social distance and the awareness that with other *ağa*s they formed an exclusive elite group. The seclusion of the present is a reflection of the reality that most *ağa*s no longer share in the decision-making or objectives of present-day Ula nor figure at the top of a scheme of social importance.

The value that *ağa*s always placed on education has been inculcated in their children. Most children of *ağa* lineages are sent away to large cities for an education and preparation for a modern profession. Few return to Ula to attempt seriously to manage their fathers' remaining estates.

It is difficult if not impractical to attempt to understand the demise of *ağa*s as a social class without reference to their relationships with other social forces in Ula. The remaining sections consider the roles that merchants, civil servants, and craftsmen have filled and continue to fill in community life, both as distinct social groups and in terms of their interrelationships.

## MERCHANTS (*TÜCCARS*)

The assiduous avoidance of commercial and marketing activities by *ağa*s historically has had at least two results of social and economic import. Their reluctance to enter into market relations for the exploitation and marketing of their crops continued into the post-World War I period when new and lucrative external markets began to develop. The growing need

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to transport and dispose of agricultural, mining, and forest products provided extensive opportunities for an increasingly important mercantile or commercial class. In addition, the rapid increase in the population of Ula's hinterlands after the eradication of malaria in the 1930's brought about the need for an increase in the number of retail functions and services based in the town. *Ağa*s unwilling, and in some cases unable, to step into a merchandising role left the way open for a number of townsmen to shift from traditional crafts or the overland hauling of commodities to the manning of wholesale and retail stores into which poured the commodities of a developing national economy.

The people of Ula use the Arabic term *tüccar,* the plural form of *tacir,*[56] to mean generally "merchant". Within the category of merchants, townsmen frequently distinguish between old traditional merchants, those who plied the overland routes between Ula and the nearby port of Gökova and between Ula and the major towns to the north, and a *nouveau riche* group of storekeepers whose meteoric rise to economic and political power has essentially occurred within the last two decades. By Turkish law (see Türk Ticaret Kanunu No. 6762), a distinction is made between a *tacir* or *tüccar* and an *esnaf.* The former's capital must be large and organization relatively complex, while the latter refers to a small businessman operating a small, normally one-man, business. Under Turkish law, *"esnaf"* is defined on factors of capital, organization, debt, and nature of owner's involvement, while in Ula, as is described later in this chapter, craft alone is the distinguishing feature.

In this section three issues of concern are examined in a consideration of the role of merchants in Ula's social history. These are: the manner in which a relatively small group of merchants through the early years of this century began to divest *ağa*s of their economic power, the conditions, essentially during the last two decades, which have provided a context in which a "new" merchant group has been able to aggrandize personal wealth and town leadership, and the types of strategy which these latter merchants employ as economic responses to

56 The term *tacir* is presently used in Ula only as an occupational designation for one who sells a certain array of leather products.

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Ula's dwindling importance as a regional service center. A brief look at the historical setting in which Ula merchants operated will further define Ula's regional economic role.

Remote and relatively isolated by a mountainous terrain from the interior, Ula, as well as other highland towns, traditionally looked to the ports located along a sinuous coastline for needed commodities. Lacking sufficient quantities of agricultural staples, raw material for craft items, and centers for the production of manufactured consumer goods, this region has always been seaward-facing. The export and import of needed commodities through these coastal ports far outshadowed the tempo of commerce flowing overland to connect the highlands with the interior manufacturing towns.

Despite the large number of nineteenth century western travelers who visited the ports near Ula and who passed near Ula in their search for antiquities, little data exist concerning the nature of this region's trade life. One of the earliest western contacts with this part of the Anatolian coast is that of Captain Beaufort who, in 1811-12 by order of the British Admiralty, made the first western survey of the coast from Smyrna to Fethiye. A single entry in his journal refers to the fact that from the port of Fethiye, timber, cattle, and salt were exported to the Island of Rhodes (Beaufort 1817:74).[57]

Some years later in 1840 the English traveler Hoskyn visited the ports of Fethiye, Köyceğiz, and Marmaris, the latter two of which were closely tied to Ula by merchant haulers. In Köyceğiz he observed a "large" fishing activity in which fish in some quantity were exported to Rhodes (Hoskyn 1842:144).

57 This section of the coast of Anatolia had been of some importance for Mediterranean markets since classical times. As early as the historian Strabo, writing in the fourteenth book of his *Geography*, the ports of Fethiye and Köyceğiz are mentioned in connection with the exportation of wood to Egyptian shipbuilding yards (Robert and Robert 1954:506, fn. 1). The Arab traveller Ibn Battuta, during his travels in Asia Minor in 1331-32, disembarked at Antalya, a port just east of Fethiye on the south coast. In describing the economic life of Antalya, he cites the importance of Jewish and Christian merchants and the lively exportation of wood to Egypt (Gibb 1962:417-418). At the close of the nineteenth century the control of this trade in wood was completely in the hands of Greek merchants, merchants whose presence was felt in every coastal port (Collignon 1897:16; Tomaschek 1891:42).

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In the same account he states that small boats ascended the nearby Dalaman River to a place called Palyani [?] "where they receive cargoes of wheat, sesame, maize, etc." (Hoskyn 1842:144). The products were then transported along the coast to other ports for sale or were exported to Rhodes itself.

Toward the middle of the last century, British ships began to call at certain ports along the coast. While in the port of Marmaris in 1840, Hoskyn met the British fleet which had rendezvoused there under the command of Sir Robert Stopford. Hoskyn observed a shanty town in which the ordinary population of the port was doubled "by the erection of sheds and other temporary dwellings" (Hoskyn 1842:148) on the part of Turkish townsmen, some of whom came from Ula wishing to profit from the needs of such a large fleet. The fleet's need to replenish supplies attracted

> many petty traders who find it worth their while to go as far as two or three days journey into the interior, for bullocks and other livestock, which they drive down to the nearest port of the coast and bring in kaiks to Marmarice (Hoskyn 1842:148).

Hoskyn is correct in noting that Turkish and not Greek merchants plied the routes from interior loci of goods and produce to the coastal ports. This movement of items and the internal market systems were seemingly in the hands of Turkish traders, while the control of ports was, until the War of Independence, under Greek and Jewish control.

The dependent situation of the Island of Rhodes upon the mainland was one of the most important factors influencing the economic fortunes of small coastal ports on the Turkish mainland. It also was the focal point for the careers of a number of merchants from Ula who bulked and moved commodities to the nearby ports of Gökova (10 kms) and Marmaris (35 kms) for transit to Rhodes via coastal ships. Rhodes had long been an important stopping point for east-west trade and was in Byzantine times dominated by European merchants and banks. But Rhodes was never self-sufficient; its needs were great and many of them had to be satisfied by the importation of items from the mainland opposite to the island. With as much as 10 % of the working population of Rhodes engaged

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in trade with the mainland, a well instituted system of Rhodian commercial presence in mainland ports had been effected by the nineteenth century. Items such as sugar, rice, wheat, oats, barley, salt, animal products, fish, and textiles were imported to the island, much of which went to local consumption.

Ula merchants had extensive economic relations with Greek and Jewish merchants based on the island with respresentatives in the coastal ports. An example was a prominant Jewish trading family known as Salaman el Hadef, operating out of Rhodes. Salaman, the family patriarch, maintained a large-scale retail and wholesale operation in Rhodes as early as 1819. In addition, warehouses and commercial agents working for this enterprise were located in coastal ports such as nearby Gökova.[58] Shortly after 1900 this family founded a bank which functioned as the representative of several European banks. Through their control of most coastal shipping, non-Muslim merchants to an extent determined how resources of the mainland interior were to be exploited and what the rewards of the market were to be for the cooperating Turkish merchants.

Ula's closest port was that of Gökova. The port, known in the western literature as Djova and Gökabad, was also the economic portal for the provincial capital of Muğla and the remaining highland town of Yatağan. In Cuinet's (1894:659) evaluation of urban centers in the *sancak* for 1885 for example, he says of Muğla that it was a very isolated town, required to take its provisions from neighboring areas. Specifically, the town of Muğla depended heavily upon the port of Gök-Abad (Gökova) a distance of thirty kilometers from Muğla, less so upon the Aegean port of Kulluk (Güllük) 95 kilometers distant, and on overland trade from Aydın 110 kilometers distant (Cuinet 1894:660). From yet more distant points, Muğla as well as Ula imported cereals from the region of Tavas in the *sancak* of Denizli to supplement its own inadequate pro-

58 Cuinet (1894:674) cites the existence of Rhodian Jewish traders living in Köyceğiz as well as transient Greek merchants and workers there.

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duction.[59] The internal system of roads was oriented toward the port. In the 1880's the *sancak* had only 54 kilometers of good quality macadamized roads (Cuinet 1894:401-402) of which at least thirteen kilometers alone were located between Muğla and Gökova to the south *(Aydın Salnamesi* 1895).

Gökova was long a port of major interest for the economic life of Ula. The Muslim traveler Evliya Çelebi visited the port in 1671-1672 during his short stay in Ula. He describes a lively trade in grapes and figs, among other products, which the port enjoyed with markets as distant as Venice and Egypt (Evliya Çelebi 1935:227). The size of this trade must have been considerable, even taking into account Evliya Çelebi's propensity to provide higher than normal figures. For example, he states that each year 40,000 to 50,000 *kantars*[60] of grapes were exported from the region of Ula through the port (Evliya Çelebi 1935:204).

Late nineteenth century western travelers such as Newton reaffirm Gökova's importance in passing, although describing the port in subdued terms. More useful is Cuinet's suggestion that by the 1880's the port had somewhat declined in importance (1894:659).[61] The increased tempo of overland trade with Aydın and Smyrna via the railroad between Smyrna and

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59 Wheat, rye and millet were often transported to the port of Antalya, then shipped by boat to Gökova for overland shipment to towns like Ula (See Eroğlu 1939:150). Also, into Gökova flowed needed commodities such as salt, rice, sugar, coffee, gasoline, and nails. Bolts of cloth from wholesalers in Smyrna were highly desired. Metal for blacksmiths, "Rangoon" crude leather for cobblers, and copper for smiths were some of the raw materials needed by local craftsmen to carry on production.

60 A *kantar* is a Turkish hundred weight formerly about 120 pounds. A new *kantar* is a modern weight of 100 kilos or 220 pounds. This phenomenal annual figure of six million pounds of grapes, although an exaggerated amount, is nevertheless suggestive of the importance of the crop for Ula.

61 In Cuinet's words :

L'échelle de Gueuk-Abad n'est touchée qu'exceptionnellement par les bateaux qui desservent la côte, et seulement quand ils y sont appelés pour prendre un chargement; mais on espére que les compagnies de navigation consentiront à fréquenter régulièrement cette échelle, lorsque les relations avec Moughla auront été rendues faciles par l'achèvement de la chaussée en cours de construction (1894:659).

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Aydın certainly shifted the focus of trade orientation, affecting the prior importance of Gökova as a sole market outlet. By World War II overland transportation routes had narrowed the functions of the by then largely inactive port mainly to the export of chrome ore and lumber. The bulking and hauling of a wide range of produce then was the essential task of early merchants of Ula. A description of their relationships to those who owned the resources, namely the *ağa*s of Ula, is a narrative of a growing dependence which assisted the decline of many of the large landholding families.

*Ağa*s early had extensive dealings with merchants. Seldom adept at handling their own estates, *ağa*s employed *kahya*s, or stewards, to oversee agricultural activities and to make arrangements for marketing the produce. The marketing of agricultural products and the exploitation of extensive forest tracts were areas where *kahya*s and *ağa*s contracted with merchants, the latter of whom were essentially landless in the nineteenth century.

Many of the transporting merchants of Ula arranged with *ağa*s to purchase crops and move them to distant markets, overland or by sea. The arrangements took a multiplicity of forms depending upon the *ağa*'s previous indebtedness to the merchant, previous contractual agreements with the merchant, and the *ağa*'s need for funds, often exacerbated by a year's low yield.[62] If an *ağa* had desperate need for funds, he might be forced to sell his crop to a merchant before harvest, usually at a lower price than he would have obtained by selling after the harvest. A less frequent arrangement was one in which a merchant provided capital for agricultural expenditures in return for a major share of the final harvest profit. In this latter situation, a given plot of land might be worked concurrently by a peasant-*ağa* sharecropping arrangement and by an *ağa*-merchant expense-sharing arrangement.

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62 Crop yields at the turn of the century were considerably lower than present conditions. Local accounts suggest that one *dönüm* of land could yield 2 *kile* (73 kilos) of rye or 3 *kile* (109.5 kilos) of wheat. Comparative figures for local crop yields for 1967 suggest a five-fold increase in production over that of the first decade of this century.

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Beyond the income provided by agriculture,[63] the mountainous and forested areas of *ağa* estates were a further source of revenue to *ağa* and merchant and a source of employment to townsmen. Merchants were often given rights by *ağa* owners to fell trees and export logs from the port of Gökova in return for a part of the profits. Other forest products included valonia *(Palamut),* the dried acorn cups of the valonia oak *(Quercus aegilops)* used in tanning, dyeing, and ink, which were exported especially to Smyrna factories, pine bark *(çam kabuğu)* which was exported for use in paint, and the *Pistacia terebinthus* and *Pinus palustris* which are widespread in this region and yield oleoresins. Balsam was the most important forest product in this respect, for its wide usages and narrow physical distribution have long made it a valuable commodity.[64]

The extraction of the balsam required a skilled labor force, traditionally drawn from experienced townsmen in Ula. Although the groves were often located adjacent to villages, a potential source of labor, until recently villagers were excluded from this means of livelihood. At the turn of the century, well over 200 men from Ula were employed in this work which, considering that Ula then had a total population of 2,500, represented a major segment of Ula's economically active pop-

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63 Cattle, sheep, and goats were all minor exports. More important were skins and wool exported to and processed in Smyrna. One estimate for 1895 indicates that 39,000 kilos of sheepwool and 12,350 kilos of goathair were exported from the *sancak* of Menteşe (*Aydın Salnamesi* 1895). Much of this flowed through the port of Gökova.

64 The *Liquidambar orientalis* or oriental sweet gum tree is found within restricted portions of coastal forest zones of the province of Muğla. Of the species *Hamamelidaceae* (witch hazel) this tree, along with the frankincense tree (*genus Boswellia),* has held a prominent place in history because of its valuable balsam. Reputedly this tree was the source of the famous storax of Greek and Roman periods cited by Herodotus and other choroniclers, which was widely coveted for its use as a stimulant and for its aromatic and healing properties. Today its primary commercial uses are as a fixative for perfumes, in cosmetics and soaps, in lacquers and adhesives, as a flavoring for tobacco, in fumigating pastilles and powders, and as imbedding material in microscopy. Its primary medical uses are as a stimulant to the mucous membrane, in the treatment of scabies, internally as an expectorant, and topically as a parasiticide (Hill 1952:169; Merck Index 1960:979).

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ulation. As late as 1950, 100 to 150 townsmen still worked in the groves. Now completely owned and controlled by the government, only village labor is employed in the groves, and townsmen are excluded by law from this activity, an example of the cessation of one of the regional functions provided by Ula's population.

Some merchants grew rich from their economic interdependence with *ağa*s. The relationship was, however, neither harmonious nor symbiotic. The merchant, for the *ağa,* was always a source of ready capital. Unable to balance personal needs dictated by their life style with sources of income, *ağa*s unwittingly embarked upon a course of increasing indebtedness to those in command of capital — the merchants. By 1930 merchants had gradually begun to emerge as a landholding group. Debts incurred by *ağas* often were settled by the release of a season's crop or, worse yet for the *ağa,* by forfeiture of land itself in settlement. Not a case of a minority merchant group "exploiting" unknowing Muslims, it was rather a case of local struggle between Muslims over the control of resources and means of production. Increasing indebtedness compelled *ağa*s, as poor managers and caretakers of a life style, to become parasitic to an extent upon merchants.

In assuming the *ağa*'s land, the merchant also undertook the *ağa*'s role as landholder, involving a network of dependencies by a large group of tenant cultivators, both urban and rural-based. Long the paternalistic mediator between peasant needs and merchant commodities, *ağa*s envisioned themselves as responsible for their charges and often paid for peasant needs, to be deducted from earnings at the time of harvest. In the settling of the *ağa*'s debt, the merchant assumed these peasant debts and responsibilities. This resulted in a sometimes harsh confrontation of merchant with peasant. With little need or desire to maintain the paternalistic social responsibility and cultivation of prestige which were part of the *ağa*s' ascribed status, merchants placed relationships on a more business-like basis. The merchant continued to maintain bonds with peasants late under the *ağa*'s protection, albeit the stress in the bond was upon the long-standing financial indebtedness of the peasant. Whereas the *ağa* often had a paternalistic relationship with his peasants, the merchant emphasized the

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economic relationship, treating them more as customers than kin.

Merchants continued to use many of the *ağa*s' convenient techniques for handling debt. The *ağa* fixed a time horizon for credit by deferring payment of peasant debt to a point in the annual cycle when the peasant had an income. As in many rural contexts where the predominent income is seasonal, this meant the deferment of payment of debt to the time of sale of crop. By extending *veresiye,* or credit, to peasants on an annual basis, the merchant in this respect operated in a form similar to that used by *ağa*s.

Business continues to be conducted almost entirely on a credit basis. Serving to perpetuate a sustained bond between seller and customer, it is not a bond to be severed readily, for its continuance is advantageous to both merchant and clientele. It is possible for a credit relationship to continue for generations on both sides. A prominent merchant is said to have had almost sixty *altın* of credit extended at the time of his death shortly before World War I, a figure constituting an immense individual fortune for Ula at that time. Although a part of this credit was forfeited, much of it has been repaid gradually to the survivors of the family.

These early prominent merchants of Ula were men of extreme religious conservatism and simple daily habits. Many held the honorific title of *hacı,* awarded to one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. However, although their wealth often exceeded that of *ağa*s, they were socially excluded from the small circle of *ağa*s. Merchants viewed *ağa*s both with the social deference they commanded through tradition and with the keen eye of an aggressive entrepreneur. The large merchant of Ula maintained a permanent urban-based outlet for commodities in addition to economic links with Ula's rural hinterland. It was a matter of some pride, in those days of poor transportation networks, to have a large array of goods in one's store.[65]

65 *"Bizim dükkânda herşey bulunurdu şeytan bokuna kadar"* is a boastful saying of double meaning used by early Ula merchants. "Everything could be found in our store..." it begins, continuing on: "including gum resin" or "including the devil's excrement" depending upon the interpretation of *"şeytan boku"* as the Turkish name for *asafetida,* a gum resin used in medicine, or as the literal "devil's excrement."

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Although a number of *ağa*s had experienced the slow relinquishing of their economic control within the region to merchants, they tenaciously held on to political control for many years afterward. Entrenched in positions of political importance, this was an area in which they were for awhile longer able to perpetuate the continuation of their influence. It was not until after World War II that merchants were able to wrest political power from *ağa*s and join it to the economic control already in their hands. At that time the municipal council was controlled by the mayor, a member of an *ağa* family, who was influential in the selection of persons to serve on the council. Reputedly attempting to relate to all levels of town stratification, in 1946 the last municipal council to be governed by an *ağa* as mayor consisted of four prominent *ağa*s, four merchants, four small shopkeepers, three craftsmen, and a religious teacher.

The establishment of a multiparty political system in Turkey in 1946 had profound implications for the *ağa* elite which, until that time, had controlled local positions in the single recognized party, the Republican Peoples Party *(Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* — CHP). The results of the establishment of a multiparty system and a newly found political awareness on the part of Ula's youth were immediately apparent in Ula. Although the municipal council was heavily CHP in representation that year, for the first time a non-*ağa,* a dentist, was elected by the council as mayor. Likewise, some *ağa*s, previously secure in CHP membership, broke from that party to become affiliated with the then new Democratic Party (DP). Fearful of CHP statements on the need for land reform and more strict taxation regulations, these *ağa*s were drawn to the DP which, in fact, a leading *ağa* controlled at the local level as party head from 1946 to 1960, at which time the Democratic Party was legally abolished in Turkey.[66]

66 On the 27th of May 1960 a well executed *coup* by army officers and cadets ended the ten year period of power for the Democratic Party. A critical economic situation amounting to huge deficits, spiraling inflation and a mounting opposition which included the military, the press, university students and the CHP, merged to bring about a governmental panic and subsequent unfavorable repressive measures. A summary of the events leading to the *coup d'etat* can be found in Geoffrey Lewis' *Turkey,* pages 132-146.

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Previously the nearly exclusive domain of but a single group in Ula's social structure, now merchants, craftsmen, laborers, and youth in general began to take an active part in the political life and community decision-making of Ula. In the town new organizations were established which largely served as interest groups active in community politics, including a child welfare society, a hunting club, a DP youth club, a society for the construction and restoration of mosques, and a teachers' club.

The decade between 1950 and 1960 witnessed a number of changes in Ula. Political dominance at the local level by the CHP was relinquished in 1954 to the DP which predominated in the municipal election in that year and continued in power until 1960. In a general feeling of economic buoyancy, numerous town projects were undertaken, including the building of a middle school and a new mosque, credit became more easily obtainable, tobacco expanded as a cash crop, and Kuran classes once again were opened in Ula. And of major importance, political affiliation grew to be a divisive force in the relations between townsmen.

Political polarization, coming in the wake of the establishment of a multiparty system, cut across the social distinctions which previously had been the traditional form of community differentiation. The new Democratic Party attracted aggressive liberal merchants who, taking advantage of economic developments of the 1950's, aggrandized most leadership positions in Ula, some laborers and craftsmen, and a few progressive *ağa*s recognizing opportunity and able to adopt new attitudes toward their hereditary wealth. However, the CHP still attracted fifty percent of community loyalty, drawing most craftsmen, the older merchants of Ula, and those *ağa*s who stayed outside of the benefits of the 1950's by failing to convert their remaining assets to a new economic period.

Economic considerations were influential in determining a person's party affiliation. *Sosyal adalet,* or the concept of social justice, was the abiding concern of many in the CHP ranks, fearful of a widening economic gap between rich and poor; whereas opportunism, the taking advantage of Ula's economic awakening, guided many DP adherents. A small emerging elite of highly successful merchants, united less by

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common ideals or aspirations than by an appreciation of their strong economic and political power, began to assert their leadership in community affairs in the mid-1950's. For the most part, members of this *nouveau riche* group of merchants are related neither biologically nor in value orientations to the merchants of the earlier part of this century discussed earlier. Rather, they represent examples of the craftsman - made - good type of success story. Within this new elite are differentials in wealth and ability. Their uniting force is their possession of political power and a sense of having been given a mandate for Ula's future.

Not all successful merchants adhere to this small political elite. Many, having remained allied to CHP ideals or at least to party membership, are reluctant to challenge the strength of the incumbent Justice Party (JP), the party which has inherited the Democratic Party hegemony. In this sense there is no united merchant class, unless the term is used narrowly to refer to a small group united by common political goals. Ula's merchants are more aware of their concentrated political power than any overall social cohesiveness, and the more or less "similarly valued objective criteria" found among *ağa*s are less meaningful when looked for among merchants. Even within this smaller group of merchants united by political objectives, divisive social forces are at times far greater than the single commonality of political world view.

One divisive force among merchants is related to an economic reality presented by Ula. In order to remain prosperous in the face of increasing economic strictures, merchants are compelled to employ a high degree of individualistic behavior and to view with suspicion any source of competition. A merchant's true economic worth in terms of capital assets is closely and jealously guarded information. An important reason for this rests on a form of economic strategy employed in Ula, that of fragmentation and diversification of investments as a guard against risk. Concrete expressions of this practice are found in the myriad of multiple partnerships, regardless of how small the investment, and the option to conduct business on a credit rather than cash basis.

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## PARTNERSHIPS

It is nearly impossible to arrive at a true picture of the sum of investments or assets of any single merchant in Ula today. The quantity and nature of economic relationships with others in the form of partnerships negates a clear reading of one's economic worth. Few of the larger retail businesses today are contained solely within one family. This is a recent departure from the traditional form of business venture in which the joint extended family provided the means for massing capital and recruiting labor to handle the family enterprise, whether it be a shop, truck, or camel train.

Today most of the large retail businesses of Ula are operated by single entrepreneurs who use the business as a base from which to extend multifarious economic links outward into the community and region. The search for capital and loci for investment takes priority over many other traditional considerations. Those traditional partnerships remaining today which are contained within a familial context are increasingly fraught with charges by one or another partner of laziness, excessive drinking, social entanglements, or conflict between wives of partners. Many partnerships formed between brothers or between agnates separated by a generation appear to be in a state of high tension, a tension which serves as a wedge between conjugal units within the extended family (see Chapter 4).

The search for *sermaye,* capital, is the basis for much economic activity. In Ula *sermaye* may be anything or anyone which can be used as leverage for bettering one's economic position as well as a cushion against failure. A man's house, his truck, the stock in his store, his skill as a craftsman, or his wife's industriousness as a laborer in a tobacco field are all considered as elements in his *sermaye.* Further, because *sermaye* includes potential assets in labor, it includes as well the ability to purchase another's reputation. Individuals known to be trustworthy and who possess wealth to be used as collateral often sell their signature on a voucher note. An individual attempts to obtain support from prominent individuals when he wishes to establish a credit rating in places where a social relationship cannot be employed. That this economic

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support often is in exchange for political support is an accepted fact in Ula. In many ways, economics is a matter of public concern and interest. One's worth, one's expenditures, and one's dealings are subjects of public discussion and scrutiny, and for that reason are extremely guarded.

There are several ways to examine the diversification and sum of economic activity displayed by merchants in Ula. Turkish tax laws require individuals engaging in a volume of business above an established figure to pay a type of income tax or *gelir vergisi,* called the *gerçek vergisi.* In commerce this requires anyone who annually engages in over 30,000 T.L. of buying or selling of goods and services to maintain a record book and to pay taxes on the remaining profits. In 1966, 186,499 T.L. were collected in taxes from 121 individuals in Ula who did a great enough volume of business to qualify for this tax (Table 9). Of interest in Table 9 is the primacy of commerce as a source of income, involving all those paying this tax. A correction allowed for tax misreporting, i.e. reporting a smaller income than is the true case, would only show more individuals in a higher income bracket and more total town income to be derived from commerce. As the official tax records read, however, the median for individuals paying this tax is around 5,000 T.L., but the bulk of the wealth is actually in the hands of a relatively small group of merchants.

An additional indicator of the wealth of Ula's merchants is provided by Ula's two banks in their records of credit extended to merchants. In 1966, a year when taxed commercial income in Ula amounted to three-fourths of one million T.L., commercial credit extended to merchants by the two Ula branch banks amounted to an estimated one million T.L. In an economy where the average annual income for a family of four is only around 5,000 T.L., one million T.L. of credit extended to a small handful of merchants within a single year suggests a striking hiatus in wealth distribution in the town. Undoubtedly this figure would be increased if the amount of credit obtained from institutions and persons beyond the two banks were known. The manner in which commercial credit is used may be judged from an example of one prosperous merchant of Ula.

Merchant A, age 45, is one of the most successful shopkeep-

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*Table 9*

*1966 income profile for large-volume merchants in Ula*[a]

| *Profit in liras on volume over 30,000 T.L.* | *No. of Individuals* | *Total T.L. Profit of Group* | *Source of Income (in Turkish Liras)* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Commerce* | *Agri-culture* | *Salary* | *Real Estate* | *Chattel* | *Indepen-dent* |
| 0-1,000 | 6 | 3,156 | 3,156 | | | | | |
| 1,001-2,500 | 24 | 42,292 | 41,092 | | | 1,200 | | |
| 2,501-5,000 | 33 | 121,441 | 115,364 | 7 | 2,806 | 3,264 | | |
| 5,001-10,000 | 27 | 181,597 | 181,333 | | | 264 | | |
| 10,001-20,000 | 19 | 263,693 | 196,740 | 12,063 | 16,750 | 27,693 | 10,447 | |
| 20,001-50,000 | 10 | 279,944 | 165,272 | 25,926 | 36,056 | 21,469 | | 31,221 |
| 50,001-100,000 | 2 | 147,337 | 78,025 | 33,619 | 22,306 | | 10,733 | 2,654 |
| TOTAL | 121 | 1,039,460 | 780,982 | 71,615 | 77,918 | 53,890 | 21,180 | 33,875 |

a Source: Unpublished data of the Ula branch of the Ministry of Finance. This table is based upon the *gerçek* tax (see p. 111 for explanation) paid by the 121 merchants of Ula who, in 1966, did a volume of business greater than 30,000 T.L.

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ers in Ula. Beginning first as an itinerant peddler of cloth, he drew most of his inventory from the shop of his mother's brother. Highly successful at making a profit for his uncle, he was invited to work in his uncle's store as a junior partner. In the early 1950's he established his own dry goods store with the help of his uncle's stock and a loan. Eventually he severed his partnership with his uncle, easily repaying his debt from profits saved over the years. Having early learned about bazaar life from his father, a craftsman, and through the intensive instruction of his uncle, this merchant had begun to establish a network of economic relationships by 1957 which at present includes :

1. Exclusive rights as agent, *bayi,* of a national distributor of appliances (sewing machines, refrigerators, radios, etc.) to sell that company's products within the county of Ula. In order to obtain the dealership he mustered a number of letters of reference from responsible businessmen in large cities, borrowed money to open a credit account, and campaigned extensively throughout villages in order to break regional familiarity with the products of a competing manufacturer. He sold extensively on credit the first several years as a means of placing his products in various villages to serve as advertisements for the product. Selecting responsible and politically compatible merchants, he "granted" to them the right to sell certain items in the product line in return for a commission on each sale.

2. The establishment of several small stores, manned by relatives, in various localities in Ula. Providing both inventory and operating costs, these shops serve him as extensions or *ayak*s, drawing upon a clientele which for traditional or economic reasons would not frequent his main store. In one case, a store located next to the Friday market square draws women who would not venture into his main shop in the bazaar area.

3. The supplying of capital to a large number of individuals for specific ventures, from which he recoups his investment with interest over a period of time. For example, a carpenter asked this merchant for 3,500 T.L. with which to buy a used planer, to be repaid over two years at a considerable interest rate.

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4. The involvement in other enterprises as a partner providing capital. For example, this merchant holds a half-share in construction ventures with a contractor, in which the merchant's capital is matched by the contractor's skill. He also shares in the ownership of at least two vehicles and has undertaken a variety of capital ventures with other town merchants, such as an irrigation program financed by a consortium of merchants.

In addition to the above economic diversifications, of course, is the merchant's primary dry goods store itself. The store is almost indistinguishable from others on the street in terms of variety, but is striking in its high volume of stock. Displayed in the show-windows are bolts of cloth, wristwatches, a shotgun, buttons, elastic strips, and some antiquities. Within the dimly lighted shop are several chairs and a long counter. From floor to ceiling shelves on the three walls of the narrow shop sag under the load of countless bolts of cloth, cellophane bags of everything from hunting caps to brassieres, and cardboard boxes of shoes and such small items as needles and thread. When the shelves are well filled, there is an inventory of nearly 200,000 T.L. here. In yet another storage area are refrigerators, radios, phonographs, bicycles, irrigation pumps, and numerous small appliances.

This merchant is conscious of the disadvantage presented by the fixed nucleation of his goods in one place. Although he cannot himself itinerantly peddle his goods to take advantage of new consumer regions, he enters into partnerships with others in a number of ways to accomplish the same thing. Besides the *ayak*s or stores which the merchant establishes in town almost as extensions of his main store, there are numerous grocers, shoemakers, etc., who sell some of his goods for a slim profit margin. Tailors, both itinerant and urban-based, stock their own shops and displays with this merchant's goods on consignment, profiting on a small commission basis. For the tailor it is better to profit only a small fraction on an item than to send a customer to a competitor due to the lack of a proper button, zipper, piece of lining, or cloth for pajamas.

The merchant is guided by several concerns in his search for partnerships, from these minimal "partnerships" on a few items to major capital investments with others. He is concern-

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ed with reducing risk by fragmenting his investments into many ventures, with maintaining as high a degree as possible of potential liquidity in his investments (the least successful of his goals), and with doing whatever is necessary to improve his credit standing whenever possible.

## CREDIT

The use of credit underlies all areas of Ula's commerce. Ula's merchant often makes use of credit when obtaining his stock from wholesalers. All merchants purchase their stock on trips to urban centers such as Ankara, Istanbul, and most frequently Izmir. In these cities they buy from what are referred to as "second" wholesalers. These wholesalers, buying either directly from the factory or from "first" wholesalers, sell to retailers such as Ula merchants. For many items such as large bolts of cloth costing as much as 100 T.L. a meter or more wholesale, the second wholesaler is the only individual who will break bolts into financially manageable parcels for the merchant. It is possible for Ula retailers to purchase merchandise with cash, an open credit account, or through the use of a voucher note or *senet*.

The *senet* is the most frequently used credit guarantee at every level of business in Turkey, and is found in the relationship between factories as well as in personal loans between individuals. It is an important mechanism for maintaining the continuance of wholesaler-retailer relations. As a note, it carries the weight of money and is often used as money. The life history of a single *senet* is illustrative of this credit mechanism.

In April of one year an Ula merchant paid for his purchases from an Izmir cloth wholesaler with a *senet,* which remained with the creditor, the wholesaler. Amassing a number of such *senets*, the wholesaler used their combined face value to pay for a large purchase from another factory. Our particular *senet*, alone or in combination with others, moved as a medium of exchange from city to city, from business to business hand. The use of the *senet* ended when a holder in Adana decided to cash it in for payment. Turned into an Adana bank by him, the *senet* was forwarded to an Ula bank for payment by the original Ula debtor. When notified by the Ula bank of its ar-

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rival, the merchant quickly had to borrow enough money to pay his debt and avoid default. If not paid within 48 hours, default would result in a lien on the debtor's property.

At this level of merchant activity, credit with wholesalers is a vital link to commodities. Open credit is open reliability in the sense that once established as a good risk, the Ula merchant can use his credit record to establish still more credit with other wholesalers. At another level, that of retail sales in Ula, credit is also a major fact of economic life.

This merchant, like all others, conducts more than three-quarters of his transactions on credit, *veresiye*. He maintains a series of books of open accounts, some of which have remained active for as long as ten years. Credit is used by virtually everyone in Ula, each group resolving credit according to a different financial time horizon. Civil servants, paid monthly, pay on their outstanding credit accounts monthly. Others pay according to their income schedules: the laborer weekly or by the job, the craftsman by the completion of individual jobs, cultivators by annual sale of tobacco.

For each new credit account the merchant attempts to determine several factors about the potential debtor. To determine the extent of security risk, the merchant wishes to learn of the debtor's known assets in terms of landholdings, livestock, etc., and his social connection or kinship ties with other debtors in the merchant's books. However, it is difficult and often impractical to determine a debtor's assets, especially when it involves a villager rather than a townsman. Unlike villagers, townsmen are generally well-known to the merchant and his knowledge of the townsman's outstanding debt and present employment, as well as daily face-to-face contacts with the debtor, mitigate doubts over his ability to pay. If serious doubt occurs, the merchant has recourse to requiring the debtor to sign a *senet*. Default seldom occurs, however, for two reasons. Usually a friend or kinsman has personally vouched for the debtor's ability to pay and will cover his debts. Further, an extension of the time schedule for payment is often a more favorable alternative, it being far more desirable to the merchant to prolong, or even increase, credit than to force an immediate settlement. The credit bond acts as a guarantee to

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both parties for the continuance of their mutually beneficial economic relationship.

A written price tag is never displayed on merchandise, for the price quoted by the merchant for an item fluctuates according to certain criteria and is often arrived at through the bargaining process. The lowest price for an item is always obtained when there is a close personal relationship between buyer and seller and the transaction will be in cash. As the social distance increases and the terms of payment lengthen, so then does the price of the item increase.[67] Also, those items for which the price is generally known by townsmen usually have a more fixed set of prices than does a commodity whose value is little known in Ula. For example, the merchant explicitly states that the price of a shotgun, an item for which comparative prices are well known, is 600 T.L. if paid immediately by cash or 650 T.L. for six months and 700 T.L. for payment over nine months.

Ula's economic life operates extensively on a credit basis. Most merchants in Ula have a higher price structure for credit purchases than for transactions immediately paid in cash. Although grocers, tailors, carpenters, and other artisans as well conduct their business with credit, seldom do they elevate prices as do merchants. One of the largest merchants of Ula claims to have the names of 1,500 individuals in his books who owe him somewhere between 250,000 and 300,000 T.L.

The price differential between credit and cash purchases, competition between merchants, and deception in selling practices are issues which receive much attention in Ula. Merchants of Ula, operating in a close-knit community, are sensitive to existing norms.

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67 For example, during a single day the following was observed. Merchant A purchased a portable phonograph wholesale from Muğla for 450 T.L. His first price of 600 T.L. was established when a fellow merchant expressed interest in the item, then decided against it. A non-local but well regarded civil servant followed and bargained for the item, deciding against it when the final price was 700 T.L. Later an affluent villager bargained for the phonograph, deciding against it at 720 T.L. Finally, that evening a passing truck driver, casually known, purchased the item for 750 T.L., one-half of which was on a credit basis.

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## ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In many respects, Ula's merchant of today represents a contrast to the merchant of the not-too-distant past. Once it was considered an obligation for a wealthy merchant to spend a part of his profits on making the pilgrimage to Mecca; few merchants do today. Once it was required that merchants and marketeers close their shops and desist from hawking their wares on Friday during the period of the noon prayer, but little interruption in a brisk Friday's business can be perceived today. Once it was expected that one-fortieth of a merchant's annual income or inventory would be given to the mosque for distribution to the poor as *zekat* or canonical alms; now only rarely do merchants engage in such pious acts of generosity. Indeed, for some religious leaders who see merchants as the new caretakers of Ula because of their wealth and positions of leadership, merchants are a disappointment.

Merchants of today exhibit a number of divergences from the behavior expected of wealthy merchants in the past. Few merchants today under 45 years of age were able to attend mosque schools, which were closed in their youth. For merchants and many others in Ula, values and religious observances meaningful for their fathers have diminished importance for them today. Perhaps most significant, however, are the discrepancies in beliefs concerning what constitutes an ethically moral merchant.

There is strong consensus in Ula that a merchant should not cheat, be jealous of, compete with, nor speak dishonestly about anyone or anything. That these qualities and others should obtain is indisputable; how they are to be acted out is, however, more open to individual interpretation. Only a few merchants attempt to speak with the authority of having read a guide to Muslim behavior such as the *Büyük Islam Ilmihali,* or to produce a copy from their shop counter; fewer still are aware that such directives exist in a published form.

Interpretation of code into action is best illustrated by the varying attitudes among merchants regarding the use of credit and the issue of aggressive business tactics. It is common knowledge that most merchants offer one price for cash transactions and a higher price for transactions based on cred-

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it. This higher price for credit transactions may be considered as including a form of interest payment. One merchant claims this to be morally acceptable if it is explained to the customer that by extending credit the merchant's capital will be tied up for a period of time. Another claims that it is legitimate only if the customer is unaware that he is to pay interest on credit transactions. Still a third sees the entire practice as *haram,* or religiously prohibited.

Townsmen and villagers increasingly use services for which they voluntarily accept or pay interest on money. In conservative Ula, interest, or *faiz,* was abhorred until a scant decade ago for religious reasons. Today people in increasing numbers borrow from banks and cooperatives, paying seven per cent or more in interest on loans. One religiously conservative craftsman justifies the receiving of interest on money placed in a bank by saying

> If I pay interest [*faiz*] or receive interest from the State bank [Agricultural Bank] it is not really interest because the State receives this "extra" money as my donation [*zekat*] to better the State . . . But to borrow from another with interest or promise my crop in return for the money is not only prohibited [*haram*], but shameful [*ayıp*].

Although statistics are relatively unavailable, Table 10 suggests a major increase within the past decade in the use of banks by individuals as depositories for savings and in their acceptance of accrued interest. No matter what the individual justification for the use of interest, an economic fact of Ula's life today is the increasing appearance of interest as a fixed sum of money paid, as crops forfeited, or as a higher price on a commodity.

A topic more contentious than that of interest is the limits set on aggressive economic tactics. A conservative expression of the manner in which a merchant, tradesman, or craftsman should conduct himself involves the concept of *nasip,* or one's due or reward. In Ula, the frequently expressed thought that "If it is one's *nasip,* they [the customers] come from as far as India and the Yemen; if not, what can one do?" *(Nasip ise gelir hint'ten yemen'den, nasip değilse ne gelir elden)* underlies the actions of many conservative individuals engaged in com-

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*Table 10*

*Savings accounts in the two Ula banks for selected years*[a]

| | *Tobacco Growers Bank* | | | *Agricultural Bank* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Year* | *No. Fixed Term*[b] | *No. without Term* | *No. of Commercial*[c] | *No. of Personal* | *No. of Commercial* | *Total Amount (in T.L.)* |
| 1956 | 1 | 957 | 24 | | | |
| 1957 | 3 | 1,239 | 26 | | | |
| 1958 | 7 | 1,676 | 31 | | | |
| 1959 | ? | ? | ? | | | |
| 1960 | 10 | 1,750 est. | 31 | 458 | 2 | 650,000 T.L. |
| 1961 | ? | ? | ? | | | |
| 1962 | ? | ? | ? | 1,251 | 6 | 1,600,500 |
| 1963 | 201 | 1,194 | 25 | | | |
| 1964 | 130 | 1,106 | 34 | 1,494 | 4 | 2,100,000 |
| 1965 | 170 | 1,210 | 28 | | | |
| 1966 | 95 | 1,160 | 31 | 2,141[d] | 6 | 4,000,000 est. |

a Source: Unpublished data of the Ula branches of the Tobacco Growers Bank and the Agricultural Bank.

b Fixed term accounts are those which the depositor agrees to leave inactive for a fixed period of time. These accounts earn 6 to 6-1/2 per cent interest as opposed to the 3 per cent interest earned on accounts without a term.

c Commercial accounts are those for which the depositor is a large volume merchant who uses the account almost daily.

d Reputedly 50 per cent of personal savings accounts in 1966 were those of depositors living in villages within the county.

merce. Upon entering one's shop in the morning, some conservative shopkeepers believe that one must wait for Allah to send one's *nasıb* or opportunity. Further, it is explained, to attempt to entice customers into one's shop through advertisement or persuasion is harmful competition, *rekabet,* which will hurt one's Muslim brother. Competitive behavior stemming from envy, *haset*, of another's business will, it is explained, incur punishment, or *ceza,* from Allah. This *ceza* may come to an individual in the form of illness, death, destruction of property, or decline in business.

In many ways, otherwise less conservative individuals share those conservative community attitudes regarding opportunity, competition, and reprisals for extreme behavior. An overt sign

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of advertisement by a merchant is rare in Ula. Never are customers enticed off the street into a store by a shopkeeper. However, a practice followed by many merchants is to visit the village of a good customer and, after making themselves known to villagers, invite those with needs to come to their shops in Ula. This method of recruitment of clientele is one of the few advertising techniques employed by Ula merchants. To a large extent the nature of customer-merchant relations in Ula obviates the necessity of violating a norm shared by all within the bazaar. Credit, or *veresiye,* serves to attach a more or less fixed clientele to a particular merchant, in the process reducing the need for advertisement and thus much of the potential for tension. In Ula the often stated thought that "cash is good, but it also makes for conflict" finds illustration in the weekly market where heavy competition for customers through price regulating may lead to overt hostility between sellers. In many ways the fixed buyer-seller credit relationship is a passive means of business development. A merchant's means of competition lie in the enlargement of his fixed clientele of debtors. Despite their lack of conservative beliefs, the fear of community gossip, of a boycott on credit by fellow merchants, and of Allah's *ceza,* or punishment, shape the behavior of the majority of Ula's merchants. In fact, these ethical guidelines for behavior affect all individuals who earn a livelihood in the town's bazaar.

There is undoubtedly much wealth in Ula. Most of the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few merchants who have developed an acumen for investment and diversification—the ability to be economically present in a number of places. The scarcity of local capital has not driven merchants together but apart as each seeks private avenues of profit. The numerous transitory capital-based partnerships in which merchants engage in order to realize quick profits are hardly substitutes for firms, companies, or consortiums. There is, to be sure, a certain sense of social distinctness in being a merchant, or *tüccar,* in Ula. But it is a status not of the historicity of *ağa*s nor of the prestige of a craftsman, but one of sheer economic distance from the rest of the community. In terms of common aspirations and of a kinship bred of awareness of similarly valued criteria, merchants do not form a homogeneous social group.

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Within the ranks of merchants, however, there is a small but perceptible nucleus of individuals who are united by common political goals and a shared sense of a mandate for Ula's future.

## CIVIL SERVANTS (*MEMURS*)

The term *memur* pertains to members of a clearly defined social group within Ula's social structure. Townsmen apply the term collectively to *müdürs* as well as *memurs*,[68] to locally and non-locally born members of these groups, and to personnel of private enterprises as well as governmental civil servants. For most individuals considered in this social group the following commonalities pertain: they are salaried and make a guaranteed wage (contrasting to the highly variable and uncertain wages of others in Ula), they possess at least a modicum of education demanded by the nature of their employment, and many have a potential for advancement within their rating.

Historically Ula has not possessed a professional class of any size. The *memur* group has somewhat filled this void, teachers and para-professionals such as *sağlık memurs* (health officials with some medical training) and one midwife being assigned to Ula. At present there is one doctor in Ula, a locally-born man married to the daughter of an *ağa,* and no actual lawyers. Three or four men in Ula are called *avukats,* lawyers, but theirs is an historically determined rather than a legally determined right to the title. These men were all once *hocas*, religious teachers, and are literate. Today they perform the services of writing documents, filling out government forms for the townsmen of Ula, and acting as spokesmen on their behalf to governmental offices in Muğla. For many of its professional needs, Ula's residents must look beyond their own town, usually

68 A *müdür* is a functionary having the status of director or manager of an office or enterprise. Among Ula's *müdürs* are bank directors, bureau chiefs of offices, and the principals of the primary and middle schools. A *memur* is generally a functionary under the supervision of a *müdür*. This term is extended to include personnel of private enterprises such as bank clerks and accountants as well as those filling civil service positions.

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to Muğla. Lawyers, doctors of any specialization, dentists, and pharmacists lacking in Ula, exist in nearby Muğla.

The decade between 1950 and 1960 was, for Ula, a period characterized by remarkably swift changes in all areas of town life. During the early years of the decade, control of local government continued to pass out of the hands of *ağa*s to a successful group of merchants. For the first time credit from banks and cooperatives became relatively abundant and available to many for building, business, and agriculture. Of great social impact to the community. Ula became a new political entity in 1954 as the result of diligent political pressure. Long a *nahiye,* or district center, under the immediate supervision of Muğla, Ula was raised to the status of *kaza,* or county, becoming one of nine in the province of Muğla. As a result of this new status, a cadre of civil servants came to Ula to work and live, a process which directly challenged some of Ula's traditional beliefs and practices.

Administrative positions were not uncommon in pre-*kaza* Ula. A municipal-type government had been established in Ula about the turn of the century consisting of a mayor *(reis)* and a small municipal work force made up of clerks, a census officer, watchmen, street sweepers, and others. In addition to these local administrators, a district officer *(nahiye müdürü),* and personnel stationed at the small gendarmery post, all representing the national government, were assigned to Ula and constituted the only non-local resident influences in the town. With the attainment of *kaza* status in 1954, numerous government district offices opened in Ula, each staffed at the top by professional civil servants and employing townsmen for clerical and other lesser tasks. The most important division to be made among civil servants is the distinction between non-local civil servants assigned for a period to Ula and those locally born who have moved out of other occupations into civil service positions in branch offices of national organizations.

As a result of achieving *kaza* status, Ula not only gained a new legal identity and new institutions but as well was confronted with new values resulting from the needs and social behavior of non-local civil servants. Until the arrival of these administrators, *ağa*s had been considered as constituting the most prestigious class in the town in terms of education and

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cultural refinement. However, although *ağa*s had introduced many western ideas and items to Ula, these were essentially coveted within their own group. Others could admire but not emulate,[69] observe but not share. The coming of the administrators usurped this cultural oligarchy. At a time when many residents of Ula had never traveled more than fifteen kilometers away from Ula, the "foreign" administrators seemed very cosmopolitan and worthy of deference.

Life in Ula was not easy for the non-local *memur*s. Assignment to Ula was, for many of them, a form of exile or banishment from the amenities of cosmopolitan life. Some, assigned to Ula as a result of problems incurred elsewhere, begrudged their service in the small provincial community and withdrew from all community life. Most, finding greater compatability among themselves than with Ula's locals, developed social relationships which at first excluded townsmen. Soon, however, leading merchants, as the inheritors of political power in Ula, joined non-local administrators in a socially and politically necessary symbiosis.

Two initial economic problems confronted the non-local *memur*s of the 1950's: the provisioning of food and the obtaining of lodging. Before their arrival the concept of rental of a dwelling was largely unknown in Ula. Early administrators had to be content with make-shift arrangements, but eventually property owners began to rent houses appealing to administrators and commensurate with their social position. Over the years a dual price structure developed which fixes a high rental price for non-locals and a lower one for locals compelled to rent. Administrators are often socially compelled to accept an expensive rental in keeping with their status when a modest home would be more in keeping with their income.

Food and services are, for *memur*s, equally expensive and a source of difficulty. Thrown upon a market which for many of

69 A story is frequently recounted concerning a rich Ula merchant who once dared to dress as an *ağa* while working in the bazaar area and was publicly admonished by an *ağa* for doing so. Such symbolic differantiation of dress based on class status is also described by Barber in her study of eighteenth century French bourgeoisie attributes of social class (1955:76, 85).

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them is unfamiliar and inadequate to their needs, non-local *memur*s are at a disadvantage. In the open market, where prices are determined by bargaining, they are reticent to engage in bargaining, such behavior being considered by them as not suitable to their position in the community. Marketeers aggressively court their business with the knowledge that higher profits may be gained. Although some *memur*s, born and raised in towns similar to Ula, are familiar with the wiles of market strategy, by virtue of their social position they are unable to descend to a bargaining relationship. To avoid embarrassment, some *memur*s dispatch servants in their stead to bargain for items in an attempt to reduce expenditures.

Aside from constraints resulting from status obligations and unfamiliarity with products, the consumption standards of non-local administrators are higher than those of most townsmen. They seek out and buy early fruits and vegetables, *turfanda,* paying exhorbitant prices for the privilege of eating them "out of season", while locals generally wait for the seasonal glut and the lowest price. The packaged products and luxury items with which *memur*s are familiar from another context often were nonexistent in Ula in the early days after their arrival. Demand for items such as canned goods, bottled wines and liquors, expensive cheeses, packaged soap, and the best quality flour were eventually channeled through a single enterprising grocer whose store eventually developed into a "*memur*s' grocery". After government offices close each afternoon, *memur*s gather at this store with select individuals of the local government to have a quick drink of *rakı* with cheese and bread before retiring to one of several special clubs to play cards or backgammon and drink tea or coffee.

In the 1950's many *memur*s found Ula to be a backward place. Many items of material culture considered indispensable by *memur*s were unknown or rare in Ula at that time. Contrary to local practices, *memur*s desired bottled gas ranges rather than cook over an open fire, mattresses and bed frames, dressers, chairs, and sofas rather than quilts and cushions on the floor, table services and a table rather than a common dish of food set on a tray on the floor and eaten with bread or fingers, inside toilets and running water rather than an outhouse and outside source of water, and electricity rather

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than candles and kerosene lamps. These items and many more were either imported by *memurs* or their absence tolerated.

*Memurs* affected changes in many areas where they found Ula's culture alien and inadequate. Townsmen learned from them, depending on the nature of their association with *memurs*. Those townsmen who left other occupations to become civil servants are one group which was greatly affected. Working in association with non-local *memurs*, these townsmen were compelled to adopt their manner of dress, a suit and tie previously being worn only for ceremonial occasions such as weddings, funerals, and circumcisions, or for trips to Muğla to conduct business in government offices.

Dress, manner, and speech became symbols of one's office, albeit clerk, messenger, or janitor in a local organ of the national government. One was no longer just a tailor or shoemaker of Ula, but a representative of a nation-wide institution such as the Agricultural Bank or Ministry of Interior. For many, it was a newfound awareness of participating in a national society.

The local *memur* is better off economically than his non-local overseer in many ways. He owns his own house and fields, necessitating neither the payment of rent nor a need to purchase all food stuffs from bazaar and market. He possesses acumen in dealing with the local economy, an effective lever resulting from his close familiarity with craftsmen and tradesmen. Further, he possesses an economic cushion in the form of extension of capital or manpower from an extended kin group in time of need.

However, the local *memur* fills a very difficult role socially, for a potential for conflict exists between his roles as government official and citizen of the town. He must be conscious of which circumstances demand that he adhere to the guidelines of his office of *memur* and which demand that he remain within the range of norms traditional to the community. As fellow townsmen, local *memurs* are often approached for favors by other townsmen, favors which, in many cases, place them often in violation of offical rules and regulations. As well, some of their non-local counterparts chide local *memurs* for their rustic ways and lack of ambition, despite attempted conformity in dress and manner. Many local *memurs* do not approve

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of the dress and manner of wives of non-local *memurs*. For them, women's shorter skirts, bare arms, lack of head cover, and bold entry into bazaar streets are not to be part of the series of changes consuming them in their new position of civil servant. Although receptive to improvements in style of living, they are unwilling to incur community wrath in the area of morals and modesty.

Despite their economic advantage over other townsmen, consisting of a steady wage income and a facility to cope with the local economy, many local *memurs* are economically pressed. Their status demands larger outlays in expenditures than does the status of many other townsmen. Although their income is steady, it is at the low end of the civil servant wage scale. Yet a *memur*'s children must be better clothed for school and carry a better quality book case than children of craftsmen or tradesmen. His house must be well appointed and in large measure resemble that of the non-local *memur*. His wife must be aware of her husband's position and entertain other women with appropriately finer refreshments served from finer tea services. However, despite the ways local *memurs* attempt to identify with the non-local administrators, a gulf remains between the two in those areas of community life in which Ula is most conservative.

Through their life style and standard of living, brought generally from a more cosmopolitan setting to Ula, non-local *memurs* have influenced Ula in many of the facets of its life. Non-local *memurs* stimulated the formation of new men's associations in which recreation and the discussion of issues could take place. Long before 1954 Ula supported a town club, *Şehir Klübü,* where leading merchants gathered without wives for special political activities and evening recreation. In addition, the "peoples' house" or *halk evi,* and numerous coffeehouses provided loci for the gathering of townsmen, regardless of economic level or group affiliation. Less concerned with local interests and desirous of creating a gathering place for themselves, non-local *memurs* formed the Teachers' Club, *Öğretmen Klübü,* as a place where national politics and problems common to *memurs* could be aired.

What began as an exclusive group with special interests, essentially excluding townsmen, gradually was transformed

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into a partisan group including town notables, meaning by the mid-1950's merchants and not *ağa*s. Despite an incumbent Democratic Party, during the 1950's the majority of civil servants in Ula were adherents of the Republican Peoples Party. Somewhat unfamiliar with and estranged from the struggles taking place within local town government, these non-local *memur*s remained apart from local events. Gradually, however, the fate of such *memur*s in their assigned posts became inextricably linked to local political personages. A hiatus in objectives between prominent local political figures and civil servants assigned to Ula could, and often did, have consequences for the latter. This hiatus emanated from the system of dual administration which existed in all municipalities. Provincial administration throughout Turkey is a delicate balance of national and local government representation in the management of community affairs. The political awareness of national politics at a sophisticated level which *memur*s had introduced into Ula soon no longer remained their exclusive domain. Their career fortunes as administrators gradually became more dependent upon increasingly improved lines of communication between local and national politics. The social distinction of the past between non-local *memur*s and local notables is increasingly being replaced by the political distinction between parties.

A particularly significant shift in values has resulted from the presence of non-local *memur*s in the town since 1954. *Memur*s are now highly desirable as marriage partners, and unmarried *memur*s are relentlessly, if quietly, pursued to marry one or another eligible young local girl. Yet these desirable marriage candidates do not possess characteristics once prized in a marriage partner in Ula's pre-*kaza* days. Assigned to Ula in an official capacity, they do not own a dwelling or fields there. Further, their family background is essentially unknown to locals and they possess no kin in Ula. However, the *memur* now offers "respectability", a life free from agricultural labor in tobacco fields, and access to a higher social class. To be able to marry a *memur* is a step upward for most girls.

The wives of non-local *memur*s, themselves generally also from other regions of Turkey, have been instigators of change in Ula through example and display. The first in-coming non-

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local *memur*s to Ula and their wives were faced with a number of what to them were alien local customs. At that time Ula's women observed a conservative code of conduct and dress, a code which today is still considered the ideal, even in the face of varying practices. Women were to avoid all places and circumstances which would bring them into the presence of men outside their immediate group of male kinsmen. Finding such a life constricting after having lived in larger or less conservative towns than Ula, some non-local women simply ignored local customs,[70] in this way setting a precedent for action by others.

Wives of non-local *memur*s have influenced two traditionally conservative areas of Ula's life: the attitudes and conduct of women among themselves and their public conduct with men. In doing so, they have also indirectly influenced men's attitudes towards these changes. Most changes, however, have taken place among members of the *ağa,* merchant, and local *memur* groups, the groups with which non-local *memur*s have most contact. The *esnaf,* or craftsmen, appear more resistant to these departures from traditional modes and actually have little social contact with non-local *memur*s. For those women of Ula who have discarded some of their traditional ways through the influence of non-local women, social disapproval by some is outweighed by the more strongly desired social approval of others. Among the modified attitudes and conduct of women, there is an increased value on style in dress, seen mostly in the adaptation of western fashions, and an accompanying greater freedom of movement in town. With their husbands' approval, townswomen gradually ventured into the market, newly located in an area separate from the main bazaar street, following the example set by the wives of *memur*s and

70 An event still recounted today by locals as a flagrant violation of their code concerns a gendarme captain assigned to Ula in 1954. This man was accustomed to walking down the bazaar street arm in arm with his wife, who wore not even a headscarf. Yet another story told to illustrate the manner in which non-locals have influenced local customs concerns a gendarme sergeant-major and the local girl from a conservative family whom he married. After the marriage, the girl walked publicly without a head covering and often with bare forearms in a short-sleeved dress.

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*ağa*s. The drinking of beer or sweet liqueurs, and the smoking of cigarettes may now be partaken of in the company of other women of similar or younger age, but still not in the presence of men. A desire for automation is increasing among those women of Ula who view appliances both as labor-saving and as symbols of their position, although "flash heaters" for hot water, washing machines, refrigerators, and vacuum cleaners are still the rare exception rather than the rule.

By accompanying their husbands to entertainments, the wives of non-local *memur*s innocently stepped into an arena of great contention, for previous to their arrival in Ula there were few occasions for men and women to mix socially. At a traditional wedding ceremony today the women still congregate inside the house while the men dance and drink *rakı* in the yard outside, in effect there being two weddings—the boy's and the girl's. However, wedding *balo*s (balls) are becoming more frequent among certain individuals in Ula, an occasion for western-style dancing by a few (married or engaged couples, or young girls together), while many watch from chairs on the side. Today certain wives and children in Ula accompany their husbands to the local tea garden or movie theater in the evening. Men and women previously had no occasion to eat together publicly, but now once monthly the teachers of Ula, with husbands and wives, travel to Muğla for dinner in a restaurant, an event including locally born teachers as well as non-locals. Despite the many innovative practices of non-local women, a few areas of town life remain forbidden to women. No woman will enter Ula's coffeehouses, "clubs", or mosques. And local women prefer not to enter the bazaar street where townsmen congregate, despite the lead of many non-local women who do so.

Among the new social practices introduced by the wives of non-local *memur*s, the one which received the quickest and most widespread acceptance by a number of local women was that of the *kabul günü,* or "acceptance day". On one or two scheduled days each month, women participating in this round of visiting remain at home to receive visits from other women and provide refreshments to them. Originally instigated only among non-local *memur*s' wives, it was a means of reciprocal

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entertainment for them in what they considered an otherwise barren social existence. The circle soon widened, however, to include wives of prominent townsmen. It was one area of social intercourse with non-locals in which they early felt they could participate, as men were excluded from this event and therefore it did not necessitate a major readjustment of normative behavior. In addition, for wives of *ağa*s it was but a variation on an already established structured round of visiting among themselves. No invitation is extended, but a townswoman is able to sense the propriety of her participation in the round of visiting. The wives' attendance at *kabul günü*s reflects their husbands' position in the community. Generally only the wives of local and non-local *memur*s, *ağa*s, and wealthy merchants give and attend *kabul günü*s. The wives of those *memur*s and merchants who early found a political compatibility and a shared sense of being Ula's new intelligentsia dominate the *gün*. The wives of *ağa*s politically compatible with the merchants and *memur*s also attend *gün*s, but the wives of those *ağa*s who retired from community life in the 1950's are seldom seen at *gün*s. As well as being a welcomed form of recreation for some women of Ula, the *kabul günü* is a means for the reinforcement of their interpretation of Ula's field of social distinctions.

Its elevation to *kaza* status and subsequent infusion of civil servants has brought to Ula a new social group, the *memur*. In a myriad of ways, *memur*s have effected social and economic changes in Ula's life. As a vehicle for occupational mobility, the new status has created jobs for many townsmen coming from diverse backgrounds. In addition to a new means of livelihood for many, it has given them a new status often worn in a not altogether comfortable fashion. In conjunction with merchants, *memur*s have effected a workable political unity which merges local needs with administrative machinery. For *ağa*s, *memur*s have been another cause for their retraction from public life. The status now enjoyed by *memur*s as being educated, genteel, innovative, respected, and masters of administrative machinery is that once enjoyed by *ağa*s. Divested of political and economic power by merchants, the *ağa*s' last vestige of importance has been successfully encroached upon by *memur*s, that of social worth.

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## CRAFTSMEN (*ESNAFS*)

The day's work begins early in Ula. During the summer months the early morning stillness is broken around 3:00 a.m. by the movements of women making their way through back streets to tobacco fields surrounding Ula. Not long after, a handful of itinerant marketeers congregate in a coffeehouse dimly lit by a kerosene lamp to sip their steaming hot glasses of tea and to await the readying of goods-laden trucks bound for a distant market. As the first glow of the rising sun becomes perceptible, the melodious call to prayer signals the awakening of the town, led by a small number of men on their way to mosques to worship. After the morning prayer they too retire to coffeehouses located in the *çarşı,* or bazaar, the hub of Ula's economic activity. Artisans, shopkeepers, laborers, early travelers, and children, the latter bound for bakeries for the morning's bread, begin to trickle into the *çarşı* from the residential quarters. Like sustained explosions, the *çarşı* air is rent by the sound of rusty accordian-like protective covers being flung upward to open shops. Artisans and tradesmen, some with oaths at the prospect of the long day's work ahead of them and others with the plea of *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* (In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful), enter their shops to sweep and to prepare their wares or tools for a day's endeavors.

For artisans and tradesmen, and the youths who work and apprentice beside them, the *çarşı* is the place where the majority of the day is passed. For local women it is an arena of men's affairs, a place not to be entered except by rarely given permission of one's husband. For small children who are the link between women's needs and the commodities of the *çarşı,* it is a place where nonsense and mischief are forbidden and their presence not desired beyond the termination of their mission. For strangers to Ula, the *çarşı* is the only "public" space, the only permissable area within which business and recreational needs may be satisfied. The *çarşı* is an arena providing the locus for a number of social and economic relationships not coterminous with private life.

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The term *esnaf*[71] formally means tradesman, artisan or shopkeeper. In Ula, however, it has come to have a more restricted meaning. In Ula an *esnaf* is one who "works with his hands", but more than just a laborer, he is one who possesses a skill and manufactures or produces something. In Ula, it excludes tradesmen, those who buy goods for resale, such as marketeers, grocers, dry goods shopkeepers, and providers of services such as restaurateurs. It does include tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, iron mongers, and others who purchase raw materials for modification as well as barbers and others offering personal services which require a skill. Thus in Ula one can speak of large-scale merchants or *tüccar*s, small retail shopkeepers normally referred to by name of activity (e.g. marketeer: *pazarcı,* grocer: *bakkal,* baker: *fırıncı),* and craftsmen or *esnaf*s. The middle group of small-scale retailers possesses no collective term such as *tüccar* or *esnaf* but for all practical purposes is, in terms of value orientation and social proximity, a part of an *esnaf* "culture" insofar as one can talk of such a culture. Those who are considered by others and by themselves as *esnaf* have a conscious sense of group awareness.

This awareness is only in part based upon their possession of a skill. Rather, like *ağa*s, they possess a sense of unity based upon traditional community attitudes which esteem craft skills. Their unity is further based on a sense of awareness that as craftsmen a set of ethical values governs their behavior. The validation for the apparent unity among craftsmen has been, in large part, historically determined. Ula's craftsmen were long governed by several organizations which possessed strong guild-like characteristics and which were imbued with rules governing social relations and sacred symbols embodied in a set of rituals.

Most towns within the province of Muğla historically exhibited a single identifying economic specialization which served as its primary service function within a regional scheme. Milas, for example, historically was the center for the production of olive oil for an extensive area reaching beyond Izmir to the north. The town of Köyceğiz, because of its proximity to vast

71 *Esnaf* is the Arabic plural form of *sınıf,* a word which normally means "class" as in "first class" or form or kind.

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forest tracts and its coastal location, became noted as an exporter of lumber to ports as distant as Egypt. Two highland towns, Yatağan and Ula, possessed specializations not resulting from natural endowments. Until the twentieth century, Yatağan was a famed center of coppermiths although copper is not locally mined and had to be imported from Izmir in the form of "blanks". The manufacture of copper and brass utensils supported a large *esnaf* population, and reputedly a strongly organized coppersmiths' guild probably once existed in Yatağan. In fact, the old name of Yatağan was Ahi Köyü, referring to craft guilds active during Seljuk times.

Ula too was a town with a dominant craft theme embodied in a guild-like organization. The manufacturing of leather shoes was the predominant craft in Ula for centuries.[72] At the turn of this century there were at least 200 cobblers in Ula, not including apprentices, a sizeable proportion of the total town population of around 2,500 individuals. One cobbler estimates that up to eighty shops were devoted to cobbling at the time he opened his shop in Ula's bazaar in 1905, many of the shops containing two master cobblers and all a number of young boys serving their apprenticeship. In addition, he claims, a number of cobblers worked in their homes and sold in the bazaar.

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72 The town of Milas in the western part of the province was also historically noted for its abundance of cobblers. In Milas, however, this form of leather working was largely the specialization of its Jewish population. This appears to have been historically a widespread activity in a number of urban centers. Goodblatt, in his history of Jewish life in Turkey during the sixteenth century, states :

> A considerable number of Jews were engaged in the leather industry as converters of raw hides into finished leather, and as dealers. This industry was one of the most important as a source of livelihood for the Jews of Turkey (1952:53).

In a local history of Milas it is suggested, however, that the antiquity of Jews in Milas dates only from the nineteenth century when they emigrated from Rhodes (Akarca 1954:12). In Milas, the Jewish population resided in a quarter spatially segregated from the other quarters of the town and reputedly consisted of 150 households (Akarca 1954:12). Not affected by the transfer of Greek and Turkish populations following the Turkish War of Independence, the Jewish population of various towns of the province, particularly Milas, was stable until the late 1940's. However, between 1947 and 1950 most of the Jewish population of the province of Muğla emigrated to Israel.

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Cobblers often traveled to villages within the region and to periodic markets in order to deliver previously ordered shoes and obtain new orders. At times a cobbler had a clientele of upward to 200 families linked to him. Little or no business was conducted with cash, most transactions involving equivalences[73] and/or credit.

Local accounts suggest that the large number of cobblers which Ula once supported were organized into an association with a guild-like structure having a history of at least 500 years in Ula. A figure still revered in Ula today is Hüsamettin Efendi who died ca. 1610 and reputedly is buried in a *türbe* or circular mausoleum located in Ula. This person supposedly filled the office of *ahi usta,* or head of the powerful guild *of yemenicis,*[74] or cobblers. The office of ahi-usta in Ula extends back at least to the fifteenth century to the time when the cobblers' guild reputedly was founded in Ula. As a result of his status as a religious leader, Hüsamettin Efendi was elected to the office by guild members. *Ağas,* in control of all other offices of local authority, seemingly were excluded from filling this office or any other position within the cobblers' guild. The Ula guild bore a number of similarities to what is generally known historically about craft brotherhoods in Anatolia.[75]

73 A typical equivalence amounted to one pair of shoes for three kilos of butter. Other equivalences related were : 1,220 grams of butter = 26 kilos of maize or white millet, and 1,220 grams of white goat cheese=15 kilos of maize or white millet.

74 *Yemeni* is a type of leather shoe essentially worn by villagers. The sole is hand stitched to the top, then reversed so that the stitching is found on the inside of the shoe. A variety of shapes, heights, and decor, all based upon stitched soles, were manufactured and marketed by *yemenicis.*

75 The *ahi* or *akhi* were associations or guilds which flourished in Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (*Encyclopedia of Islam* 1960: Vol. I, 321). Although it is disputed as to how much the *ahis* were an Anatolian form of the Arabic *futuwwa* or *fütüvvet* (*Encyclopedia of Islam* 1965: Vol. II, 967), they were societies guided by specific principles of Islam and possessing a considerable body of ritual. Esteemed by the guilds were the qualities of generosity, ascetic business ethics, chivalry, and adherence to religious principles. The local leader of each *ahi* was called the *yiğitbaşı.* Besides his responsibility to guild members, often he was a political leader of the community (Arnakis 1953:234).

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The organization of *yemenicis* or cobblers in Ula during the time of Hüsamettin Efendi in the seventeenth century would seem to resemble an *ahi*-type of craft fraternity. Local accounts of the *lonca,* or guild, state that sometime before the sixteenth century dervish leaders came to Ula to organize craftsmen. From oral accounts it is possible only to sketch the power and functions of the Ula guild just prior to its abolishment by law in 1910, an act which was intended to convert the organizations into chambers of commerce (*Encyclopedia of Islam* 1965: Vol. II, 968).

The guild's most powerful weapon was that of *yolsuz,* a form of punishment by boycott for deviant behavior by guild members or by non-guild members against a guild member. The guild controlled the behavior of its members in the production, pricing, and distribution of their goods. Among reasons for sanctions against a guilty craftsman were the mistreatment of apprentices or undue competition with fellow cobblers in the matters of obtaining raw materials, charging too high a price,

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The Arabic traveler Ibn Battuta encountered a number of such guilds as he passed from Antalya to Burdur, Isparta, Denizli, Tavas, Muğla, and Milas in 1331-1332. In Milas, not too distant from Ula, the local *ahi* guild extended great hospitality to him, and he writes that the guild seemed to possess considerable local power (Wittek 1944:66). The guilds maintained a large building, *zawiya* or *zaviye,* which was used to house and shelter all passing travelers. As well, members of the guild met there each evening to pool their daily earnings and to eat a communal meal (*Encyclopedia of Islam* 1960: Vol. I, 323).

A man by the name of Ahi Baba reputedly became the leader of all tanners and cobblers in Anatolia. He was the descendant of a "patron saint" of the *ahis,* Ahi Evren (Akhi Ewran), who was the leader of a dervish order centered in Kırşehir and upon whom supposedly much religious attention was focused (*Encyclopedia of Islam* 1965: Vol. II, 968). Ahi Baba traveled extensively, visiting local guilds and initiating apprentices into the *ahi.* After his death his name became that of an office, the *ahi baba* or leader of the tanners' and cobblers' guild. The *yiğitbaşı,* or local guild head, was an appointed representative of the *ahi baba,* entitled to initiate apprentices on his behalf after obtaining permission from the office of the *ahi baba* of Kırşehir and a title of privilege from the Ottoman government (*Encyclopedia of Islam* 1960: Vol. I, 324).

Data concerning the guilds of Anatolia become less obtainable after the fourteenth century. Arnakis believes that around that time the guild leaders began to convert their power into land holdings and controlled a

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or competing for customers. As well, the rigid code of ethics extended beyond the cobblers' shops. Excessive drunkenness, mistreatment of wife or children, and extreme or socially unrecognized display were all reasons to incur negative sanctions from the guild. Once pronounced by the *ahi ağa,* or head of the guild, these sanctions included a boycott against him in all areas of town life. Leather suppliers refused to sell leather to him, an agreement was reached with other tradesmen such as bakers and grocers to refuse him services, his traditional customers were prohibited to continue to trade with him or his apprentices to continue working for him, and he lost the ability to obtain credit and all other necessities of town existence. In short, the accused craftsman would be compelled to leave the community.

The guild was highly respected in the community. Its precepts of religious conservatism and adherence to a strict code of behavior were maintained among craftsmen long after the formal dissolution of the guild. Elderly men who were once members of the guild still recite formulas of business ethics, and youths are still indoctrinated with proverbs and ballads extolling the virtues of the life of a good craftsman. In short, a half century after the abolishment of the guild, the *çarşı* is still imbued with a systematic code of behavior. But the gulf between ideal and actual behavior, between the old and young, between new and old ideas more and more is relegating guild ethics to an impossibly distant past.

By 1910, when guilds were officially abolished in Turkey, the Ula guild had already shifted much of its focus to its strictly economic functions. Religious symbolism, to the extent that it had been a major part of Ula guildlife, was minimal by the turn of the century. There appears to be no oral history in Ula concerning either the guild's patron "saint", *pir,* or religious ceremonies, generally important aspects of guilds elsewhere in Anatolia. The importance in Ula of the initiation rite of the apprentice into the guild and *ustalık*, or mastery of

number of *vakıf* estates (1953:237). Gibb and Bowen (1950:65), however, cite Köprülüzade who attributes the decline of the *ahis* to the rise of religious orthodox colleges or *medreses.*

For further information on guild organization and history in Anatolia, see Gölpınarlı (1949-50) and Lewis (1937).

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the craft, had been much diminished by the time of World War I. The initiation of novices in Ula historically was an important guild-wide ceremony undergone in the presence of officers and master cobblers. It began with a communal dinner and involved ritual acts such as the passing of a cup of salted water, the cutting of the initiate's hair, his donning of a special pair of trousers, and the climatic girding of the initiate with a cermonial *kuşak* or sash. However, by 1910 the ceremony had been reduced to a family dinner at which the apprentice's master girded him with a broad cloth sash.[76] The office of *ahi usta,* guild leader, and to a great extent the formal aspects of *yolsuz* disappeared after World War I.

The power exhibited by the craftsmen's guild was different at its base from that of the *ağas*. Although it held considerable economic power, the guild based its unity and influence on the moral fabric of its rules and regulations. It exemplified most what Ula as a community valued, and the life of a craftsman was prized as fulfilling the moral objectives of a devout Muslim. The cobblers' guild disappeared as a formal organization but the ethical system which guided it has persisted to affect relations throughout the bazaar. The passing of the guild was a prelude to the decline of the craft itself. By 1950 Ula's once most important source of livelihood and its major regional economic function was nonexistent. The causes and impact of this decline in one craft are meaningful only in terms of an understanding of Ula's changing role as a mediating center and in terms of the fate of its *esnafs* in general.

The changes which have occurred in Ula's occupational structure in large measure are in response to two factors : significant developments in Turkey's national economy and the changing complexion of local consumption norms. These interrelated factors have altered Ula's significance as an urban center both for its immediate urban population and for its rural sphere of influence. Whereas some occupational forms have declined in the last two decades alone, there has been a meteoric increase in yet others. Those forms of urban livelihood

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76 Gibb and Bowen (1950:283-284) also refer to the "secularization" of the guilds, using the simplification of the binding ceremony as an example. See also *Encyclopedia of Islam* 1960:Vol. I, 323.

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which have been steadily declining in significance and number tend to be those traditionally dependent upon consumers in an immediate area in and around Ula. Conversely, those forms of livelihood which are either new to Ula or have experienced recent increased importance tend to be those which are itinerant in form and which therefore draw upon a wider consumer area (see Benedict 1973 for more extensive discussion of this point).

For further clarification of the types of changes occurring in Ula, Appendix A provides a comparison of selected occupations for two periods, 1947 and 1967. The earlier year was selected because it depicts a phase in Ula's economic history when there was a short period of recuperation following the destructive effects of World War II. As well, it depicts Ula as it appeared economically on the eve of the sweeping changes of the 1950's. To aid explication, the scheme of occupations found in Ula is discussed in a similar order to that in Appendix A.

## RETAILING: FOODSTUFFS

There has been an increase in retail food services attributable to at least three factors: rural and urban population increases; a shift away from the growing of subsistence crops toward the growing of tobacco; and, finally, changes in consumption schedules.

Although each of these three factors, and others, could potentially favor Ula's economy, they have not done so to any major degree. The decrease in locally grown cereals has been countered by the importation of grain from neighboring provinces, not however, by local wholesale-retail merchants but rather by non-local itinerant grain sellers. In response to a general decrease in amount of sheep and goats in Ula through the sedentarization of nomads, drovers supply meat to Ula as well as to larger urban centers from other counties. Grocers, although numerically greater in 1967 than in 1947, have but a small volume of business and engage only in retail sales with a coterie of debtors. Their stock is relatively small and consists essentially of basic staples having a guaranteed turnover potential.

Ula is being bypassed by a burgeoning rural population in

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two distinct ways. During the last two decades a plethora of retail services have located in villages. Grocery stores, bakeries, coffeehouses, several wholesalers, restaurants, mills, and other businesses have opened in the villages, obviating the need of villagers to frequent similar businesses in the town. Secondly, an improved road system, making the nearby provincial capital of Muğla more accessible for consumers, is resulting in the bypassing of tradesmen in Ula. Muğla is increasingly becoming the locus for large-scale purchases for weddings and other ceremonies, wholesale purchases by village retailers, and solid credit links between Muğla dry goods merchants and food retailers, and villagers. Rural consumers, who only a decade or so ago considered Ula retailers and wholesalers as the sole source of commodities and services, now often view them only as unnecessary intermediaries. The increase in itinerant food retailing in Ula is an attempt by these retailers to seek out new consumer areas in order to maintain their enterprises above a minimal threshold.

## RETAILING : NON-FOOD ITEMS

The type of clothing worn in Ula has changed greatly during the past two decades. Recognizing this fact, many retailers of wearing apparel attempt to market a broad line of ready-made garments or "confections" in addition to their large supply of yardgoods. In the hope of increased sales, such merchants often try to link status to specific items. It is not uncommon for a merchant to state that "all the teachers are wearing it" about a particular item, school teachers reputedly being style conscious and style setters. Most of Ula's dry goods stores, however, primarily stock materials such as yardgoods and accessories to be used in making garments. Only a few stores compete successfully with them by carrying a line consisting essentially of ready-made garments.

All of Ula's fixed retail dry goods stores suffer from strong competition with itinerant merchants carrying similar inventories. By operating in the open market these merchants have distinct advantages over their settled counterparts. They offer similar goods at a lower price, they draw a clientele of females reluctant to enter the bazaar shops, and they service a wider

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consumer area by remaining mobile. For the merchant permanently located in Ula, his clearest advantages are his constant availability to the same consumer through a fixed location and the use of his shop as a base out of which he operates in a myriad of partnerships in other enterprises.

As is the case for retailers of foodstuffs, Muğla is becoming a source of competition for Ula retailers of dry goods, automotive and construction parts and matériel, and a host of other commodities. These commodities are also found in Muğla, often less expensive and always in greater variety and better quality. Recognizing this fact, both fixed and itinerant merchants of Ula use the easy availability of credit for the buyer as their bargaining point.

## SERVICES

Many services have either declined radically during the past two decades or have reached a "saturation" point where further increases in craftsmen or shops are made only at the expense of dividing a limited number of consumers. Perhaps the plight of cobblers in Ula most vividly illustrates the types of changes affecting many traditional crafts.

As described above, Ula historically was a craft center specializing in cobbling. Until the eve of World War II cobblers, *yemenicis*, constituted over 50 per cent of all craftsmen in Ula. Beginning in the mid-1930's, the use of the wooden nail and the use of automobile tire rubber as soles became an alternative method of shoe manufacture to the hand-stitched leather shoes made by *yemenicis*. The scarcity of the traditional, thick *Ran-gön leather*[77] had first compelled the *yemenicis* to use local buffalo leather without great success. Local factory-processed leather and tire rubber gradually completely replaced *Ran-gön* and buffalo as material for soles. The new shoe, made by a type of cobbler known as *kunduracı*, took less time to make, created one new occupation—the *sayacı* who cut and sewed the upper part of the shoe—and took

77 The sole of the traditional *yemeni* shoe was made from an imported leather called *Ran-gön*, phonetically referring to Rangoon, the supposed source of the crude leather.

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advantage of a relatively cheap material for soles, tire rubber, in place of the increasingly rare imported leather. Many *yemenici* cobblers switched to the making of the new shoes. Many other cobblers left cobbling completely for other occupations. This process was hastened by yet a greater change which began in the mid-1950's.

Factories for the mass production of molded synthetic rubber shoes were being established in Turkey by 1955. This type of shoe quickly entered regional markets, at first peddled only by non-local itinerant marketeers. The single largest consumer group for the rubber shoe was that of villagers. The shoe's desirable features include its price, which is one-third the price of comparably styled leather shoes, the speed of purchase without the need for special order, its availability in a wide range of colors and sizes, and except for extreme wear, the fact that it is virtually indestructible by water, mud, or sun. The synthetic rubber shoe put an end to Ula's cobbling industry. Unable to compete with the factory-made rubber shoe, the *kunduracı* moved out of cobbling, as had the *yemenici* who in his own day had been unable to compete with the success of the *kunduracı*. The overall effect was to remove the manufacturing process which once had been the mainstay of Ula's craftsmen from the region to factories in larger urban centers, forcing those craftsmen to seek alternative means of livelihood.

The devastating effects for Ula of developments in the national economy and subsequent shifts in consumption norms at the local level are more widespread in effect than the sealing of the fate of cobblers alone. Some other innovations and effects include :

1. Tailors have experienced such competition with factory-made garments as to cause many to shift their activities from the making of suits, shirts, underwear, etc., to the repair of such.

2. Potters cannot compete with comparably styled factory-made plastic wares retailed in Ula by grocery stores and itinerant marketeers.

3. Few cloth and yarn dyers remain in Ula due in part to the ease with which factory-dyed yarn and material may be obtained and a related decrease in local production of yarn.

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4. Tinners find few customers wishing to have copperwares retinned because wares of aluminum have virtually replaced copper vessels for cooking purposes.

5. Tinsmiths function today almost exclusively as manufacturers of stove pipes, as aluminum has replaced the other varied uses of tin.

6. Ironmongers today do more repairing of factory-made implements than manufacturing of similar items in their forges.

In sum, over the past two decades Ula's occupational structure has experienced significant changes. These changes are related to changes occurring in the national economy and in the role Ula plays as a market center in the regional setting. The location and proliferation of traditionally urban-based retail businesses and services in rural areas and the intensified use of Muğla as an economic center by villagers and even townsmen of Ula have resulted in the bypassing of Ula for fulfillment of economic needs.

The increased occupational turnover seen today in Ula is an attempt to counter the steady decline in economic importance of various occupations. Attempts to seek out economic alternatives are encountered at every level of Ula's economic structure. Merchants engaged in large volume selling, craftsmen, and laborers alike increasingly deploy themselves farther from the town and from Ula's traditional sphere of influence to maintain a minimal threshold of survival. Although exact figures are unavailable, it appears that of all Ula-based tradesmen, twice as many now conduct business on some form of itinerancy than remain fixed solely in one location. The interterlated activities of cartage and marketing constitute most of Ula's peripatetic commerce (see Benedict 1972).

As Appendix A indicates, "transportation" as an occupational category has experienced the greatest rate of increase over the past two decades. The increase is a phenomenon widespread throughout the province. Until World War II, all cartage from Ula was undertaken by camel trains. The trip to Muğla, now a matter of less than thirty minutes by truck, then

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took upwards of four hours by loaded camel. The first vehicles arrived in Ula during the war years. In 1943 the municipality owned a truck used for cartage and as a taxi. During the war a considerable amount of road improvement was undertaken for the provisioning of reputedly up to 400 soldiers garrisoned in and around Ula.

The province of Muğla is experiencing improved connections with the rest of western Turkey as a result of agricultural developments and steady improvements in its internal road system. Vehicle ownership in the province has increased dramatically in recent years (see Figure 1). It is in those urban centers such as Ula which are experiencing a major shift to itinerant activities that the most pronounced increase in vehicle ownership and cartage is occurring.

Ula is outstanding in this respect. For its size, Ula possesses an inordinate number of vehicles, 53 trucks owned by at least 79 individuals in various types of partnerships. The town is famed throughout the province for its quantity of vehicles and the business acumen of those involved in cartage. For many in Ula, cartage has become a successful economic alternative. Because of the high price of vehicles, often as much as 90,000 T.L. for a seven ton truck, the ownership of a vehicle is most often multiple. It is not uncommon to find a civil servant, a tailor, and a dry goods merchant in partnership on a vehicle. In order to garner enough capital for his share in the purchase of a truck, an individual draws upon his wife's income from tobacco, relatives in general, banks, and as many friends as possible. A general pattern seen after the vehicle begins to show a profit is a jockeying for control of ownership. Arguments based upon charges of laziness, dishonesty, drinking, and general incompetence often create hostile feelings between partners, especially when these partners are kinsmen.

The high incidence of cartage is indicative of the means employed by many to gain an income outside of Ula itself. For the tailor who owns one-third of a truck, it is the simple matter of a good investment of capital without the necessity of leaving his shop. For the principal entrepreneur who directs the use of the vehicle, it is a means of drawing upon a larger economic region, of engaging spatially segregated economic

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variables outside of the moribund confines of Ula itself with its limited needs.

It appears that an inordinately high number of townsmen are seeking out livelihoods which are distributive and mobile in nature. Of a sample of seventy individuals who, between 1950 and 1967, left cobbling as their principal means of livelihood, fully two-thirds of them entered itinerant occupations. Many men having workshops in Ula, such as carpenters, electricians, blacksmiths, and repairmen, spend over 50 per cent of their time working itinerantly at their craft or trade in towns other than Ula. Many other craftsmen who traditionally have sold their wares in Ula's weekly market, such as tailors, ironmongers, and potters, spend several days each week moving within a periodic market system from town to town. As well, there are Ula-based marketeers who, as professional itinerant peddlers, long ago gave up a permanent store or workshop in Ula. Finally, there is a highly mobile labor force consisting of an inestimable number of townsmen. Originating from diverse occupational backgrounds, they divide the year between work as salaried labor building roads, tending brick kilns, or working in tobacco fields, peddling anything which can be sold for more than it has been purchased, and waiting in coffeehouses for work.

A general view has been provided of four social groups in Ula : landlords, merchants, civil servants, and craftsmen. Differences between the groups have been stressed which are based upon wealth inequalities, occupational variegation, attitudes and aspirations, and the concept of self-awareness which each group possesses. The manner in which each group seeks a livelihood in the public arena, the *çarşı,* has been of primary concern here. In the following chapter the economic plight of the town is looked at at the level of the household. It is at this level that factors such as the expectancies obtaining between social groups, the narrowing base of urban economic alternatives, the harsh life of tobacco-growing, and the alteration in values resulting from changing social and economic conditions are pronounced and uniquely acted upon.

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CHAPTER FOUR

# HOUSEHOLDS

To the casual observer, Ula's residential quarters appear to be a seemingly chaotic maze of narrow passageways and lanes, many of which, after tracing a circuitous route, end in cul-de-sacs. Only recently, by municipal law, has attention been given to the official establishment of streets and lanes to correspond more directly to municipal planning needs than to traditional household requirements. The disposition of houses and passageways is to an extent a social map of the proliferation of extended virilocal joint households and the result of demographic pressures over a number of generations. In order to understand more completely the forces directing household activities, Ula's households are here considered in terms of their composition and ideology, the expenditures they encounter as social units, and their responses to a low income both through economizing measures and the obtaining of alternative sources of income.

## COMPOSITION

The composition of the Muslim household has been the focus of much attention by scholars of the Muslim world. Many have rightly pointed to the discrepancies existing between the stereotype of the ideal joint extended family and its actual expression in given situations. In his study of the city of Tripoli, for example, Gulick suggests that many of the misconceptions surrounding the Muslim extended family household may have their origins in the Muslim tendency to shield family life from scrutiny, and the high degree "of concern and mutual aid among the members of Arab extended families even though only a minority of them actually live together in the same me-

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nage" (Gulick 1967:121). Referring to village studies in Lebanon and Israel to support his thesis, Gulick maintains that not only is it a false notion to postulate that extended families exist throughout the Muslim Middle East, but that attitudinal studies show Arabs in particular to view the extended family arrangement as "temporary" and "undesirable", held together primarily by economic plight or the charisma of tradition-bound elders (Gulick 1967:123).

Goode also has concerned himself with the Muslim extended family in his work on family structure. He believes the typicalness of the extended family household to be a matter not of a "false notion" but one of Muslim ideology, one of a traditional pattern versus a secular trend (Goode 1963:123-134). Further, he suggests, the commonly held belief of the typical composition of the extended household "may be accepted... if we view it as a description, not of reality, but only of *ideals*" (Goode 1963:123). In short, it is a matter of structure and function moving away from ideology as a result of the disruptive accelerating forces of modernization.[78]

> Thus, the industrializing and urbanizing forces, especially of the period since World War II, intensify the internal strains that were always found in the extended family, and, in addition, offer alternative sources of support for those who finally decide to set up conjugal households of their own (Goode 1963:129).

The composition and functions of the joint extended family in Turkey have been variously described in a number of published studies over the past two decades.[79] Many discussions of social structure in Turkey continue to depend upon data and observations derived from Stirling's excellent study of two

78 In an analysis of descent Sahlins draws attention to the discrepancy existing between descent ideology and group composition. He suggests that ideology has a career of its own and is largely independent of structural inconsistencies (Sahlins 1965:105).

79 Of major interest here are: the early work of Yasa who from 1942-1946 resided in the village of Hasanoğlan (1957), and his 1950 study of the village of Sindel (1960); Stirling's 1949-1950 study of the villages of Sakaltutan and Elbaşı (1965); Erdentuğ's village studies of Hal (1956), and Sün (1959); and Kıray's town study of Ereğli of 1962 (1964).

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small villages in central Anatolia published as *Turkish Village* (1965). In the two villages studied, Stirling found the joint household to be a pervasive ideal, an ideal to which all adhere in the organization of their household affairs. In both villages, however, there are clear discrepancies between the ideal and the actual composition of households. Stirling observes that extended joint households only amount to 24 % in Sakaltutan and 23 % in Elbaşı (Stirling 1965:38). Stirling's explanation of such discrepancies differs from Gulick's "no dominant ideal" and Goode's "ideal, but no longer observed". For Stirling the problem is a demographic one which accounts for the failure of households to achieve jointness.

At the death of the household head, Stirling explains, the extended household bursts apart "into its constituent families, each of which should then repeat the cycle" (Stirling 1965:40). These roughly similarly constituted families of the sons of the deceased household head eventually reach a point when their sons, in turn, marry and grandchildren are born. This fission in the domestic cycle creates a situation where at any given time only 50 % of households can be joint extended in form. Thus about half will always contain only one married couple (pre-joint or simple in form) while moving *toward* a prefered ideal of more than one married couple (joint extended) which temporarily has been demographically rent. Thus Stirling states "The reasons why such households [joint extended] are in a minority are far more psychological and ecological than social" (1965:43).

Ula's households are quite diverse in composition. Table 11 indicates household types found in a survey of the majority of households of the *mahalle* of Alparslan. This table is based upon variation found in the composition of the *hane* or household. In some cases there is an obvious correlation between the notion of *hane* and a single dwelling or *ev*. In general, however, the *hane* refers to a domestic unit formed from the economic relations of agnatic kin whether they reside in a single dwelling or in separate houses in some spatial proximity to one another. Far more often, however, no one word can describe the modified situations which exist when economic relations (the hallmark of a household) have been ruptured

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*Table 11*

*Household types by economic structure in the mahalle of Alparslan*[a]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I — *Simple Households* (one married couple) | | |
| A. Spatially separate from other married couples of the same family | | |
| Married couple[b] | | 31 |
| Married couple, children | | 70 |
| Married couple, HuMo | | 2 |
| Married couple, children, HuMo | | |
| same house | 14 | |
| separate adjacent houses | 8 | 22 |
| Married couple, unrelated children, HuMo | | 3 |
| Married couple, WiMo | | |
| separate adjacent houses | | 1 |
| Married couple, children, WiMo | | |
| same house | 5 | |
| separate adjacent houses | 2 | 7 |
| Married couple, children, HuFa | | 2 |
| Miscellaneous: | | |
| Married couple, children, other kin | | 3 |
| Married couple, widowed daughter-in-law | | 2 |
| Married couple, children, HuFa 2nd wife | | 1 |
| Father with children only | | 2 |
| | | 146 |
| B. In immediate proximity to other married couples of the same family | | |
| Paternal, children (residential courtyard clusters of father and married sons in which each house is economically separate) | | 14 |
| Fraternal, children (similar clusters of economically separate married brothers) | | 4 |
| Fraternal, children HuMo (similar to above with HuMo residing with one married son) | | 7 |
| | | 25 |
| | I | 171 |
| II — *Joint Households* (economic unity between more than one married couple) | | |
| A. Within same house | | |
| Paternal joint, no grandchildren | | 1 |
| Paternal joint, grandchildren | | 6 |
| Fraternal joint, no children | | 1 |
| Fraternal joint, children, HuMo | | 1 |
| | | 9 |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| B. Separate adjacent houses | | |
| Paternal joint, grandchildren | | 11 |
| Fraternal joint, children, HuMo | | 2 |
| | | 13 |
| | II | 22 |
| III — *Fragmentary* | | |
| Widow, alone | | 15 |
| Widow, children | | 16 |
| Widow, with unrelated child | | 3 |
| Bachelor | | 4 |
| Widow, widowed Da., grandchildren | | 3 |
| Spinster with spinster | | 1 |
| | III | 42 |
| Total Households I + II + III = | | 235 |

Notes:

a. Non-Ula born, such as non-local civil servants and in-migrant villagers, were not included in this survey.

b. Often unmarried children were away at school in another locality.

and the severence of social ties is in various stages of completion.

The low frequency of joint households, defined on the basis of economic unity between more than one married couple, is striking. Of 193 households shown in categories I and II only 11.4 % can be considered joint in economic structure. Where a joint household exists within a single dwelling there are generally special conditions which prevail. Most of the seven paternal joint households under IIA are cases of an only son sharing a large house with his parents. The remaining examples of joint households consisting of the cooperation of members of separate houses all involve agnatic kin located within natal courtyards.

Within the larger category of simple households a distinction is made between agnatic kin who are economically separate but who reside in the same natal courtyard as in IIB and kin who are spatially separate from other members of the same family. The families cited in IB who reside in courtyard clusters all began their career as paternal or fraternal joint households and later economically divided (IIB→IB) as a result of various forms of incompatibility. The 146 households

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in IA all began as economically nuclear households spatially quite separate in the town from their natal household. The large number of dispersed nuclear-like families in the town is a result of a preferred household domestic cycle which differs markedly from that normally described in the literature. This preferred domestic cycle is particularly well adapted to the requirements of a residentially dense town situation. Multiple town-based incomes rather than a single agricultural income further support the economic autonomy of one-couple dispersed household units.

Clusters of large patrilocal extended joint households were, in the past, the preferred form of residence in Ula. Townsmen relate a time when each extended family claimed a plot of land within the town large enough to accomodate a natal dwelling and to provide space for the proliferation of individual houses for married sons.[80] Then, as well as now, the ideal was for sons as well as daughters to leave the natal house upon marriage. Contrary to the classic descriptions of the domestic cycle of extended families, in Ula sons are required to establish a separate house upon marriage, normally through the aid of agnatic kin. Space permitting and good relations between the father and son obtaining, the family will try to locate the son's house within the family-owned courtyard. In this fashion, particularly in the past when space was more available, family houses proliferated within a nucleated area controlled by the agnatic line. Eventually, by moving walls and opening other access ways between agnatically related houses, mazes of lanes and cul-de-sacs were created. The close proximity facilitated the exercise of authority by the household head, either the father or eldest male.

Increasing demographic pressures today curtail the continued proliferation of the extended family within a nucleated area. Faced with a lack of space in the household courtyard for new dwellings, an alternative to the ideal residential pattern is used. The extended family purchases land elsewhere in Ula for the building of needed dwellings, thereby often es-

80 In the Balkans, for example, the *mahala* or neighborhood was a territorial unit created by the proliferation of houses on communally owned ground of a single *zadruga* or extended family (Sanders 1949:231).

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tablishing a segment of its household in other town quarters.[81]

The high amount of neolocal residence in Ula does not always indicate the cessation of economic and social ties between agnatic kin.[82] In many cases of spatial separation accompanied by a lessening of economic cooperation, the traditional line of authority centered in the personage of the patriarchal household head is maintained, a situation described by Goode as the "restricted patriarchal family" (1963:124).

The literature on the extended family however contains many references to the internal stresses which may be found within this type of family structure. The changing role of the household head (see Shinn 1961:604), conflict between the wives of brothers, the rising emphasis on individual income, and the effect of changes in inheritance laws (see Sanders 1949:230) are but a few factors discussed in viewing at various levels the structural strains in the extended family. The routes of fission however are not amenable to a simplistic stage theory such as Goode and Rosenfeld provide :

> The stages in the pattern then move away from the collective operation of the family land, toward rational cooperation among the brothers' conjugal families, and finally to private ownership (Goode 1963:128).

Rather, the households of Ula are differentially affected by social and economic changes, depending upon the inherent strengths or weaknesses of given household arrangements. For

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81 A similar phenomenon is reported by Halpern from the Serbian village of Orasac.

> "Through time, as the zadrugas enlarged and divided, the new households continued living in close proximity to their parent zadrugas. The same pattern has continued up to the present day. In fact, the only reason why a more perfect division of the village into neighborhoods based exclusively on clan groupings does not exist is that over the years some sections have become relatively crowded. This forced newly formed households to move to less densely settled neighborhoods or nearer to the land they inherited" (Halpern 1967:158).

82 Goode provides examples from a Druze village in which only 18 of 171 households are extended in form, but he also points out that residential data do not shed light on the more important issue of continuing social relations between a man and his sons now established in neolocal residences (Goode 1963 : 123).

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many, religiosity, internal social compatibility, and economic acumen are turned into an advantage, making the extended household a successful vehicle for a satisfying social and economic existence. For others, however, a lacuna in values between generations and competing objectives among those of the same generation serve to propel household members against and apart from one another in no predictable fashion.

The domestic cycle in Ula contains two phases of family fission. The serial marriage of offspring and their departure from the natal house represents a period of dramatic alteration in the structure of the household. The relations of married offspring with their parents differ greatly from family to family. At the death of the family patriarch the second phase of fission occurs with the apportionment of the estate. A number of features of Ula town life support this two-phase fission within the domestic cycle.

The crowded residential conditions of town quarters largely causes the dispersal of married sons to other areas of town. At the same time, the range of multiple incomes possible in a town-based economy is conducive to simple households acting as largely autonomous units with private income. Households, whether simple or joint, normally enter into close economic cooperation with neighboring households which together are a part of or constitute a *semt*. For a great number of domestic activities from the preparation of winter foods to labor in tobacco fields women of adjoining households unite their labor in an effort to economize and locate extra sources of income to supplement an often inadequate primary income.

## EXPENDITURES

Poverty, in the form of acute cases of deprivation, is rare in Ula. Aid from kinsmen, from neighbors, and from fellow workmen is abundant enough to alleviate temporary or short-term economic needs. Failing these sources of aid, government aid is available. On the occasion of *Şeker Bayramı,* the holiday immediately following the solemn fast of *Ramazan,* children of extremely poor families are publicly awarded charity in the form of new sets of clothes and shoes, and are displayed in a prominent place during ceremonies. Contributions from

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merchants in the form of *zekât,* or community aid, and from branches of national agencies such as the Turkish Red Crescent *(Kızılay)* and Children's Welfare *(Çocuk Esirgeme)* function significantly to aid Ula's chronically poor.

On the other hand, most families of Ula are continuously in debt in one form or another. Credit relations with tradesmen and craftsmen, outstanding debt with friends and kinsmen, bank loans, agricultural cooperative loans, and numerous other avenues of debt are always specters of daily life. Every family, rich or poor, economizes in order to reduce existing debt and to lessen the chances for greatly increased debt. Few families ever close out their outstanding debt, nor indeed would severence of credit relations be a desirable fact of life.

For most families in Ula, the total income is a combination both of seasonal income, based upon the annual sale of tobacco, and periodic income, by nature irregular and based upon services rendered by craftsmen or retail sales. Only a small portion of Ula's population receives standardized monthly wages, predominantly those in civil service capacities. As a result, most of Ula's economic life is based upon credit, *veresiye,* a mechanism which allows continuous provisioning in the face of discontinuous means. A family's expenditures do not, therefore, demand immediate cash, but are added instead to an always active credit account.

The diversified nature of debt is illustrative of both Ula's social and economic requirements. A joint household can anticipate at least three categories of debt or expense. Over the course of many years the household is faced with single occasion expenditures for each member, annually recurring expenses, and daily maintenance expenses. The joint household is collectively responsible for the needs, actions, and debts of its individual members. Even when established in separate residences, members of the extended family are normally expected to aid in the alleviation of the three types of debt, particularly the expenses surrounding single occasion events.

The expenses related to the weddings of members of the family require the largest expenditures of any of the single occasion expenses experienced by a household. These wedding expenditures, assumed by both the boy's and girl's families, can be anticipated to occur several times over, until all mem-

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bers of the family are married. The debt incurred often amounts to the equivalent of three to five years' annual income for a household. This debt is often countered by the sale of family land and in all cases is shared by unmarried and married offspring within the household.

Although a number of changes have occurred in wedding customs over the past several decades, many other traditional wedding customs and expenditures remain. The Turkish ethnographer Yusuf Ziya Demircioğlu provides some rare glimpses into family life in Ula of the 1920's (Demircioğlu 1938). He stresses that many local customs and regulations were directed toward the regulation of relations between adolescent boys and girls and events leading to marriage. Until the age of eighteen, girls wore no face or head covering and boys were expected not to notice them in any "lustful" way. Beyond the protection of his own unmarried sisters from males of other *mahalle*s and outsiders, all of the young girls of his *mahalle* were the collective responsibility of a boy (Demircioğlu 1938:8-9) — girls from whom he would shortly choose his bride. A rigid ethical code was observed by males within the *mahalle*s and in the bazaar area; stray words or suggestive glances cast at young girls were dealt with by an inquiry to the boy's family, a municipal fine, or in the most extreme circumstances physical violence. Boys were encouraged to marry upon the completion of military service around age 22 (Demircioğlu 1938:7), a practice continued to this day. Unmarried males reputedly were considered a threat to the community and were pressured in a number of ways to take a bride (Demircioğlu 1938:6).[83]

Especially in cases where the marriage was not to be between kin and the possibility of compatibility between boy and girl was unknown, the reputation of the respective households was considered as to their merits.[84] The qualities looked for in a

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83 A saying frequently employed in expressing the situation of bachelorhood is:

*Bekârın ensesini bit, kazandığını it yer.* A bachelor's neck is eaten by lice and his earnings are eaten by dogs.

84 To this effect:

*Anasına bak kızını al, kenarına bak bezini al.* Take the girl after seeing her mother, buy the cloth after examining its edge.

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girl reputedly included virginity, moral bearing, frugality,[85] industry, health, and the ability to maintain a praiseworthy house and a meritorious kitchen. Economic matters received greater emphasis in a consideration of the boy's qualities. He was judged on his occupation and ability to provide a separate house for his bride and himself, the latter a matter of considerable import for an understanding of Ula's household structure. To marry a barber or coffeehouse attendant, girls were told, was demeaning and had much the same status as house servants. Rather, greater status was attached to crafts such as cobbling, tailoring, and copperworking. Townsmen are still fond of quoting a saying which appears in older ethnographic literature on Ula: "To possess a craft is to have a golden bracelet upon one's arm. A craftsman's wife need remain hungry only until noon" *(Eğer erkek sanat sahibi ise elinde altın bileziği var, karısı öğleye kadar aç kalır).*

Expenses related both to the period of engagement and the wedding itself are assumed by the families of both parties. Although the total expenditures for the families involved are difficult to estimate, it would seem that the average expense today incurred by the boy's household is around 20,000 T.L., including the building of a house, and between 8,500 to 10,000 T.L. for the girl's household.[86] Bride wealth, or the *baş fiyat,* is unknown in Ula. Thus the girl's family cannot look for economic relief in the form of payment from the boy's family.

Each family is aware of the expenses which it is expected to bear and the gifts which it is expected to give at the time of a wedding in the family. Expenditures incurred by the boy's household during the engagement period total around 2,000 T.L. and are for gifts of gold bracelets, gold coins, earrings, shoes, and clothing for the girl, and other gifts to members

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85 Frugality in a woman is a highly prized virtue in Ula. Thus : *Biri iki eder olmalı.* Of that which is only one, make two.

86 Forty years ago, according to Demircioğlu's data, the girl's household incurred more expenses related to a typical wedding than did the boy's household (Demircioğlu 1938:23). At that time the boy's household did not need to spend as much money as today in the providing of a dwelling, for then the provisioning of a house was less expensive and the possibility of building within the household compound was greater, obviating the necessity of purchasing land.

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of her household. During the engagement period the girl's family reciprocates with gifts costing at least 600 T.L. and consisting of clothing, a watch, and a ring for the boy, and food items for his household.[87] The wedding itself demands still more expenses: the exchange of further gifts between participants, a dowry provided by the girl's household, and the expense of a three day wedding feast, essentially borne by the girl's household. A practice increasing among higher income families is to provide a formal "western" wedding reception, necessitating the hiring of a hall and band and involving large amounts of food and liquor.

The single largest expense related to a wedding is the providing, by the boy's household, of a separate house for the new couple. Often an absolute requirement before the girl's family will consent to the marriage, failure to provide a separate house is considered a disgrace primarily to the girl's family for allowing their daughter to marry one so poor (Demircioğlu 1938:10). The financing of a new dwellings for each son is the collective responsibility of all members of the boy's extended household, married or unmarried. Today an average house in Ula costs from 15,000 to 20,000 T.L. to build, with an additional 5,000 to 6,000 T.L. if required for the purchase of land. Ideally the house is built within the natal compound, but demographic pressures today make this increasingly difficult to realize. Rather, new building sites are increasingly found at the perimeter of town where land is available, a fact which, as discussed above, results in the locating of a son in a *mahalle* other than his natal quarter. The settling of a son in another quarter and the taking of a bride from another quarter are two contemporary departures from traditional practices.

In addition to weddings, the occasions of birth, circumcision, and death result in fairly large household expenditures. Expenses for the actual birth of a child are not great, for births

87 In his discussion of customs surrounding engagements, Demircioğlu states that in the early part of this century the boy sent gifts to the girl which included : silver pieces, an embroidered belt, woolen socks, a sweater, a wedding fez decorated with gold pieces, bracelets, and a handbag. In addition, he gave clothing to the girl's parents and siblings. The girl sent cloth to the boy and his parents and relatives, according to degree of relationship, and sweets (Demircioğlu 1938:11ff).

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usually occur in the home with the midwife in attendance. Rather, expenses are related to clothing and supplies for the baby and the providing of refreshments to friends who come to see the new baby and mother. A death in the family incurs expenses as well. Soon after a death occurs, the survivors pay to have prayers chanted for the deceased from the minaret of one of the town's mosques. In the first days after the death, relatives and neighbors provide food to the grief-stricken family. Soon after, however, the survivors reciprocate with items of food and are obliged to give sums of money to the town's poor. Another occasion requiring expenditures is that of the circumcision of young boys in the family, an event which most often occurs during the summer vacation from school. What once was a solemn religious ceremony is more generally today a two day period during which the boy's family generously feasts the neighborhood. The religious portion of the ceremony has been reduced to a brief period of prayer, involving only men, immediately before the rite. The large expenditures required for the feast and clothing for the boy are only slightly offset by money donated by guests, which is pinned to the pillow on the circumcision bed. In an attempt to reduce expenses, a family having two boys close in age often has both boys circumcised at the same rite rather than on two separate occasions.

Beyond the expenses incurred at life events discussed above, there are also annual periods of traditional expenditures. Official government holidays often require new clothing or special pageant costumes for children of school age. Still more prominent are the religious holidays and religious observances during *Ramazan*. The occasion of the *Kandil* nights within *Ramazan* require each family to distribute to neighbors special small loaves of bread or sweets, the former purchased from the town bakeries at some expense. These breads, *hayır ekmeği,* are distributed again at the occasion of *kadir gecesi,* three days before the end of the *Ramazan* fast and the beginning of the joyous feast of *Şeker Bayramı*. Also at this time, before the end of *Ramazan,* charitable donations are made to needy causes.

The holidays of *Şeker Bayramı,* at the end of *Ramazan,* and of *Kurban Bayramı* some weeks later are the two periods

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of religious holidays requiring a large outlay of money annually. The three day *Şeker Bayramı* involves gift giving, a round of visiting, new clothing for the family, candy and money for the children of the town, and outlays of food. *Kurban Bayramı,* the commemoration of the near sacrifice of Isaac by his father Abraham, again involves similar activities and expenses, but added is the requirement of the slaughter of a sheep. If not raised by the family, the cost of buying a sheep for slaughter is quite severe for some families.

Townsmen claim that the feasting and outfitting which accompanies the religious holidays is increasing. Many complain that they are distressed by the deemphasis of religious significance in the face of excessive display. Each year, they claim, increasing expenses are borne solely to keep pace with the trend of neighbors.

Religious events, government holidays, life crises, and increasingly higher consumption norms serve to make life expensive in Ula. The expenses involved in education are illustrative of the rising consumption norms. Ula long has valued education. Enrollment in the public primary school, the *ilk okul,* has been remarkably high for a town of Ula's size for the past thirty years. But what a child needs for school has experienced changes in recent years. Not too long ago children traveled to school wearing home-sewn clothes and wooden clogs, *takunye,* or no shoes at all. Today, however, the expense of equipping a child with school uniform, shoes, briefcase, and books for primary or middle school is a financial burden for many. A man is intensely proud of his children's appearance, and his monetary investment in these appearances is considerable. Moreover, the expense of equipping a child for school occurs in the fall at a time when income from the previous year's tobacco crop is considerably diminished.

Debt is a normal way of life in Ula. Getting by is more often the objective than getting ahead. In discussing his financial situation, a tailor with an average income summed up the situation by saying "We live as a frog under a stone" *(Taş altında kurbağa gibi yaşamak).* He added, "we eat, sleep, work, and see little relief". Mounting debt is further aggravated for many by a variable low income.

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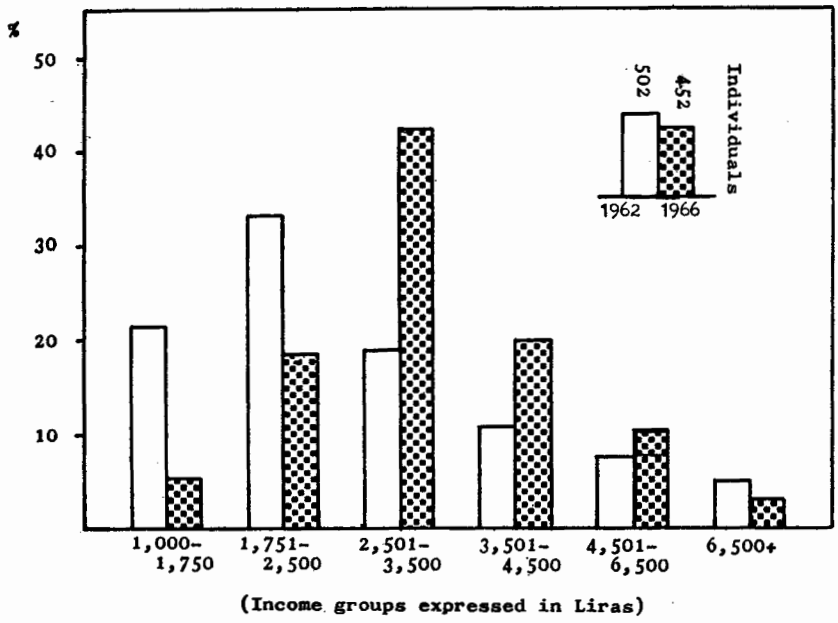



**Figure 6. A Comparison of Income for Craftsmen and Small Merchants Between 1962 and 1966. Source: Ula branch of the Ministry of Finance.**

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A family's income is difficult to estimate, as are its expenditures. Sources of income are limited only by the resourcefulness of the individual. In addition to a primary source of income derived from a store or workshop, many obtain capital from activities which fall outside of tax reckonings. For those individuals who obtain a major portion of their income from a known source, one of two forms of income tax must be paid. Those who register, as required by law, as having purchased or sold commodities in excess of 30,000 T.L. must pay in income tax based upon profits and number of dependents. For the average tradesman or craftsman, whose annual volume of buying and selling falls far below 30,000 T.L., a form of "guess tax" is paid. This is a tax paid on one's income as estimated by an elected group of locals. Through examination of the records for this tax, the *götürü vergi,* it is possible to obtain an approximate idea of the income of a tradesman or craftsman of Ula. As Figure 6 indicates, more than 40 % of the over 500 tradesmen and craftsmen of Ula had a reported income in 1966 between 2,501 and 3,500 T.L. A comparison of the years 1962 and 1966 shows only a slight increase in personal income over the four year period. However, most individuals within the average 2,500 - 3,500 T.L. income group supplement their earnings through other means, primarily the raising of tobacco. The tobacco crop annually adds 1,000 to 2,000 T.L. to a family's income, bringing the total income for such a family to approximately 5,000 T.L.

A number of merchants, *ağa*s, and professionals have an income many times that of the occupational groups considered above. Table 12 compares two households in terms of income and expenditures. The first household gains its primary income through a town-based craft. This tailor is not itinerant and depends solely upon a small established clientele consisting of both townsmen and villagers. He is considered an average tailor in terms of skill and has an average volume of business. The primary income of the second household is derived from an occupation which is not town-based. The household head is an energetic individual who functions as the regional broker for a number of insurance companies. Greatly dissatisfied in his previous occupation as an itinerant marketeer, also a region-wide activity, he recognized the opportunity existing in

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*Table 12*

*Household comparison of annual consumer expenditures*

| Category[a] | Household A | Household B |
|---|---|---|
| Occupation | Tailor | Insurance agent |
| Employment status | Self-employed | Self-employed |
| Money income | 6,000 T.L. | 30,000 T.L. |
| Household members: | | |
| adults | 3 | 2 |
| children | 2 | 2 |
| Sources of income | Tailoring 3,500 T.L.<br>Tobacco 1,500<br>Unskilled labor 500<br>Misc. 500 | Insurance and investment 30,000 T.L. |
| Food, goods, services from non-monetary sources | 500 T.L. | 1,000 T.L. |
| Expenditures | | |
| 1. Food | 1,800 TL. | 2,700 T.L |
| 2. Meals, drinks taken outside of home | 1,160 | 1,000[b] |
| 3. Guest expenses in home | 500 | 2,000 |
| 4. Housing | 500 | 1,800 |
| 5. Household furnishings | 250 | 200 |
| 6. Clothing | 1,000 | 2,400 |
| 7. Health, personal care | 450 | 700 |
| 8. Transportation | 200 | 2,000 |
| 9. Recreation, education | 200 | 1,000 |
| 10. Investment | 0 | 12,400 |
| Total Income | 6,000 | 30,000 |
| Expenditures | 6,060 | 26,200 |
| Remaining | — 60 | 3,800 |

a A modification of the Household Expenditure Survey employed by the State Institute of Statistics was used to derive figures found in this table (see T.C.D.I.E. 1967).

b This individual does not drink alcoholic beverages, accounting for the lower expenditure.

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selling insurance in an area where insurance is little known. Taking advantage of cartage activities and growing business enterprises in towns such as Muğla and Fethiye, he sells a large amount of vehicle and place-of-business insurance outside of Ula. Despite the wide differential in income, these two households are remarkably similar in the range of domestic economizing activities employed in a effort to remain as self-sufficient from the market as possible. In general, with the exception of some civil servant and *ağa* households, it would be difficult to distinguish between households of differing incomes solely on the basis of an examination of household economics.

## ECONOMIZING AND THE SEARCH FOR INCOME

A concern guiding most households in their attitudes toward economizing is to decrease the number of commodities needed to be purchased from stores and markets. Instead, wherever possible, a home-manufactured or home-processed food or good is substituted. Whether merchant, *ağa,* or laborer, a set of activities employed to home-process certain foods takes place in most households. These activities are both cost-cutting and a means of solidifying neighborhood groups. Many, performed as cooperative ventures between households, are important arenas for exchange of information and the working off of obligations previously incurred. The following itemization stresses less the social importance and more the beneficial economic results of such activities.

*Bread.* — At the present time there are six bakeries in Ula. Their tasks are twofold: the sale of bread within the bakery and the providing, for a fee, of an oven for the use of households having no oven. Bakeries have existed in Ula for some time, but not until the last decade or so have they provided much more than the service of rental of ovens for baking home-prepared foods. Somewhat earlier, bakeries were almost non-existent in Ula as wheat and white millet, the major components of bread, were less expensive in the past and more people baked the paper-thin *sac ekmeği* bread at home. During World War II, the garrisoning of upward to 400 Turkish

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soldiers in Ula brought about the need of public bakeries and led to the practice by locals of purchasing loaves of bread from the then newly opened bakeries. Ula's residents today buy increasingly more bakery-produced items and make less themselves. Many, however, combine the two, preferring when possible to make what they can at home. Generally the home production of bread increases when fieldwork is at a minimum for women. While the cost of the home production of enough of the flat, thin bread to support a family of five for seventy days amounts to about 130 T.L., over the same period bread purchased from the bakery would come to 160-170 T.L.

*Other wheat-based products.* — In the late summer, after the harvest of the wheat crop, an average family buys around fifty kilos of wheat from the market for processing as *bulgur* and the local variation of a dish called *tarhana.* Working in neighborhood groups, the women crack the wheat by grinding it between two round, rotating stones. After cracking it is boiled, then some is spread thinly to dry as *bulgur* and the remainder made into *tarhana* patties. *Bulgur* is used as a substitute for rice, the latter being too expensive for the majority of Ula families to eat often. The *tarhana* patties are formed from a mixture of the boiled cracked wheat, yogurt, and salt, and are spread in the sun for a week or more to dry thoroughly before being stored. Throughout the winter they are used as a soup made by dissolving them in a quantity of boiling water, seasoned with garlic and hot peppers. An excellent preservative of milk proteins, this widespread dish is estimated to be consumed annually at a rate of eight kilos per capita in the Near East, contrasting to an annual consumption of only three kilos of rice (May 1961:595-596). Those few Ula families which use rice extensively instead of cracked wheat products spend an average of 75 T.L. more annually.

*Noodles.* — Many families also make and dry a large supply of noodles instead of buying the more expensive packaged noodles or macaroni. However, unlike the other wheat-based products mentioned above, the flour necessary for noodle production is purchased, a fine, processed flour being required for this food item. The average production for a family of four involves fifteen kilos of flour and fifty to sixty eggs. This activity occurs when eggs are abundant and cheapest on the

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market. The heavier egg content than is found in factory-made noodles and a savings of 30 to 40 T.L. make this a worthwhile activity.

*Tomato paste.* — Canned tomato paste is prohibitive in price for most families and not easily available; yet tomato paste is used extensively in Ula cooking. Rather than eliminate tomatoes from dishes during the winter months when fresh tomatoes are unavailable, tomato paste is made in the home at the time of the seasonal glut of tomatoes in the weekly market. Tomatoes drop from a price of 15 T.L. a kilo to 25 kuruş (1/4 of a lira) a kilo during the season. Through a salting, sieving, and drying process, approximately four kilos of fresh tomatoes are reduced to one kilo of paste. An average family makes up to ten kilos of paste (using about forty kilos of fresh tomatoes), selling any surplus paste.

*Grape products.* — Ula lies in the heart of a grape growing region. Most families can claim several vines of their own, and at the peak of production grape prices drop sufficiently to be within everyone's purchasing potential. A number of products for winter consumption are made from grapes, including raisins, *pekmez,* and vinegar. Raisins are made by dipping grapes into a solution of olive oil, bicarbonate of soda, and water, then placed in the sun to dry. *Pekmez* is a grape treacle made from the boiling of grapes. Two decades ago *pekmez* was used completely as a substitute for sugar. Many families today, however, only make up to 25 kilos of *pekmez* for annual needs. Some other local sweet dishes made from grapes include *sucuk* and *köfte.*[88] Further, the leaves of grapes are used for dishes such as stuffed grape leaves and for animal fodder.

*Drying and storage of vegetables.* — September is a month of great activity for women. Not only does the tobacco harvest demand great attention, but also at this time women pre-

88 *Sucuk* is made by threading walnuts and almonds on a string and then dipping them into a mixture of boiled grape juice, flour, and starch which hardens as it dries. *Köfte* is made by pouring the grape juice, flour, and starch mixture used for *sucuk* into molds and then cutting them when dry into square pieces. The names of both these sweets are borrowed from meat dishes, *sucuk* being a meat sausage and *köfte* a ground meat patty.

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pare summer products for consumption during the winter months when the only fresh produce available consists of such vegetables as leeks, cabbage, carrots, and cauliflower. As well as the processed foodstuffs mentioned earlier, the women also prepare a large variety of summer vegetables and autumn fruits for winter by drying or storage. These vegetables and fruits are either grown in house gardens or purchased from the Friday market at a time when they are lowest in price, thus necessitating but a small outlay of money for the stocking of household larders with a considerable amount of foodstuffs. Among those vegetables which are successfully dried for winter consumption are peppers, eggplants, beans of several varieties, chickpeas, and okra. Root crops which are stored in large quantity include onions, potatoes, and garlics. Quinces, pomegranates, apples, dates, and raisins are either dried or stored in their natural state. Large jars of mixed pickles are prepared from pieces of carrot, cauliflower, cucumber, pepper, eggplant, okra, and tomato. Olives are purchased unprocessed in large quantity from the market and processed in the home. Also, many families devote a small space in their garden for a few hills of popcorn. Serving no great dietary purpose, the popcorn is mainly a source of entertainment and refreshment on winter evenings.

*Meat.* — Most Ula families seldom eat meat more than once a week when compelled to purchase it from a butcher, for meat is extremely expensive. A kilo of meat is often equivalent to the daily income of a laborer or craftsman. Most families raise one or two animals, usually goat, sheep, or calf, in the vicinity of their house for eventual slaughter. Especially in the case of a calf, which is larger than the other sources of meat, the meat is often preserved by a process known as *kavurma.* In the absence of refrigerators in the great majority of Ula homes, *kavurma*-processed meat assures them of a source of meat for many months. After slaughter, the meat is boiled, cut from the bones, and placed in tin containers which are then covered with hot fat from the meat. Thus prepared and essentially airtight, the meat is preserved and may be kept without refrigeration for several months. The meat is scooped out as needed and the remainder resealed with fat.

In addition, a good number of families fatten animals for

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resale. A sheep or goat, bought in the market and fattened for four months, can return 100 % profit on its original price. Expenses for fodder are almost negligible as post-harvest fields of stubble, tobacco, and wheat are readily available by fall. Some families wishing to obtain a source of meat, contract to fatten an animal belonging to a butcher, returning it to him at time of slaughter for a modest profit or payment in kind. The practice of fattening an animal for resale or home consumption is increasing as a response to higher meat prices.

Most families also maintain a few chickens in their courtyard as a source of meat and, most particularly, eggs.

*Sale of home-grown foodstuffs.* — Regardless of how small the walled areas around the house may be, in Ula a portion of the land is devoted to a vegetable garden.[89] Onions, garlic, beans, squash, eggplant, tomatoes, and a host of other vegetables are grown and consumed without finding their way to a market. In cases of slight surplus or dire need for money, some families consign baskets of seasonal vegetables to grocers to be placed for sale on the ground in front of the grocer's store. The grocer often keeps 10 % of the sale as his commission or provides an equivalent discount on the supplier's grocery bill. Eggs and yogurt are also disposed of in this way.

*Food collecting.* — The emphasis on the sale of vegetables in today's periodic markets has come about only in the past decade. Changing consumption norms and the availability of fresh vegetables in Ula from neighboring counties and coastal Gökova have now made the processing of vegetables a standard preparation for winter. However, as recent as 1950 many vegetables were unknown to many and not preferred by others because of their expense. There were few growers of vegetables and still fewer marketeers willing to incur the risk of importing such perishable crops from neighboring counties. In place of vegetables, most of Ula's population relied upon a va-

89 Many houses are located in plots of 250 square meters. At least 100 square meters of the area is taken up by the house, outhouse, and sheds, leaving about 150 square meters of available space for arbor, trees, garden, walls, well area, etc.

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riety of edible wild greens[90] and fruits found in abundance on surrounding mountain slopes. The mountains as well provided all fuel for the town, consisting of shrubs, roots of plane trees, and wood, collected by townswomen or brought to Ula by mountain villagers. Trees within the town itself supplied the population with quinces, almonds (eaten both when green and when dried and shelled), walnuts, figs, plums, mulberries, pears, peaches, bitter oranges, and apples.

Through a series of economizing measures by the household, the need for purchasing a wide range of commodities is greatly lessened. In this way the household functions to combat the low income obtained by the adult males from a trade or business by heightening its self-sufficiency. However, whether villager or townsman, absolute self-sufficiency is a romantic myth. The household is faced with countless demands which only capital resources can satisfy. Tobacco, the dominant agricultural theme involving nearly all households, is itself antithetical to self-sufficiency. As expressed by growers, "one cannot eat tobacco". The pressures of changing consumption norms, rising prices, and the exigencies of living in a national society whose network of dependencies and interrelations is becoming more multifarious, compel families to be constantly in search of alternative and supplemental sources of income. The following are some of the ways in which households obtain supplemental incomes.

*Weaving.* — Until the time of World War II, at least 50 % of the households in Ula possessed and used spinning machines and looms. Villagers brought cotton fiber to specific urban families with whom they had a working relationship and specified what garments they desired to have woven, the most frequently requested items being underwear, shirts, pants, dresses, socks, and jackets. Many weavers simply spun the cotton thread and wove a cloth strip sixty centimeters in width,

90 Among the wild greens still eaten today by many in Ula are : *Kuzukulağı* (sheep's sorrel: *Rumex acetosella), Semizotu* (purslane : *Portulaca oleracea), Gazyak Kişkiş, Sirken, Sincan yaprağı, Labada, Ebegümeci, Günlü göbek, Baldıran, Devedabanı, Gabcık, Gışyak, Karagöz, Sarı ot, Bencik, Ballıbahar, Köremen, Kedi Kulağı, Güşürek, Gargadamağı, Yağlı Pide, İnelik, Sıra, Çıntar, Kuzu göbeği, Mantar.* As well, edible drupes from maqui shrubs continue to be collected.

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consigning the actual cutting and sewing of the garment to a tailor. A number, however, completed the entire process from fiber to garment. Seemingly few villagers wove cloth and fewer still attempted tailoring. Townsmen claim this to have been due to "lack of time" which the villager could spare for such work. Besides "contract" weaving, many families made items such as headscarves and had them peddled in the bazaar area, usually receiving a payment in kind.

Such cottage industry weaving was at one time widespread in towns throughout Turkey. As early as 1932, a cooperative, the *Babadağ Dokumacılar Kooperatifi,* was formed under government encouragement in the area of Denizli, and by World War II seven provinces had such cooperatives (Külçür 1947: 144). In the early 1940's government orders to create such cooperatives in the province of Muğla extended to Ula. The district head, then the *nahiye müdürü,* convened a meeting of locally prominent weavers which resulted in the formation of a cooperative whose organization was relatively simple. Upon payment of a fee to join, members obtained the right to receive equal amounts of cotton yarn and were guaranteed the sale of the finished product to outside wholesalers who came to Ula for purchasing. In order to profit more substantially from the arrangement, some local merchants hired weavers and set up shops with as many as ten looms each. Membership in the cooperative grew as high as fifty, consisting of weavers and intermediaries who hired weavers as laborers. Around 1948 the cooperative failed as a result of its inability to keep up with the proliferation of factories elsewhere whose products were of more standardized quality and whose prices were lower. The cooperative is one of the few indigenous cooperative enterprises to have existed in Ula's economic history.

Few families today weave for external sale. The loom of pre-World War II days has been largely replaced by the sewing machine. Only the making of lace, impossible to duplicate by machine, remains as an Ula handicraft.

*Seamstresses.* — The only jobs with social prestige commonly open to women are those making use of the home and not requiring entrance into the market area. These jobs usually center around the making of clothing. *Kadın terzi*s, or women tailors for women, sew most of the clothing worn by women

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with the exception of cloth coats, often made by men tailors, and the few factory-manufactured clothes sold in Ula. A woman tailor builds up a reputation in the town, and a very good one is able to charge a higher fee for cutting and sewing a garment than is a mediocre one. Patterns are unknown, and part of a seamstress's success depends upon her ability to cut and fit the clothes without a pattern to follow.

A second source of livelihood available to women is the machine knitting of sweaters, leggings, and other knit items. Every woman knits for her own family, but six or seven enterprising women in town have invested not inconsiderable sums of money into the purchase of European-made knitting machines. They take orders for knit garments, often finding themselves seasonally overburdened with orders just before holidays. In at least one case, a well-known woman tailor has also taken on the job of machine-knitting garments, but in most cases the two jobs are separately undertaken.

*Silk thread production.* — A cottage industry which has all but disappeared from Ula is that of silk thread production. In the past, many families purchased silk worm eggs in April which they then tended through the summer. In late summer, work groups of women boiled the cocoons, killing the caterpillar and loosening the thread. The cocoons were then unraveled onto wooden, four-pronged spindles into manageable groups of continuous raw silk thread. In the past, women often wove the thread into raw silk cloth, but today the very few women still undertaking this endeavor sell the thread to outside wholesalers. Declining prices, now 100 T.L. for a kilo of raw silk thread, the intense labor involved in feeding the voracious caterpillars through the summer, and a local shortage of mulberry leaves have discouraged production.

Households engage in many other tasks too numerous to mention in an attempt to economize or increase income. Materials worn out through use will be reused in a different form. In this way, a sweater which has become frayed at the elbows or outgrown by a child will be unraveled to be knit into another item. The same matted cotton filling of an old cushion will be fluffed up for use as filling for a new cushion. As well, labor intensive tasks which would be impractical in a different setting are often undertaken by the women and children of a

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household. The household is often a reservoir of inexpensive labor for those tasks which would require a large overhead in wages in a factory-type setting. A family taking on the job of shelling a large quantity of almonds for an Izmir supplier can realize a profit on the difference between the 2.50 T.L. per kilo for which they bought the unshelled almonds and the 12 T.L. per kilo for which they are able to sell them shelled. In addition, an enterprising individual may bring together women from a number of households to perform a task. Having collected a large quantity of bay leaves in a forested area, a man may hire around ten women to strip the leaves from their stems and sell the leaves for 1.20 T.L. a kilo. After paying the ten women for their labor, his own profit seems minimal in terms of the labor involved. However, the process supplements his income as a craftsman and channels funds into at least five households.

Finally, an interesting arrangement exists which serves not only to gain an added avenue of income but also to forge useful village-town ties. The middle *(orta)* school for the county is located in Ula. In order for their children to attend this school, villagers arrange to board their children in private homes in the town. At least thirty town families annually board village children for the school period of eight months. Payment generally ranges from 100 to 125 T.L. a month, all but about 50 T.L. of this being taken up with expenses. However, the 50 T.L. monthly profit to the town family is supplemented by a continual flow of village products from the village child's family into the home. Long after the school arrangement has ceased, bonds between town and village families persist.

Not all town households economize in all the ways suggested above. Indeed, income fluctuates widely between those who barely manage a living to those who, in contrast, exhibit a very comfortable style of living. Many household activities which are widespread and appear to be desperate efforts at economizing are in fact traditional seasonal household events. However, those who comb the hillside for edible grasses and fruits, who hire themselves out for work in fields, and whose major concern is their ever-deepening chronic debt do represent a sizeable segment of the town population.

The joint household is both an advantage and a potential

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source of hostile feelings for many engaged in the constant struggle to seek out economic alternatives. Undoubtedly the extended family is an expedient mechanism for joint economic ventures requiring a means of amassing capital or recruiting labor. All too often, however, individual conjugal concerns conflict with natal allegiances.[91]

Many townsmen of Ula say that the disgrace of family quarrels, the loss of respect between brothers, the tension which so often exists in a household between women, and the desperate search for supplemental income is "a sickness from the tobacco". The growing of tobacco is not merely a supplement to an inadequate income. It is for most of the women and households in Ula a dominant theme of life which governs their attitudes and activities throughout the year. The impress of tobacco growing permeates Ula's life, and an understanding of Ula would be essentially incomplete without an understanding of its major source of poverty and plenty—tobacco.

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91 In his excellent study of Greek kindred in a sheepherding group, Campbell similarly observes :

> Yet gradually, and in most cases with the greatest reluctance, they come to realize that their several obligations to their new families of marriage preclude the possibility of their living together indefinitely in a single domestic household. Observation of the conduct of their wives may often assist them in arriving at their conclusions (Campbell 1964:72).

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CHAPTER FIVE

# TOBACCO: POVERTY AND PLENTY

The production and sale of tobacco is an agricultural theme which permeates the multifarious activities of Ula as a community. The sometimes intense political awareness expressed in the community centers upon the omnipresent dialogue over increasing state control versus private initiative in the management of the tobacco market. The debate serves as a focus for highly charged issues within local politics—issues which have as a background the problems of overcommitment and overproduction within a failing market. The always intense economic awareness stems from the fact that for landlords, merchants, civil servants, craftsmen, and laborers of Ula there is but a single economic time horizon—the annual sale of tobacco. For them debt, credit, reinvestment and other factors in choice-making are related to a market over which they possess little control or information.

Ula's economy is largely based upon the extension of credit and the shaky philosophy that increased committment to tobacco will not fail those who depend upon its income. For an increasing number of urban and rural growers, however, the economic moment has been reached where rising operational costs and decreasing market profits have necessitated the consideration of income alternatives. To recount the historical development of tobacco as a cash crop is to explore one of the major structural changes which has been responsible for Ula's decline as a regional center.

## TOBACCO IN TURKEY: A BACKGROUND

The smoking of tobacco was practiced within the Ottoman Empire by the seventeenth century. As early as 1603 the death

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sentence was awarded anyone using tobacco, then considered a deleterious Western invention (T.C. Tekel 1939:53). Thereafter restrictions on tobacco smoking were gradually eased. Sultan Murat IV (1623-70) issued a number of edicts restricting smoking but abolishing the death sentence in favor of lesser forms of punishment. Selim II eased restrictions further in 1683, and by 1687, under Sultan Süleyman II, more or less free use of the leaf was allowed. By this time the growing of tobacco was well established in Syria, Macedonia, and in the western Anatolian region of Smyrna, enough so that Süleyman II found it propitious to levy a tax on the growing of tobacco (Issawi 1966:60). In several growing areas guilds of tobacco sellers had been created by 1725 (Gibb and Bowen 1950:291). From 1725 to ca. 1860 the growing of tobacco no doubt spread rapidly throughout parts of the Empire, characterized by increasing efficiency of the sellers guilds and decreasing efficiency of government efforts to collect revenue from tobacco.

Several factors focused attention upon the ominously mounting Ottoman debt and the low revenues obtained under the then current taxation system. As a result of the disruption of the American market, the American Civil War afforded considerable impetus to the production of a number of commercial crops in the Mediterranean area, particularly cotton[92] and tobacco. Furthermore, these was an increasing demand on the world market for Ottoman tobacco from Macedonia, western Anatolia, and Latakia in Syria.

In an attempt to curb the Ottoman debt, the government created a state monopoly in 1860 to increase revenues and control the growth and sale of tobacco. At the time, the tax

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92 Cotton had been exported through the port of Smyrna in large volume during the eighteenth century but decreased in volume at the beginning of the nineteenth century in a downward trend lasting until the disruption of the American market in 1860. After 1860 the exportation of Anatolian-produced cotton increased dramatically (Farley 1866: 51). In a survey of port activities for Smyrna in the nineteenth century, Georgiadés provides detailed statistics relating the stimulation of cotton production in the Aydın region with the collapse of the American market in 1860 (1885).

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on each *okka* (1285 grams) of tobacco was only one piaster. The revenue to the State from tobacco was further rendered insignificant by the illegal divergence of intended revenues into local coffers under the system of tax farming and the already widespread practice of illicit tobacco growing.

In connection with the inflated Ottoman debt, foreign creditors began to campaign as early as 1860 for the creation of a foreign controlled monopoly.[93] Following agreements reached in May of 1883 between Ottoman and foreign members of the Council of Ottoman Public Debt, the existing government monopoly on tobacco was to be transferred the following year to the Societé Régie Cointèressèe des Tabacs de l'Empire Ottoman. Thus in 1884 the Régie was created, a consortium eventually composed of French, British, German, and Austrian concerns and designed to raise revenue from tobacco in order to settle the Ottoman foreign debt.[94] The Régie was to exist for thirty years, each member contributing 750,000 Turkish liras toward the Debt, to be repaid by tobacco revenues.

In order to recoup their investment, the members of the Régie were given rights of purchase, processing, and sale. In this way, outside buyers (e.g. American firms) were prevented from buying Ottoman tobacco directly until 1900 (Velay 1903: 505). The existing tax of one piaster on each *okka* of tobacco was raised to 24 piasters on each *okka* and an attempt was made to enforce the increased tax (Issawi 1966:63). Fields to be planted were assigned by local authorities to cultivators, and crops were collected in public warehouses for sale after the collection of taxes.

During its brief career the Régie brought about a substantial increase in the production of tobacco. In 1890 in the province of Smyrna alone, 2,188,500 kilos of tobacco were grown on 1,988 hectares of land, involving 3,694 growers in 551 villages (Cuinet 1894:370-371). During that year, tobacco exports to Russia, Germany, Holland, Serbia, and America accounted for

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93 In Velay's account of this period he cites Lord Russel's testimony in 1861 that a foreign consortium would be a more effective collecting agency for government revenue (1903:181-182).

94 Original members of the consortium were Le Credit Anstalt, M.S. Bleichroeder (a Berlin bank), and the Ottoman Bank (Velay 1903:503).

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all but 85,971 kilos which remained for local consumption. Although the Ottoman debt was in part reduced, the Régie was an unworkable arrangement from the viewpoint of both seller and producer.[95] After the founding of the Republic, the foreign-owned Régie was purchased by the Turkish government in 1925 and was established as a ministry of monopolies, the *Tekel.*

The strict enforcement of controls by the Régie encouraged a number of local responses. Local authorities became involved in conflicts resulting from pressures by the anonymous outside concern and local allegiances. Their indifference to the government allowed at times widespread illegal tobacco growing (Issawi 1966:60). The slight amount of tobacco allowed by the Régie to remain for local consumption was at least doubled by the vast quantity of tobacco grown illegally on the arid slopes of remote valleys. Referred to as *acı,* bitter, or *kara,* black, this tobacco differed in quality from the cultivated market variety, *ayasuluk.* For decades it was searched out by government forces because of its illegal status.

## INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO TO MUĞLA

As a crop of principal commercial value, tobacco did not penetrate the highland districts of the *vilayet* of Muğla until after World War I. Local accounts of the history of tobacco in the highland valleys suggest, however, that the extensive presence of tobacco in the region dates back into the last century. Several early references indicate that tobacco may have an even earlier history in the region.

Perhaps the earliest reference to tobacco in this region occurs in the travel account of Evliya Çelebi who journeyed from Milas to Muğla and Ula in the seventeenth century. Visiting the large village of Eskihisar near Milas, Evliya Çelebi suggests that the general poverty of the inhabitants was mitigated by the profits they were able to realize from the "sale

95 The Régie experienced only a slow realization of profits. Figures from 1900-01 show that receipts totaled 2,209,418 Turkish liras and expenses were 1,929,471 T.L., leaving a net profit of only 279,947 T.L. (Velay 1903 :512).

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of their tobacco".[96] This account is surprising in its contradiction of the belief that for this period tobacco in Anatolia was extremely limited to select regions along the Aegean coast and did not exist in highland Menteşe.

Tobacco growing in Eskihisar and the general vicinity of Milas is mentioned again in several later accounts. Traveling near Milas in 1743-44, Pococke states :

> The country produces the best tobacco in Turkey, except that of Latichea, and exceeding the tobacco of Salonica; this together with cotton and wax is the principal trade of the place (1743-44:63).

Pococke's account is of further interest in that he makes no mention of the growing of olives, later to become Milas' dominant agricultural theme. A short time later, in 1764, the traveler Chandler visited Milas and Eskihisar. In Milas he found that

> The plain is surrounded by lofty mountains and cultivated; but was now parched and bare except some spots green with the tobacco plant, which was in flower, and pleasing to the eye (1775:187).

In Eskihisar he continues :

> Here the leaves were now gathered and hanging in strips against the walls of the cottages to dry. The use of it and of coffee has been prohibited under some sultans. The smoking of it, now so universal, was of 1610 a novel practice even at Constantinople . . . The Turks were then strangers to the plant, and content to purchase the refuse of the English market, not understanding the commodity (1775:187).

References to tobacco-growing farther into the highland interior are rare, and nonexistent for the vicinity of the towns of Muğla and Ula. A single reference for 1884 states that in addition to cereals, tobacco could be found in the region of Köyceğiz *(Aydın Salnamesi* 1884).

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96 ". . . halkı fukaralardar üzerlerine nuhuset müsterhi olmuş zira kar ve kisipleri tütün fürühtedip ekerler" is Eroğlu's (1939:176) transliteration of Evliya Çelebi's account.

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Tobacco of a commercial quality appears to have been introduced into the highland valleys of Muğla and Ula sometime shortly after the turn of the century. Independently working with outside contacts, small groups of *ağa*s, landlords, in both valleys were responsible for its introduction and subsequent early development.

At the turn of the present century, the majority of arable land in the region was owned by a small number of *ağa*s. Most of the land lay unproductive because of the expense involved in clearing and the lack of market demand for field crops. Urban-based and often well traveled, the *ağa*s were generally receptive to ideas and items originating outside the region. The initiation of tobacco as an eventually vital cash crop in the region came about in the hands of a few select charismatic leaders because of these outside contacts.

The village of Eskihisar near Muğla, described by Evliya Çelebi, Pococke, and Chandler, appears to have been the early center of some form of widespread tobacco growing. By 1880 this tobacco had not yet spread eastward to the next series of valleys. Although the foreign-owned Régie maintained field agents in Muğla, Bodrum, Milas, and Makri (Fethiye), evidence indicates that the function of these agents was only the local sale of government tobacco and not as overseers of local tobacco growing. As late as 1889-90, under the regulation of the Régie, tobacco of the *ayasuluk* type was cultivated only in the coastal district of Milas (Cuinet 1894:650). The illegal tobacco growing in the district around Eskihisar was a local variety which was unfit for export, grown illegally, and traded within the local market system reputedly unknown to Régie authorities.

The introduction of tobacco of a commercial quality in the region is a commentary on an early form of entrepreneurship. In the late 1880's one landholding lineage living in Muğla possessed extensive tracts of land near Eskihisar. Much of this land was administered by five remarkable brothers: Murad, Etin, Fuad, Hakki, and Mehmet. All graduates of a *medrese* or theological seminary in Muğla, they were members of a small, elite upper class of *ağa*s in Muğla active in politics. Further, they were well traveled, some as far as Constantinople.

More is known about Murad than about his brothers due to

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the fact that local accounts attribute him with the introduction of commercial tobacco to the region. As the oldest brother, Murad inherited the household leadership upon the death of his father and accepted responsibility for the overseeing of family estates. Murad early became acquainted with events in Smyrna and other areas. As an *ağa* he was responsible for providing hospitality to passing guests : merchants from Smyrna and Constantinople and government representatives from the Porte. In the role of community leader, Murad often acted as an intermediary with the Ottoman government on issues.

Murad developed into an imaginative owner of a vast estate. Besides contacts established without the need to leave Muğla, he had occasion to travel widely, transporting his own crops of wheat, maize, and sesame to markets in Aydın, Smyrna, and Constantinople. This in itself was a departure from the *ağas'* widespread practice of consigning produce to traders who in turn would seek out markets. Local accounts suggest that about 1887 Murad and his brother Fuad brought back seedlings from the Smyrna area of a tobacco of commercial quality with the intent of introducing it as an experimental crop. As well, Murad brought back with him a number of skilled Greek tobacco growers whom he employed to stay the entire growing season in order to teach locals how to grow the new type of tobacco for market production. Little is known of the details of the immediate success of this experiment.

Commercial tobacco growing began as an activity which only *ağas* could afford, and its subsequent development for a number of years remained in their hands. Most villagers either sharecropped or rented land from *ağas*, and were therefore not in a position to experiment with new crops. Many villagers, however, were early employed by *ağas* as tobacco laborers to work under Greek *ustas*, or master tobacco growers. Other villagers who owned small patches of land could not afford seedlings, outside advice, and the risk of finding on their own yet incipient markets for tobacco. For over half a century, after its introduction in 1887, tobacco remained an *ağas'* crop, grown on their estates with employed rural and urban labor.

The tobacco grown in Eskihisar was introduced into the valley of Muğla shortly after 1900 by an *ağa* related to Murad

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and Fuad. Belonging to a prominent landholding lineage, this *ağa* was experienced, as was Murad, in managing his father's estate and in seeking markets outside the Muğla area. By the age of twenty-five he had visited Konya, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Iskenderun to the east.

According to local accounts, this *ağa* was by 1901 growing tobacco in the vicinity of Muğla. He encouraged his father's brother and several other *ağa*s also to plant limited amounts of tobacco. Supposedly by 1914 in the area of Düğrek village alone, 150 *dönüm*s of tobacco were under cultivation, with his share amounting to about fifty *dönüm*s. However, until World War I only about twenty large landowners were involved in tobacco growing.

Tobacco *ağa*s experienced local and external opposition. From other *ağa*s, friction arose as a result of their fear that tobacco growing would raise the cost of local labor. By World War I it had become more lucrative for laborers to work for tobacco-growing *ağa*s than for *ağa*s growing traditional crops because of the "piecework" aspect of wage payments for tobacco. A laborer could increase his income by increasing his share of labor.

Opposition from the outside came from a highly protective and belligerent Régie. The spread of commercial quality tobacco had occurred generally without permission of the Régie. Local tobacco *ağa*s were resentful of a system which taxed the sale of produce and rigidly prescribed the quantity which could remain locally. "Sell today for 20; buy back tomorrow for 100" was a criticism made by these *ağa*s.

Tobacco *ağa*s met the opposition of the Régie with force. Representing the Régie's interest, an armed force marched on the village of Düğrek, near the town of Muğla, sometime in 1904 to put a stop to the illicit growing of tobacco. Forewarned, the *ağa*s organized the villagers, arming men with guns and women with stones. Thus prepared when Régie forces entered the village square, one *ağa* reputedly stepped forth and as a symbolic gesture threw a sack of bullets at the feet of Régie officials. An agreement was reached forestalling armed conflict. However, the Régie was ineffective for the scope of its problem.

The introduction of tobacco into the county of Ula probably

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was in some sense contingent upon developments in Düğrek and Eskihisar. As described in Chapter 3, around the turn of the present century the leading *ağa* families in Ula possessed most of the economic and political leadership in the town. At this time merchants had not yet made significant inroads into control of the economic power held by the few ruling families based upon the extensive possession of land. The descendants of Hacı Ali Ağa, living in the town quarter of the same name in Ula, had by 1900 entrenched their activities in most town affairs. As one of the largest landholding lineages in the town, they controlled land not only in and about Ula but in the nearby village districts of Yenice, Yerkesik, and Kızılağaç as well, and in the coastal valley of Gökova. Sons of the family were assigned to the management of family lands in the various localities. Two brothers, Bahattin and Ali, traveled frequently to Smyrna to find markets for certain of their crops, particularly oats. During the course of their journeys, supposedly Bahattin formed a close relationship with an Armenian tobacco broker in Smyrna known as Çatal Sakal. Çatal Sakal visited Ula shortly before 1910 and encouraged Bahattin and Ali to consider growing tobacco on some of the ideal dry upper slopes of the valley sides.

Similar to the situation in Eskihisar and Düğrek, the initial stage of introduction of the crop involved the importation of skilled planters and seedlings of excellent quality. Çatal Sakal supposedly was influential in obtaining both Greeks and seedlings for Ula. He reputedly pressured the Turkish *kaymakam,* or county governor, of the Turkish-held island of Sömbeki between Rhodes and the mainland to allow Greek tobacco growers to leave the island and go to Ula. For seven or eight years until World War I ended their free movement, these men resided in Ula without their families during the spring and summer to undertake the seasonal task of supervising tobacco work.

During the first years of planting, tobacco was restricted to fields about Ula and the nearby villages of Yenice and Kızılağaç, all localities with dry highland valley slopes. Reputedly, in the first year as much as 300 *dönüm*s of tobacco were planted, a figure, although probably somewhat exaggerated, still indicative of its extensiveness.

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World War I and the subsequent Turkish War of Independence brought the fledgling tobacco industry in the highland valleys to a standstill. Draining Ula of the manpower needed for tobacco growing, the wars also closed the purchasing markets in Izmir. Following the end of the war, the growing of tobacco commenced again, and with an impetus not seen earlier. In the period ending just before World War II, Turkey's share of the world tobacco market rose to 7.2 % and in the thirteen years between 1933 and 1946 the selling price of tobacco increased eightfold (Aktan 1955:211, 214). Encouraged by the reopening of strong markets and an increased number of dependent local laborers including women and children, tobacco spread rapidly, replacing steadily the growing of cereals. *Ağa*s who before World War I had looked upon the experimental crop with some scepticism now began to convert fields to tobacco.

Not only were Greek *usta*s or masters no longer needed nor available, but seedlings began to be grown locally on the moist slopes of coastal plains rather than imported from outside the region. The malaria-ridden plain of Gökova supplied the needed seedlings for highland planting. In 1922 in the vicinity of the coastal village of Akyaka in Gökova, experimental fields of tobacco were planted. Growers were encouraged by the results, for they found that the moist near-swampy conditions of the soil yielded larger leaves, albeit of a lower quality tobacco, thereby increasing the kiloage of a given field. This reasoning, proven misleading within three decades, converted Gökova into a sea of tobacco.[97]

The early success of tobacco could not have occurred without the existence of an already organized market for the product. One result of half a century of tobacco exportation by the Régie had been the creation of a functioning market atmosphere by World War I in which a demand for Turkish tobacco was often intense. Local tobacco not disposed of through Régie channels was taken from Ula to Smyrna by

97 The subsequent eastern spread of tobacco through the province is little documented. A single reference suggests that tobacco was grown in Fethiye by 1924 (Eroğlu 1939:273), a date easy to understand within the context of the post-war intensification of a number of cash crops.

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merchants and *ağa*s, an overland trip of five days. There tobacco was often exchanged for western goods. One local *ağa* recalls that the first pair of "western" type shoes was taken back to Ula from such an exchange.

Not only did the means to stimulate tobacco production flow along these channels of early contact with urban markets, but ideas and items as well. Through tobacco, cultivation was extended to include mountain slopes and swamplands of the plain. *Ağa*s added to their role as community leaders that of the control of the large labor market needed for the extensive growing of tobacco. The subsequent meteoric rise of tobacco as a cash crop saw the diffusion of the crop from principally *ağa* domination to small growers through the region. Today few areas or families exist where the ubiquitous crop does not leave an impress upon the physical and social landscape.

## LABOR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

### THE PRESENT AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

*Differences in elevation.* — Tobacco is grown both in the coastal plain of Gökova and in highland valleys at 600 meters. Climatic differences resulting from elevational extremes are pronounced enough to provide different growing schedules for highland and coast. In general, Gökova's earlier warm season puts the raising of seedlings from one to two weeks earlier and their transfer to fields up to one month earlier than in the highlands.

*Raising the seedling (Fidelik).* — Few growers raise their own seedlings, for it is a delicate and time-consuming job requiring ideal climatic conditions. Rather, the raising of seedlings is a specialized activity performed by a limited number of households who supply for a large number of growers. It is restricted to areas sheltered from wind, generally on the slopes of coastal plains where warm days come early and there is little danger of frost. Three *mahalle*s of the village of Gökova: Yazılıtaş, Kozluköyü, and Akyaka, provide most of the seedlings for growers in the Ula region.

The work is seasonal and highly profitable. It involves both

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sexes, spans a period approximately from February through early May, and requires several hours a day of watering, weed control, and night coverage to protect the young seedlings. For four months' work it is claimed that a family can profit from 5,000 to 10,000 T.L., with expenses including time, care, manure, water, and other items of maintenance. It is a lucrative business requiring little capital and few months of the year, allowing time for obtaining other sources of income. Furthermore, it is a business for which the monetary returns are known, in contrast to the grower of the mature plant whose return is determined by the national market for the leaf.

The time for starting the seedlings depends greatly upon when the grower desires to transplant them to his field. Fields dry-farmed require early planting, as well as do fields poorly fertilized. Generally a seedling started in mid-February is ready for transfer by mid-April, a pattern occurring on the coastal plains. Highland transplanting generally takes place later, around May 1.

*Preparation of the fields.* — The three primary field situations which obtain are: (a) coastal moist sandy-clay soil; (b) highland valley bottom red soils which are drier; and (c) highland arid slopes which rise above the valley bottoms. Fields located on the slopes are almost exclusively dry farmed, in contrast to the mixed irrigation and dry farming practiced on the coast and valley bottoms. Almost 90 % of all tobacco fields in the vicinity of the town are irrigated, as opposed to only 10 % near the mountain villages. Three plowings by a hired plowman take place before the field is considered ready for planting. These plowings are spaced two months before planting (the *aktarma*—to turn), one month before (the *ikileme*— to double), and a final plowing three days before planting (the *üçleme*—to triple). All fields are fertilized by a variety of agents, each considered to have different lasting effects. Chemical fertilizers supposedly retain their effectiveness for only six months, goat manure for three years, cattle manure for four years, sheep manure for seven years, and particles of leather for five to ten years. The acidity, fertility, and moisture of various soils is keenly perceived and yields a plethora of agricultural lore.

*Transferring the seedling to the field (Dikme).* — When

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the fields are ready, by no means a decision of consensus, the planting or *dikme* takes place. The seedlings are carefully spaced in rows in the freshly turned earth. Five women can plant a single *dönüm* within an eight hour period. Generally, however, two individuals will labor over a field for several days if unable to obtain aid from neighbors. Only by opening the rows with a hoe are men involved in planting. In Ula the actual planting, cultivation, and harvest is considered women's work.

*Hoeing (Çapa).* — About three to four weeks after planting, the entire field is hoed. With some care the earth around each plant is loosened, weeds removed, and if irrigation is used, small channels formed to aid drainage. A second hoeing is done immediately following a rain or, failing that, about fifteen to twenty days after the first. A third follows about twenty days after the second hoeing. Because the planting of the seedlings is staggered, the work is continuous for over one month.

Rising well before sunrise, the women start off to the fields to take advantage of the morning coolness. By mid-afternoon the heat becomes too great for the strenuous work of hoeing. Hoeing, a woman's task, is strenuous enough that men occasionally help, taking time off from their stores and workshops.

*Harvest (Kırma).* — By late July or early August, the harvest begins. A test—the manner in which the bottom leaves break from the stem—determines when the time has arrived. Orientation of the field to the sun, soil condition, moisture, and other factors allow harvest to begin earlier in some places than in others. Beginning with the lower leaves first, and leaving approximately fifteen day intervals between pickings, each of the five levels of leaves is picked until the small crown leaves, the *cimete,* are reached, often as much as two months later.

The harvest takes place at the time of the most intense heat of summer. During this period women depart for the fields about 2:00 a.m., carrying large wicker baskets for collection of the leaves. As they are picked, the leaves are placed in the basket carefully in bunches to facilitate their stringing later. The women work steadily until mid-morning, at which time the heat causes the leaves to wilt, becoming difficult to pick.

Afternoons are spent in stringing the morning's harvest,

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again an activity performed by women, often with the help of children. The leaves are first speared onto a metal rod. When filled, a cord is threaded through the eye at one end of the rod and the rod pulled out of the leaves, leaving them threaded on the cord "rack" for eventual drying.

*Drying (Kuruma).* — After stringing, the racks of leaves are displayed in rows in a sunny, airy place to permit complete circulation of air and exposure to the sun. After one week they are removed from the supports and placed directly on the ground three days on each side. If after three days they are still not ready, they are sprayed with water and allowed to dry again. When they have reached the desired stage of browning they are withdrawn from the drying area and placed in windowless storage rooms for further drying.

In November and December the few individuals possessing bale presses circulate through the village or town and, for a fee, neatly pack and press the dried leaves into a compact bale of a specific weight. The bale, tightly pressed and bound with a burlap wrapper, is the culmination of a process begun more than six months earlier.

*Sale (Satış).* — In late December or January, tobacco representatives of the government monopoly and private concerns visit most growers and estimate the quality of their tobacco. Noting the quantity and secretly indicating the quality, the estimator departs, not to return again until the day of sale.

The growers must wait for the official government announcement opening the market and statement of the top price to be offered for the best quality tobacco that year by the government monopoly. This top price is a ministry decision applicable for the whole of Turkey and based upon a complicated number of variables. The fixing of this price, the *baş fiyat,* automatically sets the government prices to be paid for tobacco of increasingly inferior quality.

On the day the market opens, generally sometime in February, the growers gather in the town square of Ula to await bids on their tobacco. Representatives of both the government and private companies confer with individual growers, quoting the prices they are offering for the different qualities involved, their evaluation of the grower's tobacco, and stating the amount of his crop they are willing to buy.

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It is at this time that the grower first learns of the monetary evaluation of his crop. Estimates on his crop may differ between the government and private companies, and he must then decide which bid he will accept. This is a decision based not only on who presented the highest bid but as well on who will buy the largest amount of his crop, for he is not guaranteed the sale of his entire crop.

In broad outline, the progression from seedling to sale involves decision-making based upon environmental variables and social factors in the recruitment of labor. But similar to other commercial crops, tobacco is a political crop in communities of small scale such as Ula. At most steps in the process, from the obtaining of credit and the renting of fields to favorable sale of one's crop, decision-making is in part governed by the framework of local politics. Following the fragmentation of large estates and the dissolution of *ağa* control over tobacco production, political considerations have not lessened but have shifted from traditional authority to the new symbols of political partisanship.

## ORGANIZATION AND RECRUITMENT OF LABOR

As an urban center, Ula historically has provided livelihoods for townsmen through activities such as trade, crafts, and administration. It is also evident that Ula's narrow base of economic opportunities has propelled townsmen outward to sell their labor in various contexts. Local accounts suggest that at the turn of this century scores of townsmen worked throughout the province as agricultural laborers and at tasks such as the exploitation of forest resources. In the latter context it is estimated that in 1900 at least 200 men from Ula were employed in forests extracting sweet gum from the *Liquidambar orientalis* tree.

The majority of households, however, in their search to supplement or gain a livelihood from sources other than those provided by urban functions, entered into one or another of the prevailing types of labor agreements with dominant landholding *ağas*. A brief survey of the nature of these contractual relations indicates that labor was marketed well before World War I. More importantly, the initial phases of the development

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of tobacco as a cash crop took advantage of the then existing agricultural labor market which was largely composed of needy townsmen.

By 1920 several systems of recruiting labor were coexistent and were used by all *ağa*s. The main relations were *bedel, ortaklık* and *yarıcılık, ödünç,* and *amelelik,* in order of their discussion below.

The first, *bedel,* a word implying "substitute" or "in lieu of", designates a contractual work system in which only the poorest engaged. The equivalent of a migrant laborer, such a worker traveled alone or with other men throughout the province until he found a landowner willing to contract with him for his labor. He agreed to do a specific task for a specific return, usually a payment in kind. During the course of his labor he was supplied with food, lodging, and often clothing, some of the cost of which was deducted from his final payment which occurred at harvest time.

The terms *ortaklık* and *yarıcılık* refer to two forms of sharecropping, here considered together. Sharecropping was a particularly advantageous situation for both *ağa* and tenant sharecropper. It made it possible for an individual with neither land nor initial capital to secure both without incurring great risk. Before World War I this system was found more in cereal cultivation than in gardens, vineyards, or tobacco fields. Depending on the crop, *ağa* and sharecropper contracted for specific fields, often traditionally the same fields upon which the sharecropper had previously worked, and agreed that all expenses would be shared equally and the produce divided similarly. Often the *ağa* extended to the sharecropper the equivalence of his expenses, later to be deducted from the cropper's one-half share of the profit. Often too, the time horizon of debt extended over several years, the sharecropper thereby entering into each annual contract with a previous indebtedness. Contrary to practices in other areas, however, in Ula the *ağa*'s share of the profit did not exceed 50 % of the return.

Sharecropping as described above became more widespread in the period from 1943 to 1950 at a time when tobacco growing increased in tempo. During this period it probably accounted for more than 50 % of peasant-*ağa* contractual re-

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lations. The increased settlement of nomadic groups in Gökova during this period contributed significantly to this situation. Settling in forest zones just above the perimeter of *ağa*s' fields, they began long-term clientage relations with local *ağa*s. Sharecropping remains, to the present, a way of life for many and a source of supplemental income for still others.[98] Its decrease in importance in recent years is a result of increased financial alternatives and the effective operation of credit cooperatives and banks. Since 1950 the purchase and rental of land, alternatives to sharecropping, have operated to the advantage of the small agriculturalist and to the disadvantage of the *ağa*.

Another form of labor recruitment used in Ula is *ödünç,* or debt labor. During peak periods of agricultural activity, additional labor beyond that supplied by the household work force is sometimes required. This requirement is satisfied by an informal exchange of labor between neighbors. These work-exchange groups often do not include kin if the relatives live in another *mahalle* and can themselves draw upon their own neighbors for labor. An informal but accurate tally is kept of who owes whom labor time. The main criteria for establishing these transitory work groups are that reciprocal need occur, residential proximity obtain, and that members not be in a state of *konuşmaz* or quarrel with one another. Affinal ties are but of tertiary importance.

This type of neighbor cooperation is a relatively recent form of recruitment. In the past, when few families owned fields of their own and wage labor was sought for instead of quietly obtained, there was little need of *ödünç* labor. With increasing ownership of land by individuals and distaste for "hiring oneself out", however, the need for an alternate system of obtaining aid has increased.[99]

The final form of labor recruitment to be considered here is that of *amelelik,* or salaried labor. This became the dominant

98 The villages of Çıtlık, Portakallık, Gökova, and Akçapınar, on the plain of Gökova, at the present time still have extensive amounts of land under some form of sharecropping.

99 In this connection in Ula the term *imece* is used for work groups not necessarily requiring reciprocity, e.g. groups composed of kin-related members, Normally imece refers to community projects requiring the labor of the village as a united group (Szyliowicz 1966:39).

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means of labor recruitment by *ağa*s following World War I. Often the occurrence of sharecropping versus salaried labor rested on the distance of the fields from the town. If great, a form of sharecropping was used, but most fields in the vicinity of town or village were worked on a "piecework" system by mass labor, as described below. This system declined after World War II, upon the fragmentation of large estates and increase in private ownership.

The annual cycle for tobacco growing today is not much different than that practiced forty years ago when tobacco growing was still in its infancy in Ula. However, the structure of the labor force has, in the intervening years, undergone radical changes. The elaborate hierarchy of labor structure once found on large estates has given way to the cottage-type working of small family holdings of today.

The position of *kâhya* was an important one forty years ago under the *amelelik* system of labor. As steward of part of an *ağa*'s estate, the *kâhya* was provided a stipend and dwelling by the *ağa* and usually managed about twenty-five *dönüm*s of land. Selected for his acumen, the *kâhya* oversaw the entire tobacco cycle, organizing the labor force and directing each stage of cultivation. Under his close supervision, the young seedlings were started in Gökova and transported by camel to the *ağa*'s storage house in Ula when ready for planting. The *kâhya* also obtained the plowman to turn the soil the necessary three times before planting and recruited men to open the rows in preparation for the seedlings. Unable by tradition to deal directly with women, he appointed one woman as *postabaşı* to recruit other women for the actual planting.

Working a total of nine to ten hours, an ideal work force of thirty people could plant about four *dönüm*s in one day. This work force ideally consisted of four men to open the rows, and three old people (*onarmacı*s) who took the seedlings from the basket and cleaned them before handing them to the three children *(dağıtıcı*s*)* who gave them to the twenty women doing the planting. For one day's work the men received 50 kuruş, the planters 25 kuruş, the old people 20 kuruş, and the children 12-1/2 kuruş.

At harvest time the work force was composed of women, a practice which remains today. Roused in the early morning

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by the *postabaşı,* they worked steadily until 10:00 a.m. Assigned her own basket, each woman filled it with tobacco leaves, stringing them during the afternoon and bringing them to the *kırmandal,* or depot belonging to the *ağa,* in the evening. A woman could usually pick one basket of short leaves or two of long leaves in one day, taking her about five to six hours to string two baskets. She was paid one kuruş for every *değnek,* or cord rack about two meters long, strung with leaves. The number of *değnek*s, and therefore the amount of revenue obtainable from one afternoon's work of stringing, varied with the level of leaves currently being picked from the tobacco plant. The bottom leaves or *kulak* yielded about ten *değnek,* the second level 15-20 *değnek,* the third and fourth levels thirty *değnek* each, the fifth level 20-30 *değnek,* and the final level, the *cimete,* about 4-8 *değnek.* Only this last level of very small leaves brought a higher price for stringing, the rate being two kuruş per *değnek* rather than one. In an average year a woman working for an *ağa* in his tobacco fields might make twenty-five to thirty liras in wages.

This system of wage labor overseen by a *kâhya* remained in effect until World War II. Towards the close of its era about eight large landholders in Ula practiced this means of labor recruitment for their tobacco fields. Around 1935 sharecropping increased as an alternative to the system, and by 1950 about twenty large landholders were farming their lands on a sharecrop basis.

Tobacco is no longer worked with large salaried labor forces in the county of Ula today. The parcelization of land has placed small patches of two to five *dönüm*s of land in the hands of townsmen and villagers alike (Figure 7). As a crop, tobacco is adaptable in this way. It can be worked on a large scale, yet it is also amenable to growing by individual households on areas as small as a single *dönüm.* Throughout Gökova and Ula one can still see the remnants of an era of mass labor forces. The abandoned long *kırmandal* depot and work areas are gaunt reminders of an economic period when an elite few held extensive control. In contrast, the neighboring valley of Muğla still contains large estates. Hundreds of migrant laborers still come there to work the fields of the *ağas* in a fashion not so different from that in Ula decades ago.

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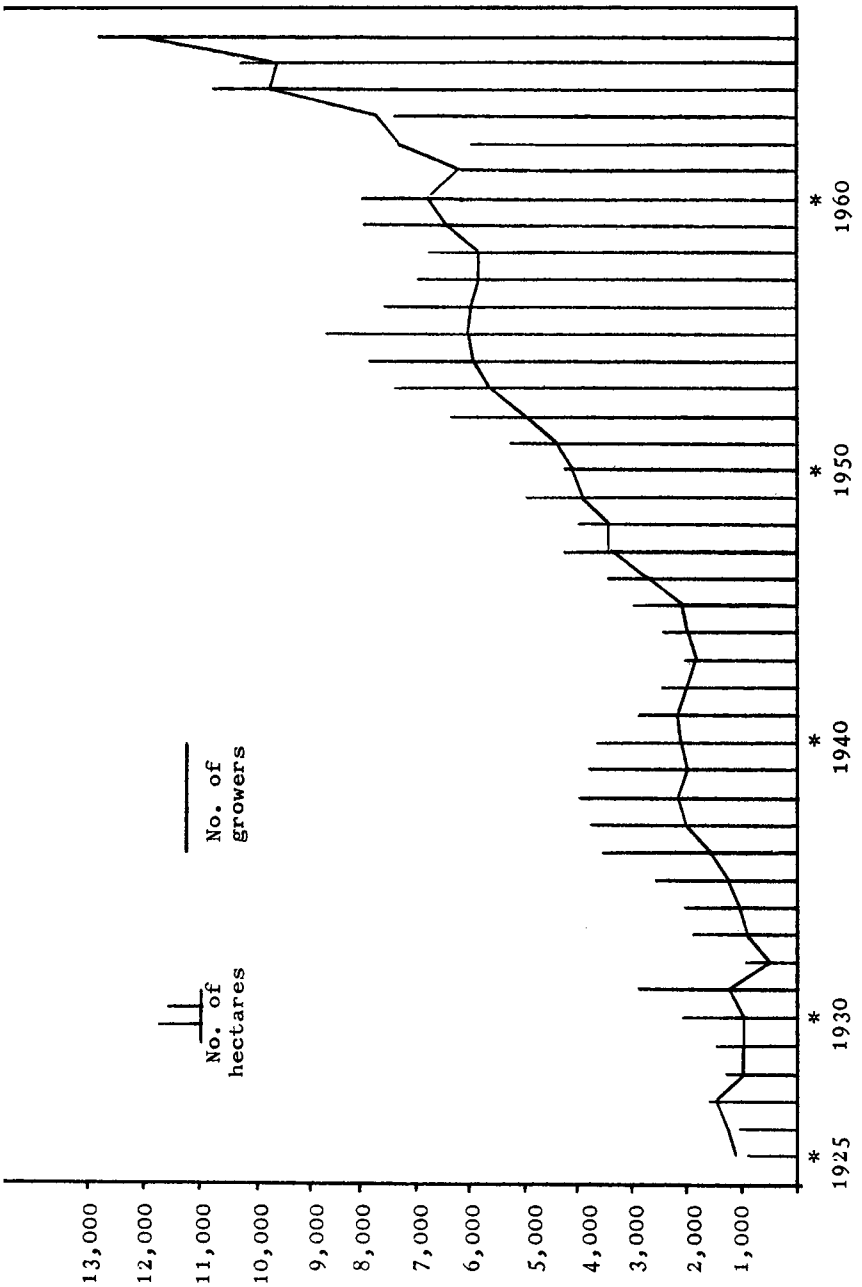



Figure 7. Correlation Between Land Devoted to Tobacco and Number of Growers for the Combined Counties of Muğla - Yatağan - Ula Between 1925 and 1966. Source: Unpublished data of the Ministry of Agriculture.

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The antiquity of a labor market for Ula is difficult to determine. It is clear, however, that by 1900 Ula was exporting a sizeable work force, a force land-poor and unskilled in the crafts afforded by urban functions. These men found it possible to sell their labor in agricultural fields and neighboring forests in exchange for cash and, in some cases, produce. A sizeable number engaged in itinerant retailing of numerous products. For its size, an inordinate number of itinerant marketeers set forth from Ula to obtain an income from wider consumer areas. Factors which haunted Ula's economic structure half a century ago are still effective today. For its size as an urban center, Ula's land is too minimal and too unproductive to support its population. If its rural population in the past used Ula little because of isolation and few demands, today it bypasses Ula because of easy access to centers higher in the urban hierarchy.

Well over 25 % of Ula's economically active population today continues to sell its labor in one form or another. The word *amele,* however, is degrading. It means not only "laborer" but, for a male, implies a lack of skills for a craft, acumen for a business, or enough education for an administrative task. Most day-wage jobs are for women who supplement their husband's or father's failing income in this manner, and there exists a well-defined network of communication which allows a woman to receive word of work quickly. It is particularly demeaning to have one's mother, sister, wife, or daughter work as a day laborer collecting wood, stripping bay leaves from their stems, hoeing a garden, cultivating a vineyard, or, in days past, working in another's tobacco field. The comment that someone's wife supplements an income as a laborer initiates much discussion on her husband's qualities, then on her own, and finally on the deplorable state of town economy; a town which they say "compels its children to shame themselves to live".

Tobacco growing is a painstaking task involving hand labor at each stage. As a crop grown within a landholding system of acute field fragmentation, it lends itself to family-size work groups. Yet for the same reasons it does not lend itself to mechanization. With the exception of motorized irrigation

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employed in some areas, the growing of tobacco around Ula involves hand labor exclusively.

Exclusive hand labor is one aspect of tobacco growing. Exclusive female labor is the second. The recruitment of such labor within the family depends upon the health of the household head's wife and the number of unmarried females and in-marrying affines found in the family. The loyalty and willingness of this latter group, composed of sons' wives, is complicated by the strong patrilineal natal ties which persist for a woman even after her marriage. Often disputes occur because a bride is required not only to work the tobacco fields of her husband's household but is expected as well to give assistance, when required, to her natal household.

The work is exhausting. A single *dönüm* of land worked by only two women requires three to five days to plant, two days for each period of hoeing, and two days for picking each leaf cluster level, amounting to about a month of continuous harvest labor. To this must be added the extended process of stringing and drying the leaves, all occurring at a time of the year when the preparation of foods for winter consumption must also be done. "Tobacco", says an Ula proverb, "brings work to the unemployed and trouble to the untroubled" *(Tütün işsize iş dertsize dert getirir)*. The equivalent of almost two months of labor, therefore, can occupy two women on the small parcel of one *dönüm* of land.

## FINANCING

In addition to problems of recruitment and organization of labor, households involved in tobacco growing must cope with expenditures peculiar to tobacco. One example involves a family consisting of a household head who works as a craftsman, his widowed mother, his wife, and his two children, both too young to work in the fields. This household in part owns and in part rents 3-1/2 *dönüms* of land. Its operational expenses for tobacco alone in 1966 were :

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Rent on part of 3-1/2 *dönüms* | 450 | T.L. |
| 2. Seedlings purchased in Gökova | 150 | |
| 3. Plowman for tilling | 200 | |
| 4. Water rights in irrigation network | 325 | |
| 5. Fertilizer | 60 | |
| 6. Outside labor | 100 | |
| 7. Baling of tobacco | 50 | |
| 8. Transportation | 15 | |
| 9. Miscellaneous | 50 | |
| Total | 1,400 | T.L.[100] |

The yield from the 3-1/2 *dönüms* was approximately 350 kilos of tobacco in 1966. This tobacco was sold for an average of 7.50 T.L. a kilo, yielding an income of approximately 2,500 T.L. Expenses totaling 1,400 T.L. left a profit of 1,100 T.L. Adding this to the household head's annual income from tailoring of 4,000 T.L., the total household income for 1966 was 5,000 T.L. Average educational, medical, and daily living expenses and payment on past debts exhausted the entire income of 5,000 T.L. However, the household considered 1966 to have been a good year because it did not increase its existing outstanding debt.

This household's budget has several factors in common with that of many households: (a) from year to year the household carries an outstanding debt; (b) the annual income is seldom above the annual expenditures; and (c) each year's tobacco season must be faced by borrowing a major sum of money for operational costs. This annual necessity to borrow is satisfied by three lending sources located within the town: the *Tarım Kredi Kooperatifi* (Agricultural Credit Cooperative), the *Ziraat Bankası* (Agricultural Bank), and the *Tütüncüler Bankası* (Tobacco Growers' Bank).

In 1929 the *Tarım Kredi Kooperatifi* (T.K.K.) was created through the passing of Law 2836 (Atasağun 1940:48). The T.K.K. was rapidly instituted within the various provinces to provide credit for the improvement of crop production. The

100 A charge of 7 % interest on money borrowed from a credit institution must be added to this figure.

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following year local branches had so proliferated in the province of Muğla that on August 21, 1930, a branch was founded for the *nahiye* of Gökova (Ula). In 1932 the province had ten branches and 1,680 members (debtors), rising to thirteen branches and 2,508 members by 1938 (Atasağun 1940:73). By the early 1950's the success of the cooperative was evidenced by twenty-two branches and 10,595 members within the province (Fındıkoğlu 1953:132).

Initially, only large landowners took advantage of the cooperative. Prior to the post-World War II period of tobacco intensification, the number of small landowners was indeed slight. Those who did own one to two *dönüms* of land adjacent to the town utilized this land solely for vineyards and vegetable gardens, preferring to rent or sharecrop land for the planting of tobacco. During this early period, large landowners borrowed from the T.K.K. in order to meet the expenditures of tenant farmers working on a sharecrop basis. However, the T.K.K. did not directly increase capital available for use in the purchase of land. Rather, because of charter restrictions, money for the purchase of fields was available only through banks.

After 1946, three trends developed stimulating the entrance of the small grower into the tobacco market. Increased bank capital was made available for land purchase, hastening the process of the fragmentation of estates. Further, because a renter could borrow 800 to 1,600 T.L. from the T.K.K. for improvement of tobacco production, individuals in increasing numbers shifted from sharecropping to the rental of land. And finally, as the religious objections to the interest charge of 7 % on loans lessened, more individuals took advantage of T.K.K. services.

Credit for tobacco became easily obtainable through the T.K.K. for the grower. An individual need only inscribe as a member and place with the cooperative 10 % of the loan desired, for example 150 T.L. for a loan of 1,500 T.L. Then at the time of tobacco sale, the loan is repaid with 7 % interest on the principal. The amount of credit extended to a grower, however, is influenced by the disposition of the land to be worked, a renter receiving a more limited amount of credit than one who owns his own fields. The Ula branch of the T.K.K.

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*Table 13*

*Development of the agricultural credit cooperative for the county of Ula between the years 1937 and 1966*[a]

| Year | Number of Members | Credit Extended (T.L.) | Members' Capital (T.L.) | Loans from Bank[b] (T.L.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | 200 | 20,000 | 1,750 | 11,000 |
| 1940 | 277 | 35,000 | 14,000 | 18,000 |
| 1945 | 318 | 89,500 | 21,100 | 61,000 |
| 1950 | 676 | 287,000 | 58,000 | 118,000 |
| 1955 | 934 | 458,000 | 96,000 | 324,000 |
| 1960 | 1,104 | 664,262 | 132,455 | 458,587 |
| 1965 | 1,285 | 1,642,982 | 257,431 | 1,196,192 |
| 1966 | 1,316 | 1,909,869 | 278,822 | 1,418,503 |

a Source: Unpublished data of the Ula branch of the T.K.K.

b The cooperative's real capital is comprised of the difference between credit extended and the capital received from members' contributions and bank loans.

has experienced a rapid increase in membership and a solid financial growth (Table 13). Within the first nine months of 1967, the T.K.K. extended 1,932,074 T.L. in credit to 1,389 growers within the county of Ula, or approximately 1,400 T.L. per grower.[101]

The T.K.K. is not the only source of credit available to individuals for tobacco growing in the county of Ula. Local branches of two national banks operate in Ula, the Tütüncüler Bankası, opened in 1954, and the Ziraat Bankası, opened in 1959. Prior to that time the residents of Ula used the branches of several banks located in nearby Muğla. An analysis of the records of both Ula banks indicates not only a chronological increase in capital available to growers and to merchants, a topic to be discussed below, but a dramatic increase as well in the use of the banks as depositories of savings and as sources of capital for small entrepreneurial ventures. Both bank directors believe that a decline in the religiously-based abhorrence of paying or accepting interest on money and a greater

101 The 1,389 growers using the T.K.K. represent approximately one-half of the total number of growers within the county of Ula in 1967.

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economic sophistication has accounted directly for the changed attitudes and practices on the part of villagers and townsmen.

The two banks and the T.K.K. equally provide easy access to credit for townsmen and villagers. Greater use of the government credit cooperative is governed by the larger amount of capital available to the cooperative. The T.K.K. loans twice that loaned by the banks combined. The banks are, however, more diversified in the types of agricultural credit extended. The Ziraat Bankası between 1963 and 1966 showed major increases on loans for plowing, fertilizer, irrigation, purchase of land, seedlings, viticulture, and other activities. In 1963, for this bank alone, agricultural debtors amounted to 351, borrowing 947,271 T.L. By 1966 this amount had increased to 786 individuals using 1,282,436 T.L. in credit.[102]

The number of tobacco growers and the amount of credit extended to them have both increased significantly in the county of Ula over the past few decades. Drawing upon statistics provided by all three agricultural credit lending agencies in Ula, the following increases may be viewed for three select periods: 1955 credit: 468,615 T.L., growers: 1,237; 1960 credit: 1,008,277 T.L., growers: 1,642; 1966 credit: 3,080,569 T.L., growers: approximately 2,000. Although the figures for credit are reliable, the number of growers is deceiving. Figures on the number of growers for each year indicate only roughly those people, both with and without credit, who listed themselves as sellers of tobacco at the end of the season but masks the army of individuals underlying the work in tobacco fields and depending upon the tobacco income. Table 14 provides a general view of the effect which expansion of credit opportunities has had upon the tobacco situation. However, it should be emphasized that tobacco is but one item which was affected during the "golden age" of the 1950's when credit everywhere became more easily obtainable. Merchants and a variety of fledgling entrepreneurs as well benefitted from the expansion of credit, aiding in the creation of a new economy.

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102 Personal communication, Director of the Ziraat Bankası.

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*Table 14*
*Data concerning tobacco for the county of Ula from 1953 through 1967*[a]

| Year | Hectares under Cultivation | Number of Growers[b] | Production in kilos[c] | Average Price per kilo[d] (T.L.) | District Income[e] (T.L.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1953 | 1,234 | 1,224 | 854,068 | | |
| 1954 | 1,100 | 1,237 | 675,046 | | |
| 1955 | 1,211 | 1,477 | 772,585 | | |
| 1956 | 1,375 | 1,510 | 854,850 | | |
| 1957 | 1,217 | 1,473 | 1,036,928 | 2.62 | |
| 1958 | 1,118 | 1,486 | 616,620 | 4.24 | |
| 1959 | 1,275 | 1,578 | 782,391 | 5.14 | |
| 1960 | 1,378 | 1,642 | 934,820 | 4.31 | 2,491,217 |
| 1961 | 945 | 1,505 | 667,744 | 7.38 | 4,794,393 |
| 1962 | 1,184 | 1,727 | 727,330 | 10.25 | 8,238,049 |
| 1963 | 1,305 | 2,073 | 771,937 | 9.31 | 6,715,964 |
| 1964 | 1,664 | 2,335 | 1,382,656 | 7.13 | 9.683,514 |
| 1965 | 1,496 | 2,480 | 1,145,992 | 7.09 | 8,094,720 |
| 1966 | 1,713 | 2,910 | 1,205,820 | 7.37 | 8,790,744 |
| 1967 | 2,176 | 3,114 | (?) | | |

a Source: Unpublished data of the Ula branch of the State Monopoly *(Ula Tekel Müdürlüğü)* and of the Muğla headquarters of the State Monopoly *(Muğla Tekei Başmüdürlüğü)*.

b Number of growers means individuals who present tobacco for evaluation and eventual sale. Many more growers exist who are not registered.

c Collected in depots through sale. Not representative of total kiloage.

d Average price is derived from highest *(baş fiyat)* and lowest prices.

e Indicates growers' income from sales to private and government buyers.

## PROBLEMS OF GOLDEN GROWTH

From seedling to sale, the production of tobacco is ultimately linked to wider political considerations. The people of Ula generally view the agricultural policies of the Republican People's Party *(Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* — CHP) and the Justice Party *(Adalet Partisi* — AP) as quite different from one another. Their political awareness focuses on the particular issue of the tobacco market and more generally on the historical issue of state control versus the encouragement of private enterprise. The omnipresent dialogue linking local eco-

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nomic fortunes and misfortunes to political policies is of importance throughout Ula. Although the nature of this importance can be illustrated from various stages in the production of tobacco, it is the sale of tobacco and events related to it which are most instructive in understanding the often acute polarization of community relationships.

After the harvested tobacco has been baled, estimators from the State Monopoly and foreign private companies set forth to analyze the year's harvest wherever tobacco is grown in Turkey. Visiting all growers interested in selling their tobacco, the estimators over a period of some weeks record the quantity and quality of each grower's tobacco, keeping the latter secret from the grower. Estimators in 1966 visited at least 2,900 growers in the county of Ula (Table 14) and examined as many as 24,000 bales of tobacco, of which 8,000 - 10,000 bales were the produce of town growers.

The choice and methods of tobacco estimators for Ula are a controversial issue. Often themselves locals well known in Ula, the estimators are as well often growers of tobacco and generally members of one or another political party. Much contention arises out of this situation in which political affiliation reputedly at times influences the evaluation of crops. Some estimators are also thought to favor large companies over the growers in cases of reputed presale arrangements. Normally tobacco harvested in the fall of one year is not sold until February of the next and payment not made until a few months later. Somewhat fearful of the poor prices offered at the February public sale, some growers sell their tobacco early, at the time they are contacted by estimators in the fall. Tempted by the prospect of immediate cash and distrustful of the normal market mechanism, these growers are willing to sell high quality tobacco for an often low price. Many CHP growers favoring state control see this practice as extensive encroachment of entrepreneurs into a government controlled market. Along with charges of favoritism, this selling inequity serves to augment a conflictive situation.

Further contention centers upon the three-to-five days of public sale held normally in February. Until the opening of the market, the State Monopoly withholds its price structure for that year. On the first day of sale the State announces its top

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price to be paid for quality tobacco—the *baş fiyat*. The grower enters the market without any market information other than the announced *baş fiyat*. He is aware only of the quantity of his tobacco and, as is normally the case, his outstanding operational debt to a bank or the T.K.K.

To the gathered growers in the town square, an agent of the State Monopoly reads the name of each grower, the price offered him, and the amount of his crop which the State wishes to purchase. The grower can ask for a delay and visit the bid tables of agents of the large foreign-controlled companies. These private companies, having established their own *baş fiyat,* in turn relate to the grower the price and the amount of his crop they are willing to purchase. If he hesitates too much, the grower may be penalized by a change in the initial bids, depending on the volume of purchases made by the agents in the interim. On the other hand, if too quick, the grower risks accepting a low bid whereas more comparison might have yielded a higher one. This process promotes political contention and a major cleavage in community attitudes.

Dissident growers of the CHP party tend to view the imperfect market structure as a deliberate attempt on the part of the incumbent AP government to further the exploitation of small growers by large entrepreneurs. This attitude is illustrated by the controversy concerning the *baş fiyat*. Under the Democratic Party government of the 1950's, prices offered for tobacco by the government were far below those of private companies. The higher prices offered by the companies were, however, extended for only a small quantity of the best quality tobacco, forcing the majority of growers to sell at lowest prices to both the State and private companies. During the period of CHP leadership from 1960 to 1964, the top price offered by the State for prime tobacco almost doubled (Table 15). In addition to setting a higher top price, the State purchased a greater quantity of tobacco at the higher prices, forcing private merchants to adjust upward. Under the present AP leadership, it is charged, although the *baş fiyat* may be high, the amount of tobacco taken at that price is minimal. Incomplete data on the 1967 market sales for Ula indicate that of approximately 24,000 bales sold, less than six bales were sold at the top price of 12.25 T.L. a kilo, approximately ten

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*Table 15*
*The top price, baş fiyat, offered for tobacco by the government and private companies between 1939 and 1966*[a]

| Year | Price Paid per Kilo | |
|---|---|---|
| | Government | Private |
| 1939 | 1.10 T.L. | |
| 1943 | 2,40 | |
| 1947 | 3.50 | |
| 1958 | 4.60 | 5.00 T.L. |
| 1959 | 5.80 | 7.10 |
| 1960 | 5.80 | 7.10 |
| 1961 | 7.50 | 7.50 |
| 1962 | 13.00 | 8.50 |
| 1963 | 13.00 | 8.50 |
| 1964 | 12.25 | 8.50 |
| 1965 | 12.25 | 9.00 |
| 1966 | 12.25 | 9.00 |

a Source: Unpublished data of the Muğla headquarters of the State Monopoly.

bales sold at 10 T.L. a kilo, 50 bales at 8-9 T.L., 50 % of the remaining bales at 5-7 T.L., and 35 % at 3-4 T.L. A number of bales were burned by their growers because of their low quality and a lack of buyers.

In sum, some angered CHP growers link the failure of the market to the incumbent government's policies which, it is claimed, encourage exploitation of the small grower. Many attitudes are, however, framed by economic fortunes. Hard-hit AP growers often stand with CHP party members in asking for more government guarantees in price supports, open bids, less government credit to big companies, and increased governmental courting of foreign markets for tobacco. Not too surprising, some of the least successful AP growers speak of the possible nationalization of the crop—a longstanding CHP predilection.

It is true that little of Ula's tobacco is sold at the top price, the *baş fiyat*. On the other hand, Ula's problem is not solely one of being the supposed victim of a political issue, but also

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of producing an inferior quality tobacco for which it is difficult to find buyers. An American buyer with many years' experience in Turkey suggests that Ula's tobacco is badly grown, fourth-rate in quality, and of so little importance to the tobacco industry that if Ula's contribution ceased, the loss to the Turkish market would be negligible.

The impact of this state of matters is indicated by Ula's recent history of tobacco prices. In 1957 the State Monopoly purchased 580,218 kilos of tobacco from the county of Ula, somewhat more than the total of private companies who together purchased only 442,718 kilos. By 1966, however the State's share had climbed to 741,124 kilos while the private portion had increased only slightly to 451,364 kilos. The heavy government buying which these figures indicate suggests a commitment by the State to purchase inferior tobacco, albeit at a low price, in order to absorb the potential loss resulting from the private companies' reluctance to do the same.

For growers at both ends of the political spectrum there are common problems which have little to do with political ideology. The phenomenal rise in the number of growers and *dönüms* devoted to tobacco over the past thirty years has not taken place without debilitating consequences. Overextended and overcommitted growers, particularly the urban-based growers of tobacco, face a profound dilemma. First, the operational costs involved in growing tobacco will continue to rise concurrently with a decline in the sale price of tobacco. As extensive irrigation of fields is increasingly undertaken, larger leaves of a poorer quality tobacco result, an emphasis on volume over quality. The people of Ula have a saying concerning the effect of growing tobacco on the wet coastal plain: "If you plant your tobacco in the plain, then you can only sell it to your father" (*Tütün dik tabana, sat babana*). For many growers the moment has arrived when it is no longer practical to anticipate more than a slight profit, if any, from the crop. Secondly, as Ula's role as a regional town declines, increasing numbers of townsmen must supplement a failing income. Until the present, this process of supplementation has been through tobacco.

Some of the people of Ula see two possible alternatives to the present dilemma in which they find themselves. One alter-

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native is to change to another crop, such as grapes, having similar operational characteristics to tobacco. The crop should be suitable to local soils and climate, assured of a secure market, amenable to small work groups such as the women of a household, and require more labor than capital. A second response has been to seek out avenues of income which draw upon new consumer areas. Many involved now in itinerant marketing have previously experienced the failure of both an urban occupation such as cobbling and a supplementary income from tobacco.

Tobacco began in Ula in the hands of an elite few. Through the *ağa*s' external contacts and their margin to experiment with the crop, tobacco was established throughout the county. The decline of the *ağa*s' political and economic position coincided with the emergence of new town institutions which provided small landowners with needed credit and financing. Through the new avenues of financing and with the magnetism of a once lucrative sale market, tobacco spread and replaced traditional crops. Ironically enough, those who will succeed through tobacco may also be an elite few, no longer *ağa*s but merchants who, like *ağa*s of the past, now find political and economic power concentrated in their hands. For the rest, responses such as marketing appear to be a viable escape from a moribund town economy and a failing agricultural supplement.

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CHAPTER SIX

# THE PERIODIC MARKET: TOWN AND REGION

## A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

In the preceding chapters the concept of town and region, urban and rural have been considered not in terms of their discreteness as dissimilar social entities but in terms of the nature of their engagement. The engagement between rural and urban spheres of influence results from differences or separations of features of demography, ecology, institutions, and the quality of role-relationships (Wirth 1933:173ff).

Viewed here as a mediating center, the town of Ula serves as an active force possessing a wide range of "urban" functions. Many of these functions, such as those of an economic, administrative, cultural, or recreational nature, are activities which come into being because of separations which obtain between a rural and urban sphere of influence. In this sense Ula's functions are, in part, activities which actualize potential relationships between urban and rural spheres, a phenomenon for which the term "urbanization" is often employed.

The process of engaging two spheres of influence is, however, not restricted to forces found only within one sphere, that of the urban center. The loci within which many "urban" functions or aggregations arise can be found within a rural as well as urban context. Ula is a case in point. It is an example of an urban center which historically has acted as a catalyst, bridging the separations between urban and rural, but whose existence is being seriously threatened by the pronounced shift of many of its traditional mediating functions to rural centers.

The precarious existence of the market town's role as a mediating center is heightened by the rise of rural-based competing centers. This role, which functions to bridge the gaps between two spheres of influence, has largely passed to rural-based agents of syncretization. The loss of Ula's traditional

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sphere of influence has compelled individuals to shift to new economic roles. The increased emphasis upon marketing within an itinerant market system represents one type of response to changing conditions. Analytically, this response can be viewed as an attempt to seek out new real and potential types of economic separations, such as new consumer areas and the creation of new consumer demands.

Market theory has provided a useful framework within which to view data and venture certain hypotheses. The work of Bartels (1963:299ff) and McInnes (1964:51ff) in particular draw an analytical distinction between market and marketing which employs the notion of the engagement of elements of particular types of separations. This approach recognizes the existence of real economic separations in terms of the way demand is separated from supply, consumers from producers, and increasing wants from an everwidening division of labor. The concept of *market,* as developed, is the relationship, both actual and potential, which exists between the elements of separation. A market environment, therefore, includes not only those relationships which do exist between makers and users of goods and services, but also those potential relationships which could exist, depending upon the marketeer's ability to perceive the dimensions of the market.

*Marketing* is the active force which reacts to and acts upon the separations or obstacles which occur in the market. It seeks to close gaps in the market, being "any activity which actualizes the potential market relationship between the makers and users of economic goods and services" (McInnes 1964:57). Marketing success depends upon the extent to which an actor correctly perceives the potential flow of goods and services latently existing in the market.

Employing this notion of market, it is seen that marketing is not solely a function of an existing "market ecology". It is not adaptive to a set of physical and social conditions which determine the limits and opportunity of market activities. Marketing is, in one sense, open-ended as it anticipates a wide range of potential market conditions. Market activities seek to create new conditions or the type of market environment in which particular goods and services will be desired. The viability of marketing for a given individual depends upon his

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ability to perceive and manipulate the following modes of separation in the market:[103]

1. *Spatial separation.* This involves activities (e.g. assembly, transportation, dispersion) which seek to bring a product or service from a point of origin to a place where the consumer can effectively, in terms of time and distance costs, enter into a transaction. Within the periodic market system, the marketing activities of consumers submit to a rigid schedule of time, while sellers submit to a schedule of place (Stine 1962:73).

2. *Temporal separation.* The ability to "chronologize" the factors of desire and availability is undertaken through the use of three means: finance, or the use of credit, through which it is possible to warp a time horizon in order to coincide demand with availability of product and bring about a transaction; the establishment of a mechanism to counter risk in the event of failure in the temporal sequence of events; and storage as a means of countering seasonality of production.

3. *Perceptual separation.* The marketeer is an agent of information and persuasion who attempts to attract consumers to an area and his services and goods. To this end he employs strategy to create consumer interest in new products and services as a means of increasing potential relationships with a clientele. The marketeer also seeks ways in which to reinforce a separation between consumers and his seller competitors. In cases where transactions are largely credit-based, a favorable credit relationship is a direct means of retaining and attracting a clientele.

4. *Valuational separation.* Techniques are used to align seller's bid and buyer's offer, based upon producer's consideration of his offering price and consumer's consideration of taking price in terms of utility and ability to pay. The encounter leading to a transaction is embedded in a social and cultural framework which sets not so much the strategy of the aligning techniques as the maximum limits on behavior. Despite normative constraints on certain forms of behavior, a degree of

103 The following discussion of the nature of market separations draws upon the work of McInnes (1964).

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flexibility exists which allows buyer and seller to employ different strategy within the transaction.

These dimensions and others constitute a system of potentials which are explored and utilized by those engaged in marketing. Both seller and buyer are active agents in the manipulation of these dimensions. Marketing is, however, an expression of social behavior which is embedded in a matrix of values and social relations. Insofar as it involves a large number of roles filled by full and part-time sellers, marketing has provided one of the most important alternatives for townsmen caught by rapid economic changes in Ula. Within a relatively short period of time, townsmen from Ula have become highly skilled agents of syncretization, perceiving ways in which existing market separations can be closed and new separations opened. In doing so, these marketeers of Ula have created new spheres of influence by the expansion of their activities into ever widening consumer regions. A brief historical overview of the development of regional periodic marketing in Muğla indicates that the increased tempo of itinerant marketing for townsmen of Ula is commensurate with Ula's recent economic demise.

## MARKET PLACES

### EARLY MARKETS

There is relatively little early documentation concerning either markets as physical sites or marketing as an economic activity for this region of Turkey. Several sources from the nineteenth century indicate the occurrence of annual fairs in Anatolia which were "not so numerous or important" as those of eastern Europe or Rumeli (Ubicini 1856:330, fn.4). North of Muğla, however, in the rich agricultural region of Aydın, annual fairs occurred in at least six localities during the last century (*Aydın Salnamesi* 1888). Paton and Myres (1897:52) reported the existence of a large annual fair held north of Milas which they referred to as the "Menteşe Bazaar". This locality, probably in the vicinity of Söke, is a part of the agriculturally rich valley of the Menderes. As Chapter 3 indi-

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cates, highland Muğla (Menteşe) was not an agriculturally important region. Fairs in this area appear to have been nonexistent. In fact a government document for the region states that "In the *kaza* of Muğla [then a subdivision of the *sancak* of Menteşe] the large public fair is lacking, but there are markets which occur" *(Aydın Salnamesi* 1885).

Some nineteenth century documents attest to the fact that a few towns were noted as regional "market towns". Some interesting differences between markets of the last century and the present situation can be noted. First, it is apparent that the present schedule of market days is recent in origin for some towns. The periodic market at Milas, which presently convenes on Tuesday, was held on Sunday during the last century. Most favored as the day for markets was Friday, the Muslim day of congregation which brings villagers into towns to worship at mosques. For example, the markets at Fethiye and Köyceğiz, now held respectively on Saturday and Monday, were in the nineteenth century both held on Friday *(Aydın Salnamesi* 1888). Although documentation is lacking, local accounts suggest that a century ago the Wednesday market of Yatağan and the Thursday market of Muğla as well convened on Friday. It appears that market days for particular towns were changed by municipal decree. The municipality of Köyceğiz is said to have changed its market day from Friday to Monday as late as 1935. At a higher level of local government, the founding of market days appears to be subject to general rules governing province-wide activities (Koral 1944:70). In all cases where information on the change of market days is available, the primary cause stated is that market days have been intentionally staggered to allow itinerant marketeers and buyers to take advantage of a wider range of markets.

A second phenomenon occurring in the last century was the occasional shift of a market from one to another locality. For example, the village of Cazgırlan near Yatağan was a market center in 1895 *(Aydın Salnamesi* 1895) but by the 1920's had forfeited its market to the nearby village of Eskihisar (Eroğlu 1939:176).[104] Almost all markets convened at established

104 Eskihisar, despite its population size and regional importance

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settlements, drawing upon limited spheres of influence. Only in one case is it suggested that a market occurred at the confluence of routes and not in a settlement.[105]

It seems likely that more towns held markets than are listed by documents purporting to enumerate all market towns in the region (see *Aydın Salnamesi* 1895). The case of Ula is illustrative of a market which is not mentioned in documents.

## THE ULA MARKET

For centuries craftsmen and tradesmen from Ula have placed a part of their economic activities on an itinerant basis. Singly or in small groups cobblers, clothiers, tailors, and sellers of olive oil and reed mats long used Ula as a base for a fixed shop or depot, traveling by donkey or camel as far as Marmaris, Köyceğiz, and west to Milas to peddle their wares and services. In this fashion goods manufactured in Ula and imports from Aydın and Izmir were sold in towns and villages throughout the region. Knowledgeable of the market days of certain towns and large villages, many Ula-based sellers spent up to one-third of their time traveling to various markets. When possible, both completely itinerant Ula marketeers and those who were itinerant on a part-time basis, maintaining stores and workshops in Ula, tried to be in Ula each Friday, a day when an increased number of villagers came into town.

The impressively large market day which Evliya Çelebi describes for Ula during his visit in 1671 or 1672 might well be attributed to Evliya Çelebi's propensity to exaggeration. It is highly unlikely that Ula ever drew up to 11,000 townsmen and villagers in market exchange, as Evliya Çelebi suggests (Evliya Çelebi 1935:204). In the seventeenth century the plain

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did not have a market until recently. Pococke in 1743 claimed that the people of Eskihisar had to travel six hours distance to a locality called "Gulsuk" to attend their nearest market (Pococke 1743-1744:65).

105 During his travels near Köyceğiz, Paton states: "At the village of Dalaman [Dalyan?] close by a weekly bazaar is held; in fact, until the resent establishment of a cotton factory here [consisting probably of one small gin] there was no village, but simply the booths for the bazaar" (1900:58).

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of Gökova was malaria-ridden, sparsely populated, and agriculturally poor. Mountain villages, oral tradition suggests, were largely nonexistent in the seventeenth century. Ula's attraction for whatever rural hinterland existed was, in all likelihood, overshadowed by that of the nearby provincial capital of Muğla, a town which held its market on the same day as did Ula, Friday.

By the early part of the twentieth century Ula supported a small weekly Friday market. Not yet a county-seat, the town did not draw villagers for administrative purposes. Rather, villagers traveled to Muğla for matters such as real estate and tax problems. Having few products to market beyond butter, cheese, and surplus cereals, villagers principally were drawn to Ula on Friday to attend mosque services. Nearby mountain villagers traveled to Ula on various days during the week to sell chickens, eggs, and wood for fuel in the *odun pazarı* or "wood market", located in a small clearing at the edge of town.

On Friday mornings Ula craftsmen and tradesmen would spread out their wares in an area adjacent to a mosque centrally located in the bazaar area. Villagers in need of dry staples such as beans, potatoes, noodles, rice, and chick peas, could buy on credit, on equivalence for village products, or with cash, from shopkeepers in the bazaar area. Certain craftsmen such as tailors were known to accept payment in kind and gradually collected a retinue of villagers as a fixed clientele.

In the early years of this century, the dependence of townsmen upon the small weekly market was not great. Most townsmen maintained a garden adjacent to their home and a small patch of field in the vicinity of the town on which they grew grapes, melons, and cereals. Village products such as butter, yogurt, cheese, and eggs were largely produced by townsmen as well. Some reports indicate that townsmen were even reluctant to purchase any product which originated from the malaria-ridden plain of Gökova for fear that they in turn would contract malaria. To a great extent, households in the town were self-sufficient, growing what was needed in fields not yet given over to the growing of tobacco—a transition which was to change Ula's relationship to its rural hinterland.

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The years between 1932 and the beginning of World War II witnessed an increase in Ula's market activity. In increasing numbers, traders began to visit Ula's small market from bases in towns such as Milas or, more distant, Izmir and Denizli. Reputedly in 1932 a Jewish itinerant trader began to visit the Ula Friday market regularly during his round of market-going in the region. During the same period the number of fully itinerant Ula-based marketeers increased. Many tradesmen and craftsmen closed their shops in Ula and began to travel to distant markets, maintaining only a storage depot in Ula, a pattern which continues today. Townsmen today suggest that the arrival of foreign, i.e. non-Ula-based, peddlers signaled the beginning of an official Ula Friday market.

Regional market activity declined sharply during World War II but regained its prewar level between 1946 and 1950. The increase in road construction, bank credit, and flow of manufactured consumer goods from centers such as Izmir encouraged more individuals to enter marketing. The complex national events of the 1950's, however, affected Ula in a number of ways, some of which have been discussed in Chapter 3. Inflation of the national economy was already occurring at the time Ula gained county, *kaza,* status in 1954. The shortage of commodities of all types produced what townsmen called the *yok devri,* or the "era of nothing", a reversal from the healthy economic years of 1950-1954. Commodities which reached Ula's market were so severely inflated in price that in 1954 the municipality had to require fixed price tickets to be placed on goods. Soon after entering the market with produce, villagers were sold out, often receiving astronomical prices for their produce.

It was during the 1950's that townsmen in Ula became more highly dependent upon the market as a means of obtaining commodities. The amount of land around the town devoted to the growing of tobacco increased dramatically after 1950. The new tobacco fields were irrigated at the expense of vegetable gardens. The approximately thirty truck gardens in the vicinity of Ula had decreased to about five by 1954 because of priorities on water. Further, tobacco replaced the cereals, grapes, and potatoes ordinarily grown by each household for home consumption. As specialization in tobacco increased, townsmen

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relied more on marketeers and village growers to supply them with needed produce. Further new demands were placed upon the market by civil servants arriving in Ula after 1954 and having neither land nor the means for any degree of self-sufficiency and higher consumption norms than those of locals.

The traditional site of Ula's weekly market was moved in 1957 from the section of the bazaar adjacent to the Yeni Cami or "new mosque" to a site off the main street. In line with an attempt to nucleate certain retail functions, the town's several butcher shops were relocated from various sites in the bazaar to one side of the new market area. This move relieved a source of contention in the community, as craftsmen and shopkeepers had always objected to the smells and insects attracted by the neighboring butcher shops. In 1964 the market area was improved by the construction of rows of cement aprons for the display of commodities.

In many respects the growth of Ula's weekly market is related to the intensification of tobacco as a cash crop. A distinctly more affluent rural population and a growing dependency of townsmen upon rural producers of needed produce are two effects of the shift in agricultural production from subsistence crops to tobacco. A secondary effect of this change has been the increasing involvement of involuntarily idle townsmen in marketing as an occupation as a result of the narrowing of local economic alternatives. The ability of townsmen to perceive and utilize the dimensions of the market has provided a viable and necessary alternative source of income derived from beyond the confines of Ula itself.

## MODES OF SEPARATION IN THE MARKET

### SPATIAL SEPARATION

The variations between counties in terms of agricultural structure and attendant processing activities is considerable. As Table 16 indicates, the amount of arable land is minimal in all counties. The percentage of total land area for each

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*Table 16*
*Agricultural structure by county*

| County (in order of area) | Area[a] ($km^2$) | Arable[b] (in % of total) | Categories of Land Use* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Total |
| Fethiye | 3,059 | 12.6 | 73.6 | 1.0 | 2.7 | 3.0 | 19.7 | 100.0 % |
| Köyceğiz | 2,558 | 12.2 | 86.5 | - | 1.3 | 5.5 | 6.7 | 100.0 |
| Milas | 2,167 | 41.0 | 37.4 | .8 | 1.0 | 1.7 | 59.1 | 100.0 |
| Muğla | 1,649 | 12.2 | 81.5 | 8.2 | 2.7 | 4.6 | 3.0 | 100.0 |
| Yatağan | 1,524 | 12.4 | 79.1 | .3 | .9 | 1.7 | 18.0 | 100.0 |
| Marmaris | 866 | 5.5 | 67.0 | .2 | 5.4 | 11.3 | 16.1 | 100.0 |
| Bodrum | 649 | 33.0 | 38.7 | - | 2.9 | 12.4 | 46.0 | 100.0 |
| Datça | 459 | 13.0 | 61.2 | .2 | 2.4 | 14.0 | 22.2 | 100.0 |
| Ula | 407 | 14.0 | 81.0 | 3.3 | 3.6 | 5.6 | 6.5 | 100.0 |

Sources: a T.C.D.I.E. *1965 Census* 1968:483.
b Unpublished data of the Muğla branch of the Ministry of Agriculture.
* Categories of Land Use:
1 Cultivated fields (wheat, barley, rye, oats, millet, corn, sesame, cotton, tobacco)
2 Vineyards
3 Vegetable gardens
4 Fruit orchards (lemon, orange, mandarin, pear, quince, almond, peach, apple)
5 Olive groves.

county considered as arable ranges from a high of 41 % in the rich olive producing county of Milas to a low of only 5.5 % in the small mountainous county of Marmaris. Cultivation is the predominant type of land use in each county, being essentially the cultivation of crops which never enter regional periodic markets. In the county of Köyceğiz, however, in which 86.5 % of arable land is under cultivation, the predominant crops of cotton, sesame and citrus fruits are, for the most part, exported to large urban centers. Beyond these cash crops, differentially concentrated in specific counties, the ubiquitous tobacco can be found throughout the region in coastal and highland contexts.

Crop yields vary between counties, the surplus entering the internal market system of the province to circulate at an intercounty level. There is not only a spatial but a temporal separation resulting from the extremes in elevation found with-

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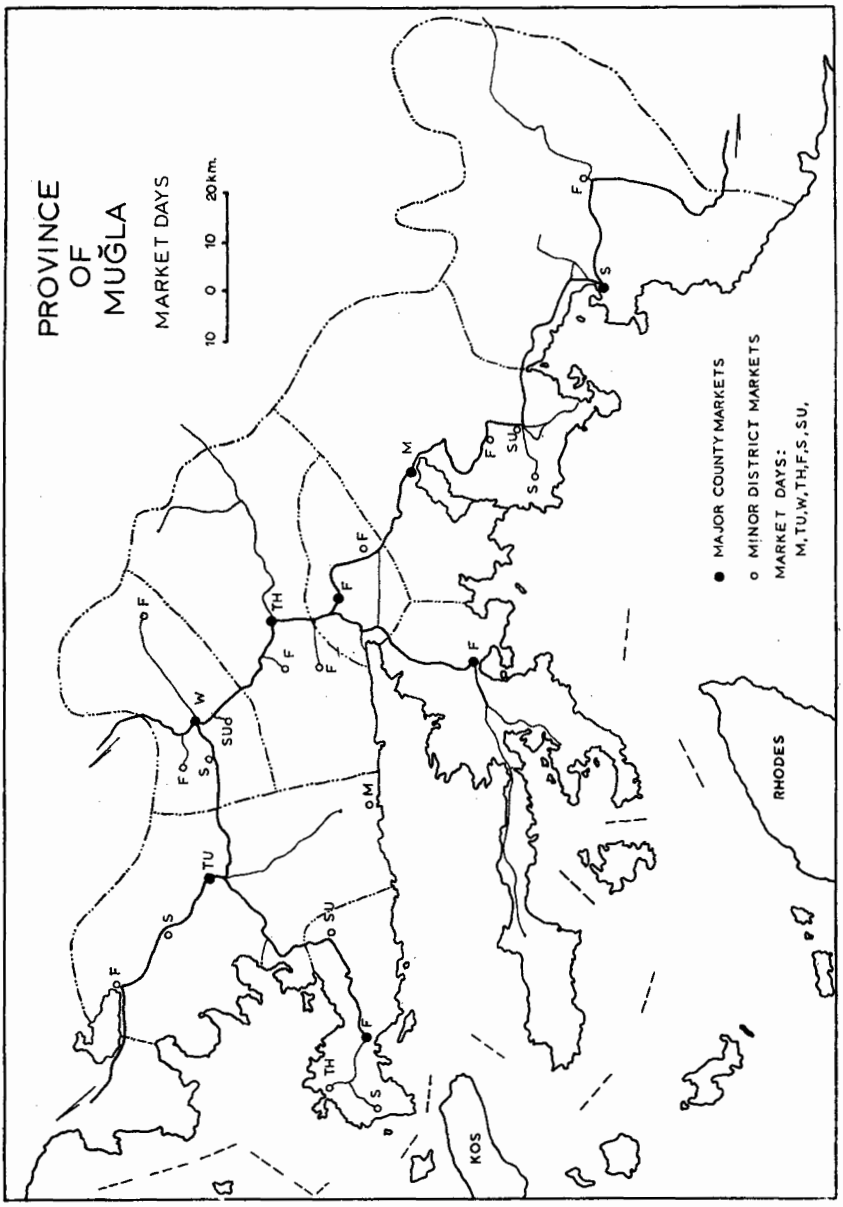
in a single county, fostering circulation of certain crops at an intra- as well as intercounty level. Some cash crops, such as tobacco, cotton, and sesame, do not enter the periodic market, and others, such as olives and citrus fruits, are circulated in limited amounts within the province. But Muğla is not a major exporting province of western Turkey. To the contrary, Muğla imports needed commodities such as cereals and vegetables into its internal market system through marketeers from the rich Menderes valley and from provinces as distant as Afyon and Konya. More pronounced, because it lacks industry and manufacturing centers, Muğla imports most of the manufactured consumer goods found within its market system and fixed retail businesses.

Eight of the nine towns of the province[106] have weekly markets in addition to the fixed permanent economic functions of the town. In addition, each county supports a number of minor weekly markets convening in larger villages which, in most cases, are district centers *(nahiyes),* the next administrative unit below the county (see Map 7). All of the major *kaza* town markets and a few of the minor *nahiye* markets are integrated with one or the other of two principal market cycles which function exclusively within the province of Muğla.

*Market types.* — The dimension of spatial separation in the market, as the latter term is here employed, involves activities such as assembly, transportation, and dispersion. The culmination of these activities is a transaction, brought about by moving products and services to a place and at a time where the consumer can effectively enter into a transaction. A market place such as Ula's can conceptually be subdivided into a number of types of markets based upon the nature of goods and transactions found within them. Solomon (1957) suggests several types of markets which correspond closely to the structure of the Ula market as it appears on a typical Friday. Map 8 indicates the physical layout and clustering of types of

106 Each of the nine towns of the province is also the county-seat of the county *(kaza)* taking its name from the town. Of all the towns, Datça alone does not support a weekly market.

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Map 7. Province of Muğla: Market Days.

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markets in the Ula market place, typical also of other markets throughout the region.

1. *Perishable produce market.* A major portion of the Ula market is devoted to the sale of fruits and vegetables by townsmen and villagers alike, selling their own produce. As these sellers are also buyers within the same market place, the causes for the fluctuation of their numbers throughout the year are of major concern for market agents of other commodities. The annual work cycle for tobacco results in a sharp decline in the number of produce sellers from May through August. Their attendance and participation in the market place is sharply augmented at specific periods, especially prior to religious holidays and following the sale of tobacco. The factors of labor demands, commodity needs for ceremonial periods, and availability of capital govern the strategy of full-time market agents who determine their movements on these bases.

A slightly more stable, but still variable, seller in the market is the country buyer. In Ula these are town-based itinerant buyers who purchase produce both from villagers to sell in market places throughout the region and from wholesalers in order to move commodities in small volume to markets where scarcity obtains. Although based in Ula, these greengrocers, *manavs*, do not supply produce from their own land, but operate solely on arbitrage.

For fruits and vegetables, greatly localized because of regional variations, arbitrage is a highly successful form of market activity. During each crop's period of early harvest, the seller can obtain a very high price for the crop by selling it in localities where harvest is later. Early vegetables and fruits, *turfanda,* are moved rapidly from Antalya and the coastal plains of Muğla to highland markets such as Ula's or to cities to the north. Later in the season, during the period of seasonal glut for certain crops, greengrocers shift their emphasis to more stable commodities such as noodles, rice, flour, nuts, and figs. These marketeers are attentive to any item which can be purchased for quick resale at a profit. The sale of animal skins, almonds, bay leaves, snails, eggs, or a host of other commodities is a suitable pursuit when collection and transport to a dispersal point would yield a profit.

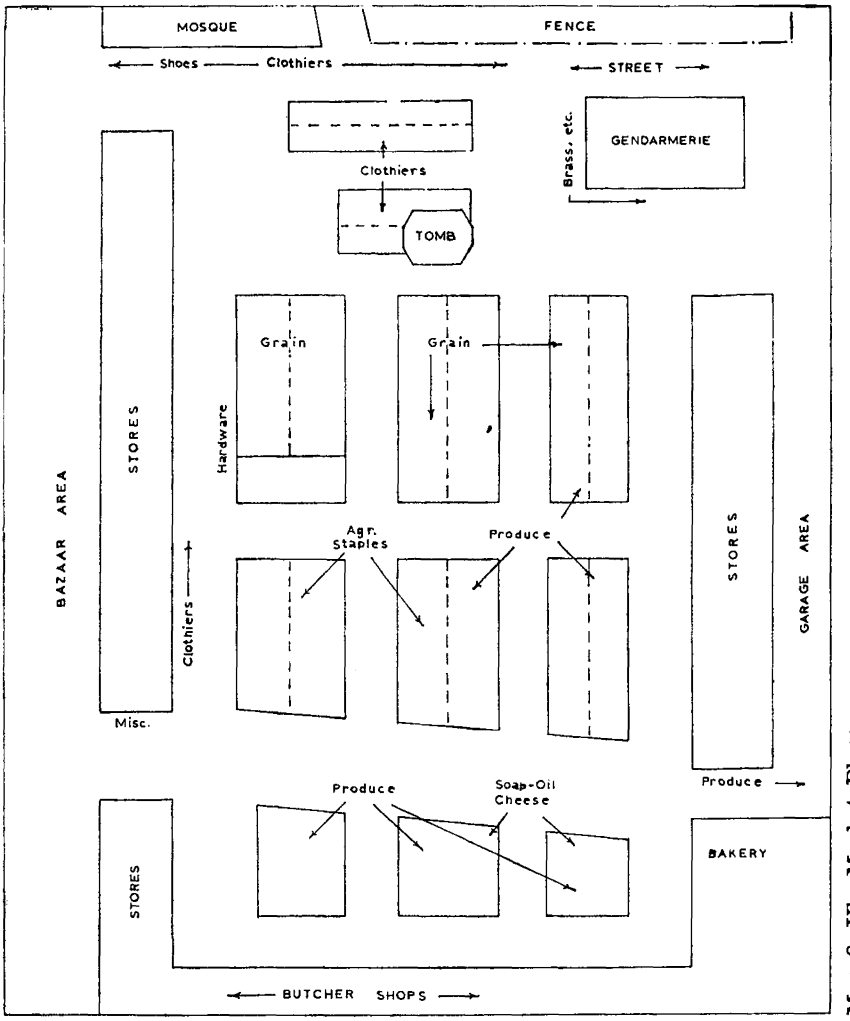
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The perishable produce market is characterized by easy entrance of sellers, low inventory, an almost total lack of wholesaling at the local level, inelastic supply, predictable seasonal glut accompanied by little or no storage, and extensive opportunities for arbitrage, yielding multiple small profits. In short, for individuals divested of a previous town-based fixed occupation, the perishable produce market affords easy access and a modicum of success, a point to be discussed later in this chapter.

2. *Agricultural staples market.* On any given market day in Ula, a number of marketeers can be found selling a complex of goods consisting of sacks of wheat, barley, rye, oats, white millet, corn, and beans. These sellers have increased in importance over the past two decades. The local, and indeed entire highland regional output of cereals has declined proportionate to the increase in the acreage devoted to tobacco (see Figure 7). Because of their specialization in the growing of tobacco, townsmen and villagers increasingly must rely on agents in the market to obtain cereals, agents who may come from places as distant as Konya, Dinar, or Denizli. Considerations of distance and volume result in much wholesaling in the cereal and dry staples market. The high capital requirements and almost traditional monopoly of this market by non-local itinerant sellers and a small group of Ula marketeers discourages entry into the market by others. Although an important market for buyers, it provides few avenues of opportunity for those in search of market opportunity.

3. *Personal services market* In Ula this market is satisfied almost totally by fixed businesses in the town. Barbers, cobblers, tailors, etc. seldom enter the market place to provide services, and few shift their activities to itinerancy by traveling to distant markets. Increasingly, village-based shops and stores are supplanting the importance of such Ula-based economic functions. Throughout villages new retail and service functions are servicing the needs of villagers, needs which in the past were carried to Ula and the Friday market. However, villagers maintain ties with Ula craftsmen and shopkeepers for services not provided within the village. Because of Ula's small size, permanent shops are in close proximity to the market place and easily reached by villagers attending the

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Map 8. Ula Market Place.

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market, thereby negating the need for the service to come into the market place.

4. *Capital goods market.* This market is effectively non-existent within the context of the periodic market system. Goods sold in this type of market do not lend themselves to a periodic market as they entail problems of the transportation of, for example, machinery, a large amount of capital needed by dealers to purchase the commodities for resale, and a lack of qualified buyers in a periodic market interested in items of this type.

5. *Manufactured consumer goods market.* In the past, this market was almost totally dominated by goods supplied through local crafts, essentially Ula-based. As discussed earlier, such Ula craftsmen as cobblers and weavers were part-itinerant, selling their goods through periodic markets as well as from shops. Numerous items of clothing were produced in Ula households and collected by itinerant peddlers to be sold in market places or peddled in villages. Around the turn of this century most goods were locally manufactured, with but a few being imported to Ula from large Turkish cities or foreign factories. In contrast, the manufactured consumer goods market today is totally dominated by goods imported from outside the region. The itinerant cobbler of the past, for example, has been replaced by the seller of factory-made synthetic rubber shoes and boots, a shift which brought about the end of a traditional town craft specialization.

The marketeer with the largest volume of merchandise in the Ula market now is the itinerant cloth merchant. His stock of often up to 50,000 - 75,000 T.L. in inventory of bolts of cotton cloth, rayons, silks, woolens, and other textiles consists entirely of factory-made goods. Known as *manifaturacıs*, these marketeers enjoy a price structure removed from local price conditions. Many *manifaturacıs* have, as do fixed town-based merchants, a large web of credit relationships established with Ula clientele.

The selling of ready-made clothing is a recent phenomenon in the region and has grown out of increasing consumer demand for factory-made items, a demand which the sellers of these items have helped to create. The increasing ability of

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townsmen and villagers to purchase factory-made clothing has been aided by the extension of open credit to them by merchants, credit which was denied them before the rapid assent of tobacco as a lucrative cash crop. The role of both local and foreign merchants in creating new demand schedules will be discussed below.

The effect of these types of markets within the periodic market has been to bring traditionally desired products and services to the consumer, thereby bringing about the closure of a separation. Significantly, however, foreign and Ula-based marketeers are, in part, motivated by the ability to create new potential market demands through persuasion and information. It is only by opening new gaps to be filled, by shifting many urban-based economic activities into a new economic space, that of itinerancy which takes advantage of wider consumer areas, that townsmen of Ula can find economic alternatives to an increasingly moribund local economy.

## TEMPORAL SEPARATION

Successful marketeers are not only perceptive of places where goods and services are desired, but have, as well, developed techniques to present goods when desired. Within the wider scheme of chronologizing factors of desire and availability, the rationale behind itinerant retailing is that consumers submit to a rigid schedule of time, while sellers submit to a schedule of place. Consumers concentrate their marketing needs to fixed places and times where they can most effectively enter into transactions.

In addition to the spatial and temporal obstacles involved in bringing seller and buyer into a market place, within each potential transaction the buyer's ability to purchase must be aligned with the availability of a seller's goods. Within the Ula market financing through credit brings about the actualization of many market transactions. Credit relationships achieve a closure of the buyer's discontinuous purchasing power and his more or less continuous needs. In addition, credit insures a stable economic relationship between buyer and seller and serves as an attraction for potential clientele.

The chronologizing of the factors of desire and availability

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through credit in the market place follows much the same strategy employed by fixed Ula-based shopkeepers, discussed earlier in Chapter 3. The itinerant cloth merchant or *manifaturacı,* for example, seeks in each market place or consumer area to develop a stable clientele similar in form to that of fixed shops in the same area. His pose is similar to that of shopkeepers in that he attempts to be highly personable and assume a keen interest in village affairs and conditions in the region, and may often visit the villages of customers in an effort to recruit a wider clientele. Above all, he conveys an aura of trust by the extension of credit to a number of people who would not ordinarily receive credit from local shopkeepers.

In contrast to local shopkeepers, however, whose price is higher when credit is involved, the itinerant seller seemingly sets a slightly lower price for credit purchases by regular credit customers than for purchases made with cash. The apparent lower prices and availability of extensive credit encourages customers to purchase more, a fact which the seller must balance against the risk inherent in too greatly extended credit. For some sellers, as many as 25 % of customers default on their debts, leaving the seller with only worthless verbal agreements. Rarely, if ever, are notes of voucher used with these running credit arrangements. As much as 50 to 75 % of an Ula itinerant seller's volume of transactions may be conducted on credit, as is also the case among permanently located shopkeepers.

An itinerant seller, on the other hand, is exposed to a number of conditions from which his urban-based counterpart is detached. First, there is a differential in stock between the two. The itinerant seller cannot afford to carry a large and varied inventory, such as is found in shops. Transportation costs for him are related to the size of his stock, a considerable deterrent. An itinerant clothier must anticipate annual cartage expenses by truck of between 1,600 to 2,000 T.L., often more than a shop's annual rental fee. In addition, the itinerant seller risks damage to his stock by rain or dust, as his display in a market is protected only by a canvas erected on poles. Travel conditions are harsh enough to impair a marketeer's physical health. In short, the itinerant seller's overhead in

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operating costs is often more than that of a shopkeeper carrying a similar line of goods.

Failures in the temporal sequence of events, such as default on credit, damage to stock, and impairment of health, are risks encountered by all itinerant market agents. The mechanism used to counter these risks is price adjustment, or the taking of a large profit margin.

A research work (Olalı and Özden 1955:9) concerned with the nature of itinerant trade in Turkey states that this form of trade exists in such frequency because of the lower prices offered.[107] In fact, however, the situation is greatly more complex than that of just apparently lower prices. For example, itinerant sellers of cloth and ready-made clothing deal with goods whose monetary value is essentially unknown to most buyers. Because of this, many buyers pay 50 to 100 % above the ordinary retail price and still remain content that the goods were obtained at a low price. The methods of price adjustment in taking a higher profit margin as a means of countering risk are described below under "Perceptual Separation".

Finally, there is a temporal separation between seasonal availability of product and demand. Most greatly affected in this respect is the perishable produce market, for which lack of storage facilities necessitates a minimal time between harvest and consumption. Perishables are moved quickly from field to market to avoid spoilage and to compete with other sellers. There are few or no intermediaries between producer and consumer to expedite this movement. The agricultural staples market is somewhat less affected by the temporal separation, for the minimal storage requirements necessary do not demand large capital expenditures. Commodities in this market such as cereals, potatoes, figs, nuts, dry beans, and chickpeas, are stored by marketeers in their homes or storage depots in the bazaar area. These items, present throughout the year in market places, maintain fairly stable prices,

107 The authors also point out that permanent retail functions have an advantage over itinerant agents because they possess a steady clientele and present an image of familiarity and reliability to a clientele (Olalı and Özden 1955:10), a claim of little validity as it is seen that itinerant agents also often possess these characteristics.

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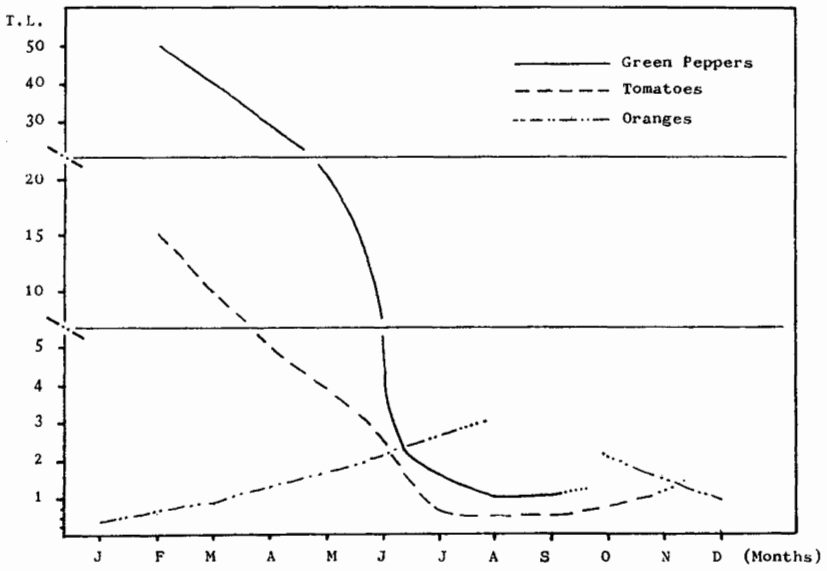



**Figure 8. Effect of Seasonal Glut on Market Prices (in Liras).**

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dropping only slightly at the time of the annual harvest of the items.

Storage of produce and staples in Ula consists of placing them in a cool, dark, dry room and is attempted for only a few of the items considered to be perishable produce. Storage of such perishables as watermelons and lemons is undertaken by packing them with sawdust in crates, to be brought out for sale at a time when they are relatively rare in the market and can be sold at a higher price. Only two marketeers were observed to undertake these measures to attempt to preserve items for later sale. Figure 8 indicates the adverse relationship between price and quantity for three selected crops. These crops, as well as others, are described in Appendix B in terms of their seasonality.

A retarding effect on the development of storage techniques in Ula is the fact that few buyers are willing to pay high out-of-season prices for produce. As mentioned earlier, *turfanda* or early fruits and vegetables are seldom sold in the Ula market because of their high price. At the peak of their season, a kilo of green peppers sells for 50 kuruş (one-half of one lira), compared to 50 liras in the early spring as an early vegetable. Only restaurateurs and some civil servants purchase early vegetables, and then only rarely. Greenhouse vegetables grown in Fethiye are trucked through Ula during the winter months without any attempt at sale. Yet other crops such as bananas, required to be trucked some distance to Ula from Alanya along the coast, are seldom sold in Ula even at the peak of their season because of a lack of willing buyers. In this sense Ula's weekly market has a reputation among marketeers as being a market attended by *tutumlu* or highly frugal and conservative buyers.

In many respects, marketeers are able to anticipate efficiently peak periods of consumer demands. Townsmen and villagers alike, during religious and national holidays, are confronted with increased needs for goods and services. These opportune times for market activity draw professional marketeers from centers as distant as Izmir and Istanbul. Periods when money is available from the sale of cash crops are moments in the temporal sequence which also draw large numbers of marketeers to regional markets. In addition to

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these traditional peak periods of expenditures, marketeers search for ways in which the consumer can be made to change his traditional consumption schedule for many goods and services from a discontinuous to a continuous need. The approach used by many marketeers is largely a normative one. An attempt is made to bring the consumer to the point where for reasons of status and prestige he will desire a particular good or service. Many of these goods and services have long existed in the local economy but have hitherto been restricted in consumption to socially distinct groups such as landlords and civil servants.

## PERCEPTUAL AND VALUATIONAL SEPARATIONS

Each Friday the Ula market attracts buyers and sellers who approach marketing tasks with varying degrees of ability. Both buyer and seller employ a degree of information and techniques of persuasion to help bring about a transaction and to reinforce a separation between other buyers and sellers for the same goods and services. When successfully employed, information and persuasion have a positive effect in actualizing a market relationship through a transaction and a negative effect in reducing market potential for competing buyers and sellers.

The perishable produce market is characterized by a great number of transitory sellers who do not depend upon marketing as their main source of livelihood. Seldom skilled in techniques of persuasion and possessing a minimum of market knowledge, these part-time sellers must rely upon other conditions to enter successfully into transactions. The known quality of their produce, the volume of competing produce, and the degree to which they are willing to decrease their profit margin through the bargaining process are important considerations for part-time sellers. Their clientele, for the most part, is variable, although town buyers often seek out a village produce seller whom they know to carry produce of a high quality. Sellers in the perishable produce market seldom extend credit and attend markets only on an irregular basis. As a result, few have a fixed clientele, but instead depend upon the existing market conditions for the day. The part-time seller

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has little comparative market information and often is tied to a single traditional market toward which he is drawn to conduct other business such as administrative or religious duties.

In contrast, full-time sellers of manufactured consumer goods do employ a variety of means to attract and maintain a fixed clientele. The *manifaturacı,* or clothier, is a good example of a seller whose perception of market conditions is normally keen. There are major differences between the strategy employed by Ula-based and non-local clothiers. The Ula-based itinerant marketeers travel through a fixed cycle of market places. For the marketeer who frequents five markets per week, the following schedule provides him with the maximum use of time and space: Köyceğiz (Monday), Milas (Tuesday), Yatağan (Wednesday), Muğla (Thursday), and Ula (Friday). These marketeers attempt to maintain a more or less stable clientele in each town and consider ways in which new buyers can be recruited.

In order to establish a reputation to aid in the enlistment and maintenance of a clientele, the Ula-based marketeer takes several measures. The seller considers the appropriateness of his stock for each market place in terms of regional preferences in color, design, price, and quality. A particular print, the "shine" of a design, the willingness to buy an imitation of a more expensive textile, and task differences between his urban and rural clientele vary from region to region. What might be a major seller in a floral print in several mountain villages would not, as marketeers state, be used to drape a donkey in a nearby town. Marketeers further suggest that certain regions are notoriously frugal in buying habits. Townsmen of Ula, it is said, will wear a garment for years, while the style conscious townsmen of Marmaris, a port having touristic interest, will buy more frequently.

It is precisely in the area of tastes that the marketeer employs persuasion in order to bring about interest in new products. An attempt is made to change traditional consumption norms by appealing to style setters. It is easy to point to the norms of status groups within the local setting to encourage the buying of a particular item. Suits of good quality woolen, ties, white shirts, and dyed cotton socks are urged on buyers on the premise that school teachers wear them. The

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wives of civil servants are often used as examples of how urban women are dressing in centers throughout Turkey in an appeal to buyers of women's clothes. For many townsmen and villagers the last decade has witnessed a noticeable shift to factory-made garments and accessories, items for which itinerant marketeers can take the credit for their introduction and acceptance. While marketeers have sought to close the gap between local and national consumption norms, they have of necessity and desire also worked to widen the gap of price knowledge.

The maintenance of a clientele not only demands an inventory with particular characteristics, but the extension of large amounts of credit. Factors such as loss and damage to his goods, default on credit obligations, cartage fees, and incapacity due to illness are risks encountered in itinerant marketing. It is in the wide price margin taken on certain goods that this seller is able to recoup losses encountered in the process of recruiting a clientele.

Each textile merchant carries an amount of government-manufactured textiles known as *Sümer* Bank textiles. Outlet stores for this merchandise exist in almost every large town and city in Turkey. Over the years buyers have become familiar with the quality and government-fixed prices of yard-goods carried in these government stores. The itinerant marketeer carrying the *Sümer* textiles therefore can realize only a slight profit margin of 1/2 to 1 lira on each meter, hardly enough to compensate him for his cartage fees and potential damage to goods. But because of demand, he cannot afford to turn away buyers who might, in addition to the *Sümer* textiles, become attracted to his other textiles.

Few buyers know the realistic price of any textiles which are not *Sümer* or government-manufactured. Therefore, other textiles, manufactured in factories in Izmir, Istanbul, and Ankara, and constituting more than 75 % of the itinerant seller's inventory, can be sold to unsuspecting buyers with a realization of 100 % profit over wholesale prices. The following is a typical example of how a lack of market information on the part of the buyer works to the benefit of the seller. A townsman approached an Ula itinerant clothier and began to bargain for a woolen textile costing 74 T.L. per meter whole-

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sale. The buyer's final offer was only 60 T.L. and the seller's holding price was 90 T.L. The buyer left, then returned to open bargaining over a lesser quality of woolen material whose wholesale price was 45 T.L. per meter. He finally purchased this material for 95 T.L. a meter, whereas shortly before he had rejected the better quality material at a final price of 90 T.L.

Ula-based marketeers, highly concerned about their good reputation, do not consistently take as high a profit margin as do the foreign, or non-local, marketeers found in the Ula market. These foreign marketeers generally carry an inventory of ready-made clothing consisting of undergarments, women's hosiery, infant outfits, dresses, sweaters, belts, and other clothing accessories. Even more so than for textiles, the value of these factory-produced garments is largely unknown to townsmen and especially to villagers. As high as 500 % profit may be realized by foreign marketeers on certain articles. Little concerned about their reputation, these merchants do not generally extend credit and seek to maximize their profits on each individual sale.

The aggressive selling tactics employed by foreign marketeers to procure customers and the interpersonal competition between them markedly set them off from Ula-based marketeers. More so than Ula marketeers, these foreign marketeers have been responsible for introducing *konfeksiyon* or ready-made clothing into the region. They have created increased demands for such items which they mainly continue to fill. A villager, knowing that he can always place his cloth purchase on credit with an Ula marketeer, will save his money to purchase an 80 or 180 T.L. sweater with cash from a foreign marketeer. The foreign marketeers aggressively take villagers aside in the market and verbally shame them into buying a new item of clothing. Especially before a holiday, traditionally requiring new clothing, these marketeers press potential buyers into purchases by indicating that it is a moral and religious duty to provide for their wife and children in such a way.

Ula-based marketeers view these means of persuasion with sceptism and distrust. They see most foreign marketeers, appearing at markets at crucial times such as before holidays

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and when harvest money is due, as unethical competitors and as usurping the legitimate presence of local marketeers. Some Ula marketeers further criticize the changing consumption norms of villagers seen in the increased purchasing of ready-made clothing accessories, sunglasses, cigarette lighters, and countless other "luxury" items. One marketeer, responsible for a villager's spending all the money received from the sale of his family's produce that morning for one pair of 40 T.L. sunglasses (worth only 12-1/2 T.L. wholesale), said of him : *Evde yorgan yok, yolda yordam çok* or "no blankets in the house, but much useless spending elsewhere".

At every level, whether local or foreign in origin, full-time marketeers use a number of persuasive means to create demands for new items and to combat competition from other sellers present in large numbers in the same market and carrying similar merchandise. These various techniques of persuasion serve to inform and direct buyers to specific products and at the same time attempt to widen the gap between the seller's knowledge of product quality and price and the buyer's concept of the same. In this aspect of market behavior there is a clear bifurcation between local and foreign sellers. The foreign seller is freer to manipulate the market than is his local counterpart, who is bound to local traditional values. The foreign seller can counter the repercussions resulting from charges of lying or cheating on price, quality, or the measure by switching to new consumer areas. The Ula-based itinerant marketeer, however, must tread carefully between the desire to take a high profit margin as a means of countering risks involved in marketing, and the necessity of developing and maintaining a reputation as an ethical merchant of Ula. For regardless of his pattern of itinerancy, he is still *Ulalı,* "of Ula", and the rigid pattern of ethics applicable to the fixed retail business in Ula's bazaar is expected of him as well.

## MARKETING : A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE

The Ula Friday market is not solely an arena of interaction and profit for a small coterie of marketeers. The activities of most of Ula's urban functions crest on Friday when the nor-

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mal town population of over four and one-half thousand swells by the addition of several thousand villagers. Townsmen as well as villagers concentrate most of their commercial and administrative activities on market day. Retail businesses, services, government offices, recreational facilities, and mosques all experience a meteoric increase in activity within a relatively short period of the day.

Most retail grocers can anticipate at least a 100 % increase in sales in cash and credit on Fridays. One grocer, whose Friday clientele consists almost entirely of villagers from one mountain village, reports receipts of over 1,000 T.L. in contrast to an income on non-market days of 125 - 150 T.L. A baker can increase his sales from 150 T.L. on a non-market day to 200 T.L. on Friday, and a butcher from 200 T.L. to 600 T.L. For tailors, blacksmiths, and barbers, it is a day of new orders and increased clientele. In many cases villagers are tied to specific shopkeepers and craftsmen whom they feel they can trust. This trust includes being able to obtain credit and to pay for services in kind. Some retail businesses refuse the patronage of all villagers, while others reject any kind of relationship with mountain villagers, viewed as more culturally alien to townsmen than are plains villagers. Market day is a day of profit, a profit without which numerous fixed commercial enterprises would fall below the threshold of survival.

For many townsmen who have failed in an attempt to gain a livelihood in Ula or have been discouraged from initiating one, periodic marketing presents a viable alternative. Through itinerancy townsmen have been able to reach beyond the confines of Ula's traditional sphere of influence to become economically present in new and lucrative consumer areas. The maximum range of a marketing area is bounded only by considerations of social and economic costs to the townsman as marketeer. The degree of success is largely bounded by the ability of townsmen to perceive potentials existing in the market.

The avenues of recruitment into marketing are varied. In choosing marketing as an alternative to an unsatisfactory economic situation, a man may leave one occupation entirely for another, in part place his current occupation on an itinerant basis thereby expanding his consumer area, or enlist

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the aid of another to be the itinerant wing of an essentially permanently located business. Three brief examples indicate these processes.

1. Ahmet today is an itinerant marketeer and a native of Ula. After completing the "middle school" at 16, he was apprenticed to a cobbler between 1953 and 1955. After completing his apprenticeship at 18, he decided against opening a cobbler's stall at that time because of impending military conscription in two years, but instead worked next to a series of master cobblers for a wage. In 1959 at the age of 22, Ahmet returned from military service to Ula, only to find that in the interim factory-made synthetic rubber shoes had all but eliminated cobblers from Ula's occupational structure. For five years he floated from job to job as a coffeehouse attendant, laborer, agriculturalist, and in other occupations requiring no special skills. At age 27 Ahmet embarked upon a new means of livelihood when in 1964 he borrowed 1,500 T.L. from friends and relatives, bought a range of novelties and notions, and with a reed mat and sample suitcase left Ula to peddle his wares. Joining a market truck, Ahmet traveled according to the following schedule of market places : Monday-Köyceğiz, Tuesday-Milas, Wednesday-Yatağan, Thursday-Muğla, Friday-Ula, Saturday-Fethiye, and Sunday a day of rest and repair back in Ula. After deducting travel expenses and damages (rust, dust, and breakage) incurred to his stock, Ahmet today clears about 550 T.L. a month. For Ahmet, traveling to six markets each week is, as he states, but a temporary measure to combat unemployment, a solution he neither cares for nor can physically long endure.

2. In 1959 Hasan had a successful tailor shop and two apprentices. Most of his business centered upon the selling of woolen material and the tailoring of material into suits for men. Within the three years following the 1960 Turkish revolution Hasan was faced with such a radical drop in his business due to a general recession that he was compelled to seek a supplemental means of livelihood. Borrowing 5,000 T.L., Hasan purchased a quantity of woolen material and several crates in which to cart the goods and joined other Ula marketeers in the market circuit. For three days a week he closes his Ula shop in order to travel to Köyceğiz, Muğla, and Mar-

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maris for their respective market days. By expanding his consumer area, Hasan is able to maintain a threshold income below which he could not survive in the same occupation. At the present time, 75 % of Hasan's business is derived from orders taken at the three markets he attends. Hasan states that market work is demeaning, the life difficult for his age of 45 years, and that he increasingly is taking a reduced interest in the affairs of the town.

3. Mehmet, age 35, has a textile store in Ula, with a sideline of kitchen utensils and agricultural tools. He was able to establish the store through his father's financial aid, the latter being now retired. Out of the income from the store Mehmet must support his father, mother, wife, his children, and unmarried sisters and brothers. It is only through an arrangement with his brother Ali that Mehmet is able to obtain an adequate income to meet the needs of his family. For three days each week almost three-fourths of Mehmet's stock is gone from the store. On two of these days his brother Ali transports this stock to the Köyceğiz and Muğla markets for sale to a sizeable clientele. On Friday, the third day and Ula's own market day, Mehmet closes his store to merge his remaining stock with that already in Ali's possession in the Ula market place. However, in one year Ali will be drafted into the Army, posing a serious problem in terms of business logistics. At that time, Mehmet states, he will probably convert his Ula store into a storage room and become entirely itinerant.

Modes of recruitment into marketing are as numerous as there are marketeers. Clearly, for its size Ula propels an inordinate number of individuals outward to seek alternatives to a desperate urban situation. In observing these marketeers several commonalities can be noted.

1. Marketeers seldom come from families having a marketing background. They enter individually, often unaware of the risks involved.

2. Marketeers are exclusively townsmen. Except for part-time sellers in the perishable produce market, villagers do not enter marketing as a profession.

3. Few marketeers have had any formal education beyond the mandatory *ilk* or primary school, completed at age 11.

4. For most marketeers the two year period of military ser-

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vice marks a turning point in selection of an occupation. Apprenticeship served in a craft, or other type of employment before conscription, often is not continued beyond military service. Returning home from service at age 22, many youths either enter marketing directly or do so after a short period of idleness. It should be noted that occupational skills are often learned while in the military, and that the majority of youths who enter the cartage business as drivers or truck loaders bring with them valuable skills as mechanics learned while in the service.

5. The majority of marketeers have entered marketing from a now defunct craft or occupation. Of forty-nine full-time marketeers selected from among the sellers of perishable produce and manufactured consumer goods, thirty had been cobblers, six tailors, four laborers, three agriculturalists, two barbers, one a grocer, one a dyer, and two woodworkers. As described earlier, the craft of cobbling was the most severely affected by economic changes, compelling at least 200 men from 1950-1960 to seek out new means of livelihood.

6. A high degree of group solidarity is felt among Ula-based marketeers. The requisites of itinerant marketing demand or encourage intense interrelationships in a number of situations. These include partnerships in capital ventures, mutual aid in moving stock from market to market, their location in close proximity to one another in market places encouraging mutual aid and exposure to each other's clientele, mutual defense as a group in towns where Ula marketeers are considered foreigners, and a group consciousness vis-à-vis the foreign merchants from outside the province of Muğla, the two groups constituting the region's most active market agents.

Although Ula-based marketeers possess a sense of self-awareness as a group, they are far from being a socially homogeneous group and neither do they share many common aspirations. They range from intensely religious and conservative men to a few individuals considered unscrupulous in tactics and morally wayward. Variations in political allegiance, educational attainment, and occupational background often serve as divisive forces between them. What most share, however, is a bitter hostility toward the forces which they interpret as having brought Ula to its economic knees. Govern-

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ment policies, developments in the national economy, the greed of rich merchants, and many more reasons are variously cited by marketeers as causing Ula's decline. Beyond these putative causes there is the realization that marketing is a realistic response, a response serving to bring together product and buyer within a new spatial framework. Whereas Ula's importance once was as a regional center servicing a well-defined rural hinterland, through a massive shift to itinerancy of many of its functions it has now become important as a base for aggressive agents who function to syncretize the conceptual modes of separation discussed above.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

# ULA : THE EROSION OF IMPORTANCE

It has been said that the historian of towns is concerned with not only people but with communities and places. Throughout successive generations people and institutions leave their imprint upon the town, some more durable than others, becoming the visual evidence of a place's history. In many respects

> a town is a document; it displays its history in its public face, as well as in its archives . . . If we think of what we see as a text, we recognize very soon that it is not a simple one : beneath the characters that we first trace, there are other words and phrases to be read: the town is a palimpsest (Martin 1968:155).

Not all records are so easy to read. The winding lanes and numerous cul-de-sacs of Ula's streets are but suggestions of the accumulation of families and households as they proliferate not by design but by the untidy growth characteristic of human communities. The historian must reach back through the tumbled debris of deserted houses, through the straight and well planned streets which cut as a knife through history, to the genealogies locked in the memories of individuals. The mosque whose portal stone indicates that it was commemorated in the fifteenth century, the deserted ruin of a religious seminary, the scattered weathered tombs of important community leaders and the aged descendants of families which provided the priests and teachers of the community's intellectual and religious life can blend as archives and artifacts to suggest a part of Ula's past.

As one reads Ula's past beneath its contemporary features and in the oral accounts of its people, an appreciation is gained of a community's remarkable plasticity. As an historically

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important regional mediating center, Ula has experienced a decline in many traditional functions and a meteoric rise in new functions, a process which has been a part of a redefinition of Ula's importance. In this sense, Ula is instructive in providing a picture of the unique local responses to rapid change in which the search for new economic and political alternatives can be viewed.

## CHANGES IN SELECTED MEDIATING FUNCTIONS

### CULTURAL

Seventeenth century Ula, as described in Evliya Çelebi's account, was a regional administrative center, a settlement of considerable population size, a thriving market town exporting certain crops to distant markets, and a religious center which attracted and supported a large number of *mollas*, or theology students. Further, Ula was pleasantly situated, possessing "numerous gardens, grape arbors, and trees" with extensive vineyards on all sides of the town (Evliya Çelebi 1935:204). During his visit Evliya Çelebi estimated the total number of "earthen and wood-roofed" residential dwellings in the town to be at least 2,000 (1935:204). If four individuals are to be estimated to each dwelling, this would suggest a town population of approximately 8,000, a figure difficult to trust since existing archeological remains, although suggestive of a once larger population, would not seem to support a claim for 2,000 dwellings in the seventeenth century.

In comparison to Evliya Çelebi's Ula, by World War I Ula had dwindled to a small settlement of 2,000,[108] had lost a considerable amount of cultural importance through the effect of wartime manpower needs on its religious schools, and administratively had begun to move into the shadow of Muğla,

108 Ula's population in 1891 totaled only 2,550 individuals living in 510 houses (*Aydın Salnamesi* 1891), contrasting to Çelebi's estimate for two centuries earlier. Local oral tradition suggests that Ula experienced a devastating earthquake early in the nineteenth century, followed by a plague of some type, thus possibly accounting for a partial depletion of the population.

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the latter of which was destined to become the provincial capital after the founding of the Republic.[109] The decline of Ula as a regional mediating center continued into the early years of the Republic, abetted by the social and economic changes attendant upon the emergence of Turkey as a modern national society.

In the past, Ula and its immediate hinterland constituted a functional region resulting from an interdependency in which a fixed number of villages were more or less oriented toward the town. In this sense, the town possessed a degree of "centrality" not defined solely upon the one criterion of being a social and civic entity, but also a functional entity defined upon the integration of services and institutions it possessed. The town gave rise to a number of institutions not existing in a rural setting. Further, it provided the locus for an urban elite which exercised its power through many of these institutions. However, this elite, the *ağa*s of Ula, mediated very little of their culture to the town's hinterland. Instead, they largely worked toward retaining certain elements of their life style among themselves as a means of reinforcing their separateness from the larger community.

Ula's importance as a regional intellectual and religious center long contributed to its centrality. Indeed, for centuries Ula fostered important religious leaders, who also served as educators, and supported religious seminaries which attracted scores of students from both the immediate vicinity and distant towns. For these students of religion, Ula represented a nucleation of literary and intellectual resources. For villagers traveling to Ula to attend Friday mosque services, Ula was the site for the performance of religious duties and fulfillment of individual needs provided by Ula's other town-based functions.

The town's regional importance as a religious and intel-

109 Through a number of administrative changes, by the nineteenth century Ula had cast its administrative authority over a total population of over 10,000 located in nineteen villages in the coastal plains and in the highlands (*Aydın Salnamesi* 1891). After the founding of the Republic in 1923, however, widespread administrative reorganization reduced Ula's sphere of administrative influence to ten villages only and its political boundary to that of the present-day county limits.

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lectual center is seen in the variety of institutions and places of worship long supported by the town. During his visit to Ula in 1671-72, Evliya Çelebi recorded the existence of four mosques[110] and nineteen other places of worship, *mihrab*s, in Ula. These four mosques constructed as early as 1376, 1489, 1551, and 1580 were built largely through the financial aid of *ağa*s.[111] In addition, at that time two theological seminaries, or *medrese*s, and several other religious schools offering lower level instruction were located in Ula. Together the two *medrese*s in Ula drew as many as 200 students, or *molla*s, as late as 1875. Local accounts suggest that these religious schools drew far more students in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. The students were supported by donations in the form of *zekât* by Ula's elite, the profits of certain merchants' stores set aside as *vakıf,* and the earnings, or *cer,* of students themselves obtained by preaching in towns and villages during religious holidays. The principal religious teachers in Ula's *medrese*s were regionally famous for their erudition, and several prominent teachers left Ula to take high positions elsewhere.[112] The sons of prominent religious leaders as well often became religious personages in their own right, either remaining to teach alongside their fathers in Ula or going to other towns to found *medrese*s or to become principal religious teachers in mosques.

Requisites dictated by the central government concerning

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110 The four mosques were: (a) *Hacı Mustafa,* located in Cami-i Atik *mahallesi* and built in 1489-90 by Hacı Mustafa bin Şuca bin Emre; (b) *Yeni Cami,* located in Demirsofu *mahallesi* near the market and built in 1376-77 by Mehmet bin Mustafa; (c) *Hüsam Reis,* located in Hacı *mahallesi* near the market and built in 1580-81 by Hüsam Reis; and (d) *Ağalar Cami,* located in Hacı *mahallesi* near the market and built ca. 1551 by Hacı Ali Ağa (see Uykucu 1968:205ff; and Uzunçarşılıoğlu 1929: 152-153).

111 Numerous *vakıf*s or religious endowments were established by *ağa*s, the proceeds of which went to Ula's religious institutions. The income from certain lands, shops, and public works are some examples of endowments.

112 Striking among these is Palabıyık Mehmet who, after years of teaching in an Ula *medrese,* was invited to teach in a famous *medrese* in Constantinople. Upon his death in ca. 1880, he was buried in a tomb next to the Edirne Gate to the city of Constantinople.

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*medrese* students and the military draft strongly influenced the rise and decline of Ula's *medreses*, at least since the middle of the last century. Until 1892, students attending *medreses* were exempted from military service after examination. In 1892 Sultan Hamit relaxed the required exemption examinations, allowing even greater numbers of students to enter the *medreses*. One aged *hoca,* or religious teacher in Ula, claims that by 1905 the Ula *medreses* had been filled by unqualified individuals solely evading military service and that the quality of education was despicable as a result. World War I and the subsequent Turkish War of Independence, however, resulted in the near desertion of Ula's *medreses*, a circumstance from which they never recovered. From 1914 until 1921 all religious students were drafted, and after 1921 the *medreses* never returned to full operation, maintaining an attendance of only about twenty students.

The fate of Ula's two *medreses* was permanently resolved by the new Republic's laws of 1924 which abolished the *medreses* and reorganized the religious hierarchy throughout Turkey. Two government actions helping to bring an end to Ula's importance as a religious center were the abolishment of *vakıfs*, or endowments to religious students, and the establishment of a directorate for religious affairs *(Diyanet Işleri Reisliği),* which placed all religious functionaries under the central government. At the local level, representatives of the national government initiated a campaign against the traditional power of prominent *hocas*. They were joined in their efforts by some town notables of Ula who, influenced by ideas of reform, worked to dislodge religious functionaries. Intensely bitter at the changes of the 1920's, a distinguished *hoca* of Ula commanded, in a Friday mosque sermon, that "It is a sin for one who is wearing western pants to pray in the mosque" *(Çatal pusatla namaz kılmak günahtır)*. In his sermon, the *hoca* condemned the ideas and people whom he considered to pose a threat against Islam.

The closure of Ula's religious seminaries was accompanied by yet other forces serving to reduce Ula's regional importance. The gradual building of village mosques shifted the villagers' religious focus from the town to the village. Under the new office of religious affairs, positions in village mosques

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were filled by salaried mosque functionaries. The heightened governmental emphasis on religious affairs seen throughout Turkey in the 1950's resulted in the establishment of village-based religious instruction in Kuran classes and government-sponsored religious schools in several larger towns, replacing what, in the past, had been provided by Ula as one of its main functions.

The shift of advanced religious education to centers above Ula in the urban hierarchy and the proliferation of places of worship and of elementary religious instruction throughout villages have both greatly preempted Ula's centrality. These institutional shifts, however, are subsidiary to the deep alterations occurring in Ula in terms of religious values. Ula is still regionally noted as a conservative community in which strict local traditions govern behavior in both private and public life. Yet conservative community traditions of Ula as place and community are not necessarily a reflection of individual religious conservatism. Although Ula's three mosques have a total capacity of 1,000, the noon service usually brings only twenty-five to fifty men into the mosques, a figure which rises on Fridays to around 300 by the added attendance of villagers. Significantly, those who regularly attend services are generally over 45 years of age. Alcohol is forbidden by religious proscription; yet the per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages appears to be higher in Ula than in other towns throughout the province. But in contrast to elsewhere, in Ula *rakı* and other spirits are consumed in a more clandestine manner, in the back of shops rather than openly in the restaurants where liquor is permitted. The same women who assiduously avoid Ula's bazaar area and observe the full range of local traditions which restrict their behavior will frequent, uncovered, the bazaars of other towns. Others who scold young girls for their unseemly conduct and dress while in Ula will themselves wade into the water in a makeshift swim suit of underwear when picnicking at a nearby seashore park. Ula, the place, is imbued with local customs which, although carefully observed by its inhabitants when in Ula, are often meaningless to them in another context.

Although Ula has lost its centrality, it has not essentially lost its insularity. Because of a lack of economic opportunities,

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Ula attracts no non-locals beyond the small cadre of civil servants assigned there. Because of this, Ula also cannot readily retain its youth which are a potential source of change. Just as Ula's *ağas* were potentially the mediators of the culture of an outside world to Ula in the past, so are its youth of the present capable of doing the same. However, they are no longer Ula-based, nor do they feel that they are a necessary part of Ula's condition or fate.

Ula has lost the degree of cultural centricity it possessed in the past. The town culturally no longer extends an impress upon its region nor does it possess the hegemony or attractions it once did for a traditional sphere of influence. Ula's historical centrality was an unstable state born of the precarious fact that its centipetal forces were at best periodic, based upon the discontinuity of rural needs. In contrast to some of its economic and political functions which, through certain centrifugal activities, could aggressively forge an association with its region, Ula's cultural functions have lost the resources necessary for their continued existence.

## POLITICAL

Similar to other county-seats throughout Turkey, Ula today houses a complex administrative machinery. In many ways the local offices of government ministries, banks, national cooperatives, and the military, found in a county-seat, combine to be a replica of the national government writ small. The domain of the county governor, *kaymakam,* theoretically reaches from the villager and townsman up through a rigidly stratified bureaucracy to the Chief of State. In fact, in this stratification of decision-making and multiple agents of authority and responsibility, connecting government and the governed, Ula is but a single node in a hierarchy of nodes arranged in order of their increasing administrative influence.

In the past—before the obtaining of *kaza,* or county, status, "occupation" by government-appointed non-local civil servants, and improved means of communication between urban centers—Ula was politically the focal point for a region. This political authority was entrusted to an elite, a relatively small group

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of *ağa*s who exercised their authority from an urban-based residence. The means of legitimization which sustained the continued authority of this elite group was largely by appeal to tradition rather than by what Sjoberg terms appeal to the consent of the governed or to experts (Sjoberg 1960:228).

The continued hegemony of *ağa*s as the political caretakers of Ula was not based solely upon their economic power or their acumen as politicians. Rather, as discussed in Chapter 3, a number of roles were merged into one office, that of being an *ağa*. In addition to their dominance in political positions, their control over the means of production, historic bearing, intellectual prowess, and religious leadership contributed to their single role as community leaders. In this sense the office and man were inseparable. Many *ağa*s, although errant in religious observances or misguided in their economics, remained in political control entrusted with the duties and obligations of their office as institutionalized within the fabric of Ula's life.

Villagers and townsmen relied in large measure upon *ağa*s to maintain the social order, mediate with outside powers, and remain benevolent toward those in their charge. To this end some, but not all, *ağa*s were highly successful. In pre-*kaza* days, the *ağa*s of Ula filled not only the important position of mayor, but sat on the provincial council as well and influenced other local administrative organs. *Ağa*s could and did initiate changes to preserve Ula as a political entity within the provincial structure. In 1954, long after *ağa*s had otherwise withdrawn from public offices, it was still through the traditional influence of some *ağa*s and not entirely through modern political partisanship that Ula won its new administrative status.

Ula's political centrality today is based upon its being a link in the national bureaucratic chain. No longer is Ula the last resort for those seeking justice or repair; it is rather only a point in the system where a claim may be properly initiated. Whereas *ağa*s once were the highest source for recompense in Ula, today even the Ula county governor in times of disagreement may be superceded by going to the provincial level of government. Ula now possesses a number of political functions awarded by the central government, such as control over

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public works, agriculture, and health measures. However, these functions have not enhanced the town in restoring its past role as innovator and benefactor as much as they have established Ula as an administrative plant aiding in the successful governing of a Republic. Similar to other county-seats, Ula possesses a dual government consisting of a municipality structure staffed by locals, and representatives of the central government in the person of a county governor and his staff. This dualism, often a fruitful symbiosis, in the past was blended within a single role: the town notables functioning both to relate upward in the system to the central government and downward to a given sphere of influence.

Other mechanisms have also served to change the orientation of townsmen and villagers away from the town. National political parties have permeated down to the local level, establishing new alliances which have supplanted those based upon traditional criteria. Under the single party system of the past, local town notables represented the region. The advent of the multiparty system profoundly affected Ula's political life after 1950. Although still based upon patronage, the new lines of cleavage created by the multiparty system are now for the most part organized on the basis of party ideology and economic gain rather than on a traditional pattern of social distinctions. Achievement rather than ascribed status has become the more dominant criterion for community leadership.

Further, beyond creating new alliances, the multiparty system effectively decentralized political leadership, allowing charismatic leaders from a village context to effect an impress on the rural scene. Ula today is politically controlled by the Justice Party (AP) from the office of mayor to leadership positions in various town organizations. Despite the almost total dominance of town institutions by AP members, the town vote is still equally divided between the two major parties. In addition, individual villages are more affected by village-based leaders than by town-based AP political figures, a fact witnessed in the major contrasts between villages in voting behavior (see Table 17). Table 17 also indicates the lack of voter participation in mountain villages, where political apathy is in part measured by their historical exclusion from the normal ben-

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*Table 17*
*1965 voting behavior[a] by village for the county of Ula[b]*

| | % Registered voters voting | Major Parties (in per cent) A.P. | C.H.P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Town | | | |
| Ula | 80.1 | 50.7 | 43.8 |
| Plains Villages | | | |
| Akcapınar | 83.4 | 38.9 | 54.8 |
| Cıtlık | 66.4 | 61.4 | 27.8 |
| Gökova | 73.0 | 60.5 | 30.9 |
| Karabörtlen | 71.9 | 20.9 | 71.4 |
| Kızılyaka | 79.4 | 13.6 | 81.4 |
| Portakallık | 70.0 | 22.3 | 67.2 |
| Sarayyanı | 66.4 | 66.8 | 29.0 |
| Highland Village | | | |
| Kızılağaç | 67.9 | 66.6 | 22.3 |
| Mountain Villages | | | |
| Armutcuk | 49.2 | 50.0 | 38.4 |
| Çiçekli | 56.3 | 37.1 | 52.5 |
| Gölcük | 47.0 | 53.5 | 41.1 |
| Kavakcalı | 48.4 | 18.1 | 57.8 |
| Kıyrı | 51.0 | 20.3 | 68.6 |

a Voting data used are obtained from results of voting for Members of Parliament *(Milletvekili).*

b Source: T.C.D.I.E. *1950-1965 Milletvekili ve 1961, 1964 Cumhuriyet Senatosu Üye Seçimleri Sonuçları,* Yayın 513, Ankara 1966: 1047-1048.

eficial effects of political participation. The relative ineffectiveness of Ula's town-based political leadership is striking within the province. In the other eight counties the AP political machinery, housed in the urban county-seat, has had a more pronounced effect upon their respective rural hinterland, resulting in heavy AP voting within each county (Table 18).

In sum, as an effective administrative machine, Ula today functions to maintain public order, insure the health and welfare of a dependent urban-rural population, and derive revenue from its population to help maintain the local municipal government and contribute to the national government. In addition, municipalities like Ula are entrusted by the central

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*Table 18*
*1965 voting behavior by county for the province of Muğla*[a]

| County | Parties[b] | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | AP. (per cent) | C.H.P. (per cent) | C.K.M.P. (per cent) | T.I.P. (per cent) | Ind. (per cent) |
| Bodrum | 72.2 | 23.7 | 1.7 | 1.8 | .6 |
| Datça | 67.8 | 31.0 | — | 1.1 | .1 |
| Fethiye | 68.5 | 26.2 | 2.6 | 2.4 | .3 |
| Köyceğiz | 59.6 | 36.2 | — | 4.2 | — |
| Marmaris | 59.0 | 34.3 | 3.8 | 2.8 | .1 |
| Milas | 60.2 | 33.9 | 3.3 | 2.5 | .1 |
| Muğla | 58.2 | 34.2 | 2.7 | 3.3 | 1.6 |
| Ula | 45.1 | 51.3 | 1.3 | 2.3 | — |
| Yatağan | 61.9 | 33.0 | 2.0 | 3.0 | .1 |

a Source: T.C.D.I.E. *1950-1965 Milletvekili ve 1961, 1964 Cumhuriyet Senatosu Üye Seçimleri Sonuçları*, Yayın 513, Ankara 1966.

b A.P. Adalet Partisi (Justice Party)
C.H.P. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican Peoples Party)
C.K.M.P. Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi (Republican Peasant National Party)
T.I.P. Türkiye Işçi Partisi (Labor Party)
Ind. Independent Votes

government to perform a wide range of compulsory services (e.g. provide transportation services, license construction, regulate prices [see Soysal 1967:24 for complete list]). In an administrative sense, Ula is an important political node performing necessary administrative services within the scheme of provincial local government. Employing historical hindsight, however, Ula is no longer the source and the locus of authority as it once was, but merely a node within a bureaucratic network.

ECONOMIC

Throughout most of the previous chapters a contrast between past and present Ula has been used to indicate changes in Ula's economy. Viewing a number of criteria as growth indicators, Ula would seem to have experienced a considerable degree of development. Criteria such as increased availability of capital (e.g. through bank loans and cooperative loans),

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an apparent increase in per capita income over the last two decades, and increasing acreage devoted to a commercial crop would appear to portend a healthy economy. Consumption norms, as well, have risen considerably. One merchant claims that within the one year period between 1966 and 1967 his refrigerator sales increased from three in 1966 to eight in 1967, radio sales from forty to eighty, and bicycle sales from 55 to 75. This same merchant had a stock valued at 15,000 T.L. in 1952, but by 1966 had increased his stock to 500,000 T.L. Permits to operate radios, sold by the Ula post office, increased from a combined rural-urban figure of 1,046 in 1963 to 1,602 in 1968, of which over one-half are owned by villagers. Only two decades ago, few houses had glass in their windows, few individuals ate meat more than twice monthly, and few ventured farther than Muğla, less than 15 kilometers away. Undoubtedly more indicators of affluence could be cited, all adding weight to the thesis that Ula today is better off than it was two decades ago.

The differential between the apparent and real, however, is worth noting. It is not difficult to agree that Ula has indeed experienced changes. It is true that there is more commercial capital in Ula today, perhaps up to two to three million T.L., but it is in the hands of relatively few townsmen. It is correct to assume that the greater amount of credit extended through cooperatives has abetted the spread of tobacco. But it is also the case that it has become increasingly more difficult to profit from the growing of tobacco, so much so that the search for alternatives is becoming acute. And it is undeniable that consumer demand has increased, encouraging the recent development of such markets as the manufactured consumer goods market (see Chapter 6). Increased wants have, however been accompained by mounting debt, one's willingness to pay being measured by one's willingness to owe.

The rural awakening to opportunities roughly began in the 1950's. This relative rural affluence is courted by Ula's merchants, tradesmen, and craftsmen alike. However, improvements in roads connecting villages and larger towns, and greater market knowledge by village buyers have effected a shift away from Ula, whose centrality had been dependent upon traditional demands upon its economic functions. Today

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Ula is bypassed by villagers in two ways: by the providing within the village itself of the range of economic functions traditionally urban-based and by the establishment of economic links with larger towns and cities higher in the urban hierarchy. Both movements serve to detract from Ula's economic centrality. Ula's inability to stem these movements has actualized a potential instability of the town—the loss of its economic sphere of influence, in this case its traditional trade area. As one craftsman states: "with our economic progress we have put ties on our merchants and sent our youth away, but in the process have become merely an unnecessary rung in an economic ladder".

Several decades ago Ula's merchants and craftsmen in some measure were compelled to transport themselves and goods outward to then physically remote villages and to towns in order to recruit business. By moving goods from Ula to rural areas, they were able to supplement their Ula-based trade which resulted from the minimal flow of buyers into the town. Today Ula's commerce is still itinerant; not because roads are minimal and villagers immobile but because of the converse. Now highly mobile and possessing increased demands, villagers find Ula increasingly insufficient to meet their needs. By forfeiting the concept of "centrality", Ula merchants are abandoning their fixity in space and, through itinerant activities, are redefining their position as economic forces.

## RESPONSES

### LOCAL ALTERNATIVES

The previous chapters have, to some extent, explored ways in which residents of Ula respond to and act upon the economic problems confronting them. Some of these responses include diversification of interests and capital, the use of extensive credit as the basis of transactions, and the extreme modes of economizing found within the household. For many, however, an alternative livelihood is not chosen as a response. Many craftsmen, barely managing to earn enough from their craft to sustain them, find reasons for refusing to switch to another

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occupation. To change to another occupation of social acceptability would involve greater capital than possessed by many and often entail the same risks which underlie the present occupation. Work as an unskilled laborer is often available, although seasonal in character. But to accept this work, a craftsman would demean himself greatly in the eyes of the community. Not only is his skill a valuable "golden bracelet" to him, but to be compelled to become a laborer would be demeaning and cast shame upon his household.

It is difficult to measure idleness in Ula. During the day the coffeehouses are filled with adults and youth who are seemingly idle. Most of these men, however, may be considered economically active in that their work is seasonal, followed by periods of inactivity. Along with those who are in some way engaged in an occupation, however, there are a considarable number of largely idle youth. The years between the completion of school, now at 16 for many, and the commencement of military service at 20, are years fraught with indecision and difficulties for Ula's youth. Unable to begin the training for a trade in seriousness because of its abortive termination by military service, youths rely heavily upon the obligations of parents and siblings for their support, working only occasionally during the several years of idleness. Apprenticing has virtually ceased in Ula. Few youths, or their parents, are eager to devote years to apprenticeship at a craft such as cobbling or tailoring, crafts which are nearly defunct.

Despite their pronounced uniformity in ethical behavior, merchants exhibit a *modus operandi* of extreme individualism. With the exception of the historical cobblers' guild, Ula has been witness to few cooperative efforts originating locally. Two ventures, neither of which lasted more than a few years, are noteworthy in their departure from the usual pattern of individual enterprise. Reputedly in 1938 several cloth merchants of Ula pooled their capital in order to purchase printed cotton factory-manufactured cloth of low quality for resale. This group, calling themselves the *Nazilli Basma Kooperatifi,* disbanded shortly thereafter as a result of internal frictions. A second attempt at a locally-based cooperative effort was undertaken in 1941. As a means of countering shortages in agricultural staples created by the war, two charismatic

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landlords formed a shareholding group called the *Ula Birlik*. Their aim was to import into Ula grain, sugar, and other scarce items, using as capital for purchases money obtained from the selling of shares in the group. In its first year, the *Ula Birlik* paid 200 T.L. in dividends for each 500 T.L. invested. In 1943 it reached its peak when it had an operating capital of 43,000 T.L. For his remuneration as financial manager, the successful head of the group received 10 per cent of the profits. This was always a source of tension, and, finally, on the stipulation that he would not receive 10 per cent of the profits, a less able individual was appointed as manager. The group folded within months of the change as a result of internal suspicions and financial misjudgment.

Of the numerous hastily formed and rapidly dissolved composite partnerships seen in Ula, many are fraught with mutual distrust. Some outspoken individuals place much of the blame for the town's lack of composite venture on *kendi menfaat,* self-interest or greed. Those innovative merchants who lack not ideas but organization are most bitter. One such merchant, for example, has several schemes for obtaining a part of Muğla's hegemony on agricultural implement sales. But he despairs of ever realizing his plans, despite his conviction that a joint venture between six leading merchants could amass three million T.L. for this investment purpose. Quarrels over organization, share of profits, checks against cheating on profits, and long-standing animosities over past personal incidences all serve to bring preliminary discussions to an unfruitful end. Another merchant claims that anything Ula does is *devamsız,* without continuity of development. Shortsightedness, self-interest, and the passive wait for the "successful example", in his estimation, characterize his fellow merchants.

The relatively few who, by seeking out unique enterprises, have attempted to establish themselves as successful models for others to follow, have been singular in their failures. The situation of Osman is a case in point. Osman, the son of an Ula *ağa,* was educated at an American secondary school in Izmir and received a year of college. Recalled to Ula upon the death of his father, he managed his family's large estate of tobacco fields from 1940 to 1950. During this period he

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attempted numerous innovative schemes, from hydraulic programs to the *Ula Birlik* mentioned above, all of which failed or never were started. In 1951 he discovered a source of lignite not too distant from Ula and began to mine it. The first lignite brought to Muğla from this mine reputedly was thrown into a stream by the mayor of Muğla. Charging that it was dirty and fit only for factories, the mayor discouraged marketing the lignite in Muğla. Undaunted, Osman convinced some brick kiln owners of Ula to burn his lignite. In addition, he gave stoves to individuals on a trial basis to allow them to experience lignite as a fuel as a substitute for wood. With the exception of the lignite used to heat public offices, it was rejected by people in Ula and Muğla as too expensive and dirty. Suffering extensive financial losses on his mine because of rising operational costs and a poor market, Osman gradually sold fields and possessions to keep the mine open. Today, faced with the eventual closure of the mine, he speaks of marble and magnesium lodes he has just discovered, an irrigation scheme for the entire Ula valley, a weaving industry to make Isparta carpets in Ula, a tobacco-sale cooperative, and countless other possibilities he feels are feasible alternatives to Ula's present economic situation. Aware of what needs to be done, deterred by a continual shortage of capital, and unable to recruit others in the community to support him in a project, Osman is a frustrated man. He points out with irony that many look toward him to achieve and set a successful example; yet all he has presented over the years are failures and false starts.

## THE EXODUS

In the thirty years from 1935 to 1965, Ula's net urban population gain has been only 14.7 per cent, or 592 individuals. Similar to other towns throughout the highlands, but in a more pronounced manner, Ula is losing its population to other areas in Turkey.

Turkey is a nation possessing a high degree of internal migration. The 1960 census which represents a conservative estimate indicates that over 11 per cent of Turkey's population live in a province other than that of their birth (Tümertekin

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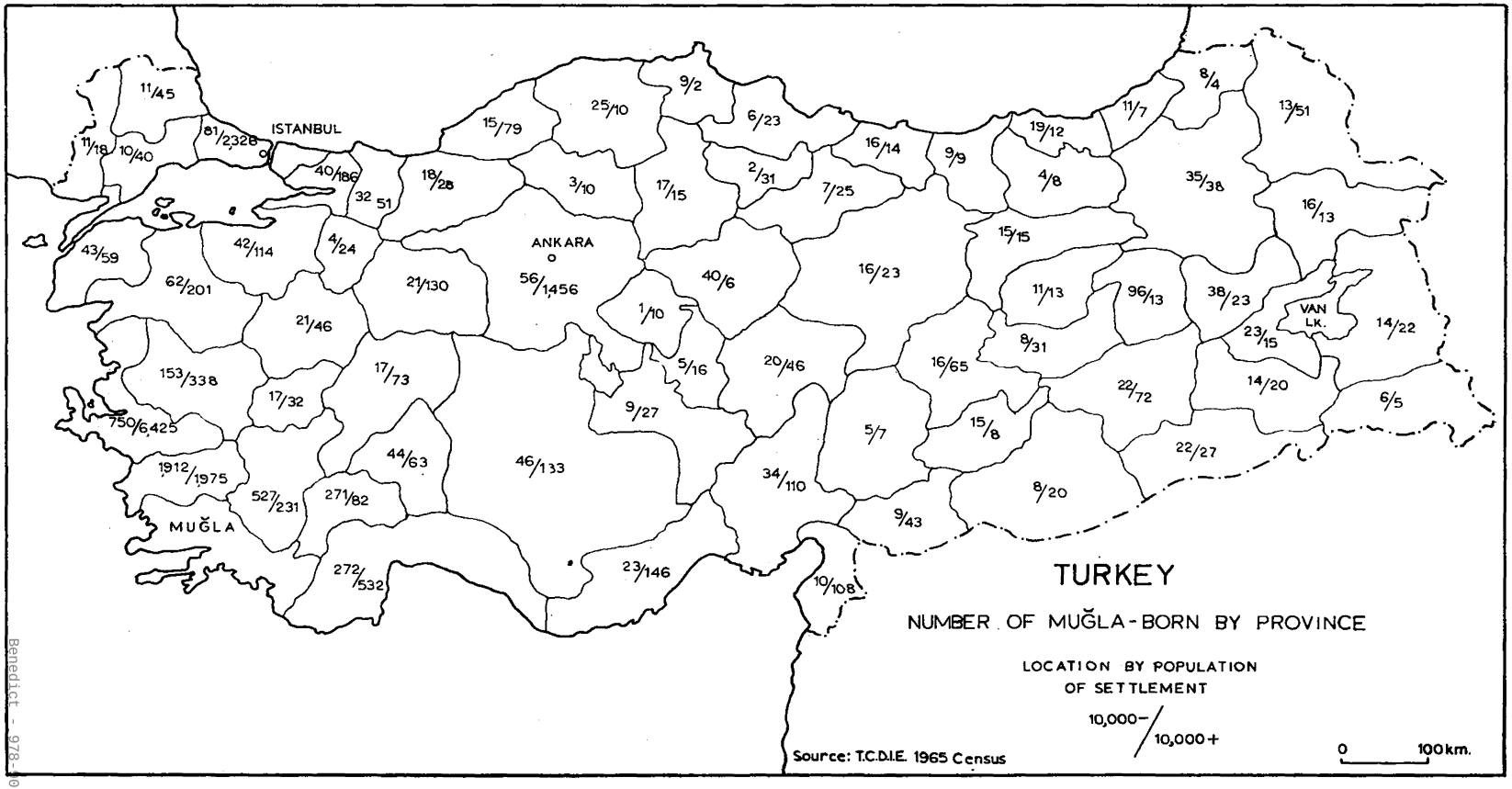
1968:97). A lack of census data makes it impossible to determine the actual pattern of this internal movement; however, several characteristics have been noted. Over 74 per cent of those who move to another province settle in urban centers over 10,000 in population size (Tümertekin 1968:126). The number of out-migrations increases for a given province if its neighboring province possesses a high degree of attraction (Tümertekin 1968:147). Finally, internal movement within a province tends not to be contained within a single county, or *kaza* (village to county-seat), but between counties—most frequently from village to the provincial capital (Tümertekin 1968:150).

Muğla is a province of pronounced out-migration. Contrary to many other provinces, migration occurs not to Muğla's provincial center but outward to other provinces possessing greater powers of attraction. Between 1950 and 1960, 14,602 people left the province of Muğla, of which 62 per cent were males *(Muğla: Genel Araştırma* 1966:23, 24). Of those leaving Muğla, 38 per cent settled in the neighboring provinces of Aydın and Izmir *(Muğla: Genel Araştırma* 1966:24). During the same period Muğla received 6,507 individuals, of which 65 per cent were from the immediately neighboring provinces of Denizli, Antalya, Burdur, and Aydın *(Muğla: Genel Araştırma* 1966:24).

Muğla's exodus of population, therefore, is occurring twice as rapidly as its intake of population from neighboring areas. Perhaps more striking is that the tempo of out-migration has more than doubled between 1950 and 1960 (Tümertekin 1968: 171); and between 1960 and 1965 the number of Muğla-born living in other provinces leaped from 26,382 to 48,304 (T.C.D. I.E. *1965 Census: Social* 1969:117-118, 143-144) (see Map 9).

Many of the economic alternatives discussed in this study are mechanisms used to derive a livelihood from outside Ula's traditional sphere of influence. In many of these efforts, however, Ula is not given up as the place of residence. Instead, activities are modified to range beyond Ula but the town remains the locus for family and residence. Many other townsmen, however, have left Ula to seek opportunities in distant towns and cities, returning only occasionally for brief visits. The number of these individuals is almost impossible to

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**Map 9. Turkey: Number of Muğla—Born by Province.**

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determine as the exodus has been occurring for decades. These out-migrations from Ula appear to follow two broad occupational directions. First there are those who, through an educational process, prepare themselves for employment as professionals, civil servants, and skilled workers. Secondly, a number of Ula-born youths serve as apprentices or salaried employees to Ula-born merchants operating in large cities.

Education as a vehicle for mobility has long been stressed in Ula. The attainment of the education and training necessary to enter the vast labor market of civil servants is the goal of many families who recognize Ula's restrictions on local opportunities. The establishment of Ula as a county-seat in 1954 and the subsequent arrival of a number of non-local civil servants brought an increased awareness of the importance of education to Ula. Through its primary and middle schools, Ula provides the first two rungs in the educational process and thus a means for finding opportunity elsewhere.

Ula has always highly stressed education. Aside from the religious education for which the town was long known, Ula supported a school offering secular topics as early as 1894. In 1912 a government *ilk,* or primary, school opened near the bazaar. By 1939 the school was attended by 368 students and instruction was offered by seven teachers (Eroğlu 1939:175). By 1939 as well, there were five village schools having a combined enrollment of 386 students in the district (Eroğlu 1939: 175). These figures are all the more remarkable considering Ula's physical and cultural isolation prior to World War II.

Located today in Ula are both a primary, *ilk,* school and a middle, *orta,* school, the latter of which graduated its first class in 1967. A high percentage of students who are graduated from the primary school continue on to higher schools. Of 67 students in 1967 who were graduated from primary school, 57 continued to Ula's middle school and three went on to school elsewhere. Of Ula's 1967 middle school graduating class, 43 of the 52 students graduated have continued on to higher schools, most of which are located in Muğla. These latter schools include technical and commercial schools for preparation for a trade or business, normal schools for preparation as teachers in primary or middle schools, and the *lise (lycée)* for a general education and for preparation for university studies.

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Students from Ula are outstanding in the province in their performance on examinations and in the number who continue beyond the minimal education required of all.

A superficial survey of Ula-born individuals working and living outside of Ula shows a considerable number in professional and civil servant capacities. There are presently at least twenty doctors of medicine, ten individuals in prominent political posts (one of whom is a member of Parliament), fifteen lawyers, seven engineers, three university professors, a number of military officers, and two judges who were born in Ula. In addition, there are at least 150 Ula-born individuals serving in such civil service positions as education, health services, and forestry elsewhere. A quick check also indicates that at least 200 students from Ula attend higher schools outside of Ula. Rarely are individuals displaced from Ula found in the burgeoning squatter populations surrounding large cities. Indeed, it is with some pride that townsmen recite the names of Ula-born men living elsewhere who have achieved prominence as professionals, as men loyal in the service of the government, or as successful merchants.

Ula-born entrepreneurs are found in locations from small shops in Muğla and Aydın to large wholesale businesses in Izmir and Istanbul. Originally tailors, bakers, or grocers in Ula, these merchants left Ula to establish businesses elsewhere. These successful merchants often maintain close social ties with Ula and provide an avenue for Ula youths wishing to become established outside of Ula.

One such family which operates a highly successful wholesale outlet for yardgoods in Istanbul has performed a vital service for a number of Ula youths. This extended family maintains close ties with kinsmen in Ula, donates large sums of money to aid Ula's poor, and has helped in the construction of a mosque, the middle school, and several other town projects. More importantly, they have functioned as sponsors for kin-related youths seeking opportunities in Istanbul. Such youths serve an apprenticeship in the Istanbul store and then, with borrowed capital, open individual stores in Istanbul.

Ula-born merchants living in larger towns and cities also help Ula students attending school in those areas. They may provide students with loans or work, or find housing for them.

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Any student or individual leaving Ula for cities elsewhere is generally provided with letters of introduction and names of Ula-born to contact for assistance. In this respect a network of valuable connections has been established throughout Turkey for individuals desirous of leaving Ula.

Ula's moribund economy has forced many to seek economic alternatives beyond the scope of Ula's traditional sphere of influence. Some, retaining Ula as their residence, have turned to itinerant forms of livelihood. Others have left Ula to follow occupations in other localities. In doing so, both follow the advice of a local saying: "Stay not where you are born, but where your stomach is filled" *(Doğduğun yerde değil, karnın doyduğu yerde kal).*

## ULA'S IMPLICATIONS

The fieldwork which yielded this study began not as a study of a town, but rather as a study of a regional market system. In this, the selection of the province of Muğla was no accident. Still a physically and economically isolated region, lagging in its development in contrast to its neighboring provinces, and a source of concern for the helmsmen of Turkish regional planning, Muğla is interesting in terms of its placement within the whole and in terms of propositions about change and modernization.

It was while studying the internal market system that the town of Ula, the home base for an inordinate number of marketeers, was selected for intense study. Ula is not the sole community in the region which propels townsmen outward as marketeers, cabinet makers, clerks, and laborers, but it is the degree in which it does so which raises pertinent questions. In many respects, which go beyond the phenomenon of outmigration, Ula is exemplary of the problems of social and economic change faced by towns throughout the region. Further, to approach questions about these processes of change requires a study at the scale of the town of Ula. It is precisely this scale, within the range of studies on Turkish society, which constitutes the most serious ethnographic void.

It is not simple to make generalizations on the basis of

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results found in Ula to other towns of similar scale in Turkey. Whereas the advent of new political roles contributed, in Ula, to the disenfranchisement of the *ağa* elite, in other towns the same process contributed to the further entrenchment of a traditional landholding class. For many towns, the new role of county-seat for a newly created *kaza,* or county, heralded the arrival of agents of modernity which served to create new and dynamic town institutions. Ula, too, was markedly changed by the attainment of *kaza* status, but the attendant shifts in values and expectations served to alert Ula to alternatives elsewhere, rather than to bring about a reordering of institutions and opportunities in Ula. For a number of towns, the swift economic changes of the 1950's elevated their position as a service center, launching them as a persuasive attraction for a newly dependent rural hinterland. This decade witnessed the strengthening of village centers, the improvement of agricultural techniques, and the development of new routes of communication. For Ula, however, these changes instead created the means for a traditionally dependent rural hinterland to bypass the town in a fusion of field with new and enticing centers above Ula. Numerous differences between Ula and other towns serve to limit the number of generalizations to be made.

On the other hand, Ula is not offered here as a community unique in its history and circumstances in the larger view of the numerous settlements of which Turkey is comprised today. Rather, the causes of Ula's decline as a mediating center and the desperate attempts of its population to search out meaningful alternatives appear to be widespread phenomena, duplicated if not in detail at least in form by a number of towns throughout Turkey.

There is official recognition of the problems facing intermediate size towns by some Turkish social scientists involved in the formation of programs of national planning. Troubled by the magnitude of problems found in the structure of local governments and the agonizing increases in Turkey's migrant squatter population, they have proposed several master plans for the alleviation of these conditions. Under one such master plan, some planners have suggested that as many as 50 per cent of the settlements bearing the legal status of

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"town" be stripped of that formal status. In doing so, they would also be effectively stripped of financial aid, the result of which would conceivably force these towns into obscurity. This would result in the creation of a new hierarchy of urban places no longer including "dead towns" whose past social, economic, and cultural importance has been eroded (Yavuz 1964:172).

One scholar explicitly states his position concerning towns which have lost their functions. Soysal (1967:43) believes that such local governments have become "structures" which "stand in the way of economic and social development, land reform, reorganization of markets, reshaping of the distributive mechanism and the integration of the local and national economies". The subsequent fate of communities such as Ula will perhaps be decided by the central government on the basis of the cost of perpetuating these "old structures". Soysal (1967:45) further believes that "There is no inherent virtue in local autonomy as such, and the test of efficiency should be the touchstone of all experiments for deciding the division between central and local entities". Furthermore, "A distinction has to be made between those settlements likely to develop into rural centres of attraction and those condemned to wither away because of geographic and economic conditions" (Soysal 1967:46).

This view places the burden of success upon the "efficiency" of the settlement to grow as an economic entity and to increase its centripetal attraction for an urban and rural population by heightening its economic functions. In this sense alone, it would appear that Ula might wither upon the vine of modernization. Ula is not an efficient nucleation of economic functions, but for this reason it has become the locus for aggressive agents who seek to syncretize economic variables beyond the confines of Ula as place and community.

Towns are communities as well as process. Ula as a community continues to be imbued with values and traditions which are meaningful for those who persist in remaining despite the complexities in gaining a livelihood. The tenacity of this identification between place and people, the importance of being *Ulalı,* of the place, encompasses an ideology which, to

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an extent, has a separate existence from the criteria of "efficiency" which portend success for the planner of economic entities. The explication of this ideology, the marked changes in Ula's institutions, and the responses of townsmen to the widening gap between ideology and structure has been the primary purpose of this study.

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*APPENDIX A*

# *A COMPARISON OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONS BETWEEN 1947 AND 1967*

*PART 1*

*Type of trade by shops located in commercial area*

| Trade | No. of shops 1947 | No. of shops 1967 | % of total shops 1947 | % of total shops 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group I — Retailing | | | | |
| A. Foodstuffs | | | | |
| Butcher | 6 | 7 | 4.72 | 3.45 |
| Grocer | 18 | 28 | 14.17 | 13.79 |
| Grain seller | 1 | 4 | | |
| Monopoly products | — | 7 | | |
| Olive-oil | — | 3 | | |
| Total Group IA% | | | 19.68 | 24.14 |
| B. Non-food | | | | |
| 1. Wearing apparel | | | | |
| Accessories | — | 4 | | |
| Clothier | 13 | 19 | 10.24 | 9.36 |
| Leather goods | — | 1 | | |
| Shoes (factory-made) | — | 6 | | |
| General merchant | — | 1 | | |
| 2. Other | | | | |
| Electrical appliances-pesticides | — | 3 | | |
| Automotive parts | — | 3 | | |
| Construction material | 1 | 3 | | |
| Fertilizers | — | 2 | | |
| Electrical parts | — | 1 | | |
| Scrap dealer | — | 1 | | |
| Total Group IB% | | | 11.02 | 21.67 |
| Total Group I | | | 30.70 | 45.81 |
| Group II — Services | | | | |
| A. Foodstuffs* | | | | |
| Baker | 6 | 7 | 4.72 | 3.45 |
| Beverage bottler | 1 | 1 | | |
| Ice cream | — | 1 | | |
| Total Group IIA% | | | 5.51 | 4.43 |

* See Part 2 for coffeehouses, mills, and restaurants

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Part 1 continued

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| B. Non-food | | | | |
| 1. Wearing apparel | | | | |
| Cloth dyer | 4 | 2 | | |
| Shoemaker (multiple piece modern type) | 7 | 23 | 5.51 | 11.33 |
| Cobbler (*yemeni*-type, classic two piece) | 41 | — | 32.28 | — |
| Tailor | 6 | 33 | 4.72 | 16.25 |
| Total Group II B1% | | | 45.68 | 28.58 |
| 2. Personal services** | | | | |
| Barber | 7 | 11 | 5.51 | 5.42 |
| Photographer | — | 2 | | |
| Petitioner | 1 | 3 | | |
| 3. Repair services | | | | |
| Watch | 1 | 2 | | |
| Gunsmith | — | 1 | | |
| 4. Other | | | | |
| Lathe operator | 1 | 1 | | |
| Tanner | — | 1 | | |
| Blacksmith | 3 | 2 | | |
| Cabinetmaker | — | 1 | | |
| Ironmonger | 5 | 9 | | |
| Pack-saddle | 2 | 5 | | |
| Tinner | 2 | 1 | | |
| Tinsmith | 1 | 4 | | |
| Total Groups II B2-4% | | | 18.11 | 21.18 |
| Total Group II | | | 69.30 | 54.19 |
| TOTAL SHOPS | 127 | 203 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

(% shop increase 1947 - 1967 is 59.84)

** See Part 2 for hotels, public baths

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*PART 2*

*Changes in selected functions*
*1947-1967*

| Administration | 1947 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|
| Municipality | + | + |
| Sub-governor | + (district) | + (county) |
| Registration, vital statistics | + | + |
| Gendarmerie post | — | + |
| Directorate of Security | — | + |
| Local directorates of: | | |
| Interior | — | + |
| Finance | — | + |
| Forestry | — | + |
| Agriculture | — | + |
| Monopoly products | — | + |
| Land registration | — | + |
| Justice | — | + |
| Religion *(müftü)* | + | + |
| Veterinary services | — | + |
| Health clinic | — | + |
| Post office | + | + |
| Jail | + | + |
| People's house | + | + |
| Agricultural Credit Cooperative | + | + |
| **Recreation and Association** | | |
| Coffeehouses | 10 | 11 |
| Clubs | — | 3 |
| Restaurants | — | 5 |
| Special interest associations | — | 4 |
| Political party branches | 1 | 2 |
| **Miscellaneous public functions** | | |
| Schools | 1 | 2 |
| Banks | — | 2 |
| Mosques | 3 | 3 |
| Public baths | 2 | 1 |
| Flour mills | 2 | — |
| Hotels | 2 *(hans)* | 2 |
| Gas stations | — | 3 |

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*PART 3*

*An approximation of the economically active population by occupation 1947-1967*

| | | No. of individuals (all males) 1947 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Group 1. Employment by trades as listed in Part 1. Includes head of business and assistants for sites in commercial area. | | | |
| I A Retailing, foodstuffs | | 30 | 65 |
| I B Retailing, non-food | | 15 | 65 |
| II A Services, foodstuffs | | 7 | 11 |
| II B Services, non-food | | 175 | 143 |
| | Total | 227 | 284 |
| | % | 40.68 | 37.47 |
| Group 2. Employment by trade listed in Part 4. | | | |
| | Total | 16 | 33 |
| | % | 2.87 | 4.35 |
| Group 3. Other selected services in fixed sites cited in Part 2. | | | |
| A. Coffeehouse attendant | | 12 | 40 |
| B. Restaurateur | | — | 8 |
| C. Miller | | 5 | 2 |
| D. Hotel keeper | | 5 | 3 |
| E. Bath attendant | | 5 | 2 |
| | Total | 27 | 55 |
| | % | 4.84 | 7.25 |
| Group 4. Trades mainly itinerant in organization | | | |
| A. Marketeer | | | |
| Foodstuffs | | 10 | 10 |
| Non-food | | 25 | 50 |
| B. Drover | | 3 | 10 |
| C. Porter | | 5 | 5 |
| D. Carpenter-stonemason | | 30 | 60 |
| E. Unskilled laborer | | 25 | 75 |
| F. Tapper (sweet-gum tree) | | 150 | — |
| | Total | 248 | 210 |
| | % | 44.44 | 27.71 |

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Part 3 continued

| | | | 1947 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group 5. | Transportation. Includes drivers and assistants. | | | |
| | No. Vehicle 1947 | No. Vehicle 1967 | | |
| | 3 | 14 Automobile | 5 | 16 |
| | — | 5 Jeep | — | 5 |
| | — | 14 Microbus | — | 16 |
| | 8 | 53 Truck | 10 | 79 |
| | | Total | 15 | 116 |
| | | % | 2.69 | 15.30 |
| Group 6. | Administration. Local and central government local-born civil servants | | | |
| | | Total | 20 | 50 |
| | | % | 3.58 | 6.60 |
| Group 7. | Miscellaneous self-employed clerical and professionals | | | |
| | | Total | 5 | 10 |
| | | % | .90 | 1.32 |
| | | GRAND TOTAL | 558 | 758 |
| | | % | 100.00 | 100.00 |

Notes

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Total town population. (Actual census figures for 1945 and 1965) | 3,652 | 4,616 |
| 2. | Total male population. (Age-sex figures for 1965 exact, those for 1945 estimated from 1965 ratio.) | 1,750 | 2,152 |
| 3. | Male population between ages 20-65. (Again based upon 1965 age-sex ratio) | 923 | 1,182 |
| 4. | Economically active population itemized in this table | 558 | 758 |
| 5. | No. 4 as a percentage of No. 3 | 60.5 | 64.1 |
| 6. | No. 4 as a percentage of No. 1 | 15.3 | 16.4 |

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*PART 4*

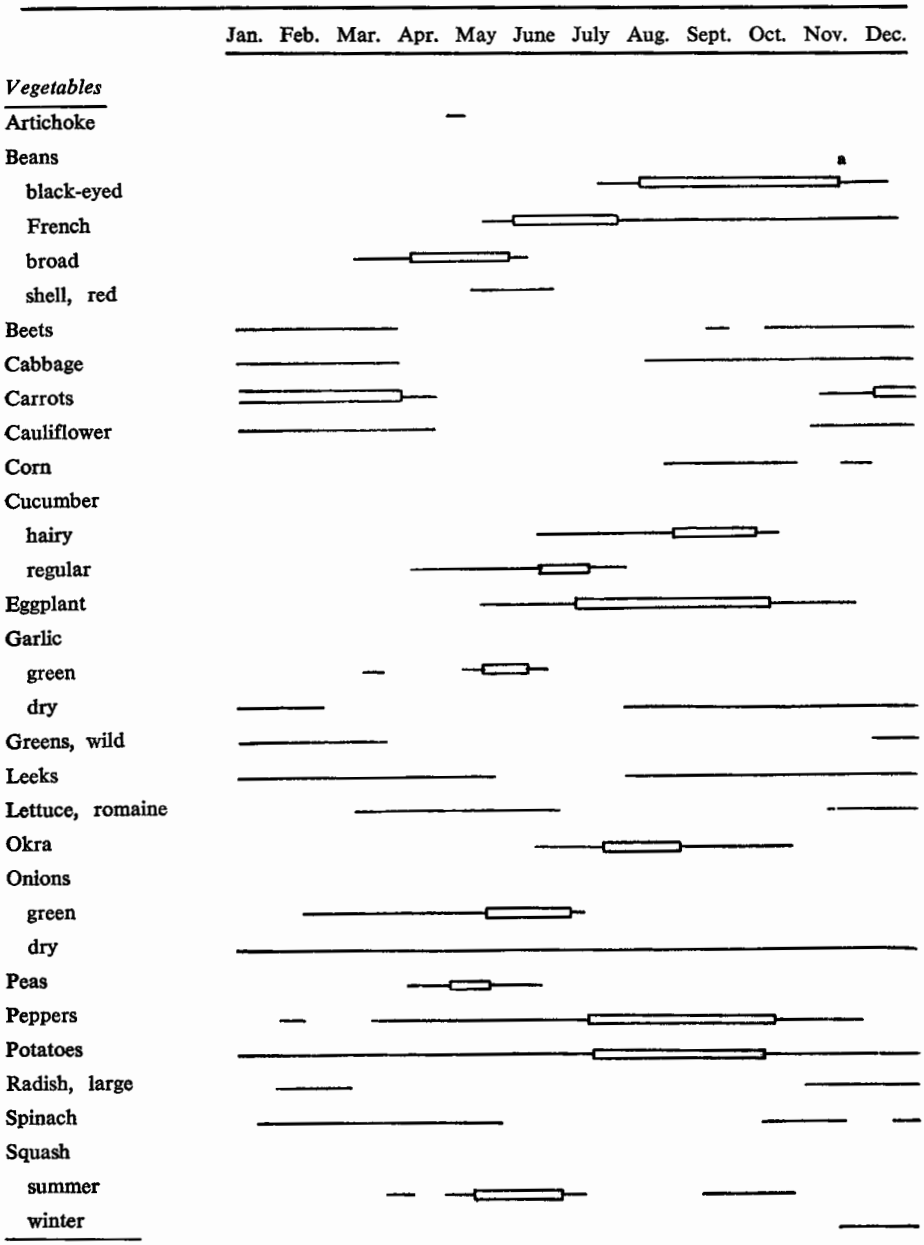
*Trades located in town environs*

| Trade | No. of sites 1947 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|
| Cement block | 1 | 1 |
| Ceramic pipe | — | 1 |
| Tile and brick kilns | 2 | 3 |
| Potter | 1 | 1 |
| Sawyer (band type) | — | 4 |
| Carpenter | — | 2 |
| Cabinetmaker | — | 3 |
| Gas station | — | 3 |

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## *APPENDIX B*

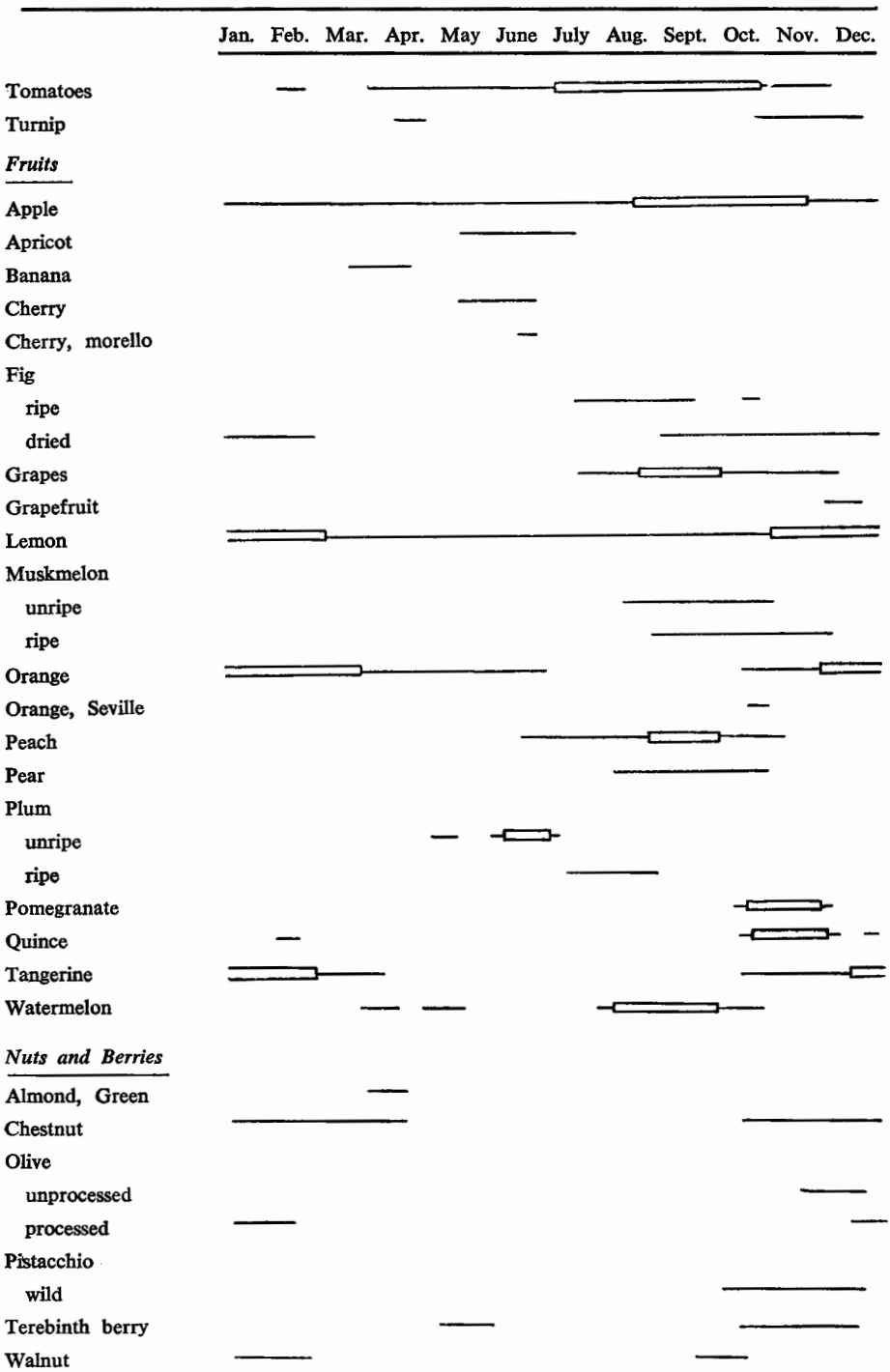
# *SELECTED PRODUCE FOUND IN THE ULA FRIDAY MARKET, BY MONTH*




a refers to period of greatest volume of produce in the market.

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*APPENDIX B* — Continued




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