

Alternative Marketing Ethics Within the Context of the Madinah Markets and Akhi Organizations: The Anatolian Approach*

Bayram Zafer Erdoğan, Ömer Torlak, Cengiz Yılmaz, Müjdat Özmen, Mahmut Sami İşlek

Öz: Bu çalışma, Batı dışı toplumlarda tarihsel pazarlama düşüncesi ve pratiğini pazarlama etiği perspektifinde incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, pazarlama biliminin ana konusu olan değişim (mübadele) davranışının dönüşümü ve mevcut kavramsallaştırılmasına yönelik yeni anlayışlar sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma doğası gereği kavramsaldir. Tarihsel olarak değişim uygulamalarının tasvirini sağlar ve daha sonra Batılı yorumlamalardan farklı olan ve Anadolu'yu temel alan (Küçük Asya) meydana gelen pazarlama düşüncesi ve pratiğinin evriminin alternatif bir açıklamasını sunar. Pazarlamanın, moderniteden çok önce uygulandığı ve üzerine düşünüldüğü sonucuna varılmıştır. Aslında 7. yüzyıla kadar tarihlendirilebileceği ileri sürülmektedir. Ayrıca, farklı kültürel ve dini geçmişler, benzersiz pazarlama anlayışlarına yol açabilmektedir. Batı yorumlarının aksine, Anadolu yaklaşımı değişim için farklı temel güdüler sunmaktadır. Bunlar sadece bireyin çıkarlarını ve isteklerini değil, aynı zamanda toplumun genel iyiliğini ve manevi bir tekâmülü de içerir. Bu bağlamda çağdaş Batılı pazarlama izahlarının tüm pazarlama bağlamlarına genelleştirilemeyeceği savunulmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, Anadolu bağlamında değişim davranışının ve etik perspektifinin derinliğine ve çeşitliliğine ışık tutmak için kültürel ve tarihsel olarak köklü bir yaklaşım sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pazarlama Tarihi, Pazarlama Ahlakı, Medine Pazarları, Hisbe Teşkilatı, Ahi Teşkilatı, Anadolu Yaklaşımı

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@ Prof. Dr., Anadolu University, bzerdogan@anadolu.edu.tr

0000-0002-2147-7356

@ Prof. Dr., İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi, omertorlak@gmail.com

0000-0002-8927-5355

@ Prof. Dr., Ortaođu Teknik Üniversitesi, ycengiz@metu.edu.tr

0000-0002-9383-1457

@ Doç. Dr., Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi, mujdatsld@gmail.com

0000-0001-5921-7253

@ Arş. Gör. Dr., Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi, msislek@ogu.edu.tr

0000-0001-9728-2961

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Abstract: This paper aims to explore the idea and practice of historical marketing in non-Western societies in terms of marketing ethics. Furthermore, it aims to provide novel insights into the evolution of the core subject matter of marketing science and exchange behavior regarding its present conceptualization. The paper is conceptual in nature, providing a historical depiction of exchange practices and then presenting an alternative account of the evolution of the ideas and practices of marketing that occurred in the Anatolian peninsula (Asia Minor) different from that of Western interpretations. Marketing is concluded to have been practiced and pondered about long before modernity. Indeed, marketing can be argued to date back as early as the 7th century. In addition, differing cultural and religious backgrounds may have led to unique understandings of marketing. As argued contrary to Western interpretations, the Anatolian approach presents different primary motives for exchange. These include not only individual interests and desires but also the well-being of society at large in addition to spiritual advancement. We argue that contemporary Western interpretations of marketing cannot be generalized to all marketing contexts. Accordingly, a culturally and historically rooted approach is presented to shed light on the depth and diversity of human exchange behavior and ethical perspective in the context of Anatolia.

Keywords: Marketing history, Marketing ethics, Madinah markets, Hisbah organizations, Akhi organizations, Anatolian approach

Introduction

The history of marketing practices and thought have long been approached discretely in the discipline based on the common belief that everything about marketing originates from the establishment of the capitalist economic system. However, marketing practices have always existed regardless of whether they were discrete, relational, or exchanged. Indeed, Hunt (2011) and Shaw (2016) have argued marketing to have been practiced and thought about since ancient times. On the other hand, not until the 20th century did marketing evolve into an academic discipline in its own right (Shaw & Jones, 2005). This led academics in the West and the East to produce intellectual output in terms of modern marketing teachings without any historical orientation. The position taken in the present paper is that a dire need exists to also study marketing teachings and practices from pre-modern times. Studying historical marketing ideas and practices, particularly in non-Western societies, may lead to novel insights about the evolution of the core subject matter of marketing science (i.e., human exchange behavior) and its journey toward its current conceptualization.

This lack of historical orientation is a widespread phenomenon that included academicians from Eastern cultures educated in the West. This situation is very similar to the one explained in Janice P. Nimura's book *Daughters of the Samurai: A Journey from East to West and Back*. The book has an interesting story about three young Japanese children who had been sent to the United States to learn how to educate Japanese women in the modern world. After 10 years in the United States, their journey ended up in Japan again where they had become foreigners.

This study exhibits an alternative historical and conceptual background of the marketing practices in Anatolia, a non-Western market. While working in the non-Western context, we like Jafari et al. (2012) consider Anatolia to be a society influenced by the West, as Anatolia has characteristics in common with the post-Renaissance scientific developments, a modernity based on Enlightenment, liberal democracy as its dominant political system, a high per-capita income and economic prosperity, and a developed urban and technological infrastructure. By taking this perspective, we accept that every context has a diversity of historical, sociocultural, economic, ideological, and political factors that have driven unique socio-economic developments and knowledge generation (Jafari et al., 2012). A limited number of studies exist concerning non-Western marketing practices and contexts. Karababa (2015) stated market institutions to have existed in the 16th- and 18th-century Ottoman flower markets to generate standards, brands, and norms. However, the context was not independent from the West. Other non-Western locales such as India and China also have a rich history of markets and marketing. Long before the East India Company took control of Indian markets and popularized the consumption of British goods, powerful merchant communities, credit instruments, and specialized local markets had existed in India (Sreekumar & Varman, 2016, p. 395). In the late Qing and Republican periods, China experienced many interactions with the Western world, and modern marketing took root in China during these times (Gao, 2016, p. 354). Indeed, viewing non-Western marketplace practices as being exclusively a product of Western colonization, Westernization, and modernization is inadequate. However, each non-Western market had its own particular characteristics.

Performing marketing with moral values in mind has always been important. Times have often occurred when earning more profits and ignoring honesty in competition and fair trade have been evident. The exchange of value that forms the basis of marketing is seen in these periods to produce negative results for one of the parties. In the long term, the morality of marketing has become more controversial as a result of the widespread issues in society that are adversely affecting today's and future generations. On the other hand, differences in marketers' levels of idealism and realism and personal values can affect their deeds in various contexts (Karande et.al, 2002, Singhapakdi & Vittel, 1993). At the point reached today, the moral aspects of marketing and marketers' social responsibilities have become issues that cannot be neglected.

In order to support the Anatolian marketing approach based on marketing ethics, this study discusses in detail the practices of the Islamic Prophet Muhammad

(pbuh) in the first market place (Madinah Markets), the organization of Hisbah, and the organizational structure of the Akhi as an important institutional structure of the Anatolian lands and *futuwwa* [conception of moral behavior around which confraternal institutions were developed]. In this context, all these written and unwritten institutional regulations can be claimed to have been at an advanced level compared to the ethical principles in marketing developed in today's world.

Roots of the Anatolian Approach

The Anatolian approach was influenced by contemporary Western interpretations of marketing, namely the Anglo-Saxon and Germanic Alpine approaches (Baker & Gummesson, 2009). These two approaches highlight the differences in marketing conceptualizations between North American and Continental European scholars. Dating back to the Anglo-Saxon and Rhine/Nordic models of capitalism (Sapir, 2006), these approaches present different ideological stances about marketing. The former is dyadic and transactional in nature, and the latter is oriented toward long-term relationships (Palmer, Lindgreen, & Vanhamme, 2005). Additionally, what is meant by Western interpretations is similar to the comparison made by Adnan (2013) and Abe Daabes (2018). Both authors made conventional versus Islamic marketing comparisons, where they referred to Western interpretations of markets and marketing as conventional. However, rather than focusing only on religion, this paper uses the more contextual term *Anatolian* to highlight a unique and authentic perspective in which not only religion/religious institutionalizations but also cultural factors are in effect.

To shed light on the development of the Anatolian approach, numerous Anatolian civilizations such as the Assyrians (2000-1700 BC), Hittites (1650-1200, BC), Phrygians (1200-700 BC), Lydians (700-300 BC), Urartians (2000-600 BC), and the Persian (543-333 BC) and Byzantine Empires (395-1453 AD) should be examined. Even though these civilizations' heritages have had important roles in the evolution of the Anatolian approach, this paper's examination of its foundations is limited to the religious and cultural institutions of the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires, namely the Hisbah and Akhi Organizations. As discussed below, the Madinah markets were the main early sources of influence on these organizations.

The Madinah Markets

Trade, commerce, and therefore exchange was an important social activity for Muslim society at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. One of the first things the Proph-

et did upon his arrival to Madinah was to establish the communal mosque and the market for Muslims, even though another market already existed in the area (Setia, 2014, p. 153). As a former merchant who had traveled and done business with several cities in Middle East, the Prophet was experienced in trade, markets, and products. The Prophet Muhammad's establishment of communal mosques and markets shows that Muslims had needed their own market with their own terms. Commercial exchange and trade (*tijarah*) were considered an extension of being Muslim in that society. The mosque with its market was not only a place for devotion but also a social sphere for people to come together and trade. When the Muslim market was established, the first rule was no designated areas or parts would occur for particular sellers and no tax would be charged for being in the market. Those two rules were contrary to the usual practice. Other markets around had strict rules about taxation and property in the market. This different market establishment ended up lowering prices for consumers, causing the other surrounding markets to decline, and facilitating a new seller's entrance into the market (Kallek, 1997).

Islam also has a trade-promoting institutional framework. The diffusion of Muslims along trade paths and repetitive contacts with Muslim merchants had a huge effect on the Islamization of Inner Asia, Southeast Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa (Michalopoulos, Naghavi, & Prarolo, 2012). People have converted to Islam after seeing the trade philosophy and practice of Muslim merchants. Therefore, Muslims may have been doing something distinct. The rich historical heritage of Mesopotamia and Islam's unique way of seeing things have come together to build an authentic trade and marketing practice, although every Muslim society and state has interpreted this authenticity in its own terms and context.

Kahf (1996) stated the foundations of the Islamic markets to have three characteristics that distinguished them from the existing markets established by different religious groups in Madinah: first, reorganizing the market in relation to freedom and eliminating taxes on transactions; second, the powerful moral basis for market relationships; and finally, the regulation of those relationships with well-documented legal frameworks. With this triple structure, Muslims constructed and added different functions to the market. An alternative understanding of markets leads to a unique way of doing business, which can be seen in the transactions. For instance, honesty, fulfillment of contracts, and truthfulness were the basic requirements, and their absence was neither permitted nor tolerated.

What is meant by Islamic in this study is the revelation of the Holy Quranic verses and the practices of the Prophet Muhammed (*sunnah*), taking account Is-

lam's various interpretations as prescribed by different schools of thoughts, religious authorities, and clerics (Ahmad, 2018). The Islamic way of doing business requires balancing outcomes among the universe, society, and individuals (Tabakoğlu, 2013). Islamic teaching suggests that responsible acts that are not harmful to humans' inner peace and the material world are essential to avoid upsetting the balance of nature and the universe. Balance is about society. Balance within society deals with the balance between justice and prosperity and its fair distribution among the members of society. The acts of both buyers and sellers should be fair in these terms. Additionally, balance is about the individual. In the marketplace, one needs to prevent exorbitance that could be harmful to oneself or others. Beyond being a faith or belief, Islam guides people to endeavor for spiritual and material development both individually and collectively (Ahmad, 2018). For example, one verse from the Holy Quran (4:29) dictates the following regarding fair business: "*O you who have believed, do not consume one another's wealth unjustly but only [in lawful] business by mutual consent. And do not kill yourselves [or one another]. Indeed, Allah is to you ever Merciful.*" (4:29).

Thus, Muslim society has had the goal of forming markets in their terms from the very beginning. Although they were a rather small group in Madinah, they were still trying to protect their religion and way of doing business by constructing a separate market. The Prophet Muhammad led this market development process through both teaching and practice. He advised Muslims to be honest and just in their market relationships. In one of his Hadiths, he warns Muslims, "When you want to buy something, tell the price you can give! When you want to sell something, tell the value of it on the market, not the high price!"¹

This unique way of doing business created its own heritage. Hisbah and Akhi organizations arose from this invaluable heritage. This not only created several social entities in Muslim societies, but also Muslim merchants' and tradesmen's way of doing business caused many conversions to Islam in several regions around the world (Michalopoulos, Naghavi, & Prarolo, 2012). The diffusion of Muslims along trade routes (Geertz, 1968; Lewis, 1980) and the importance of the pre-Islamic and pre-industrial trade routes and ports in the Old World have been revealed by several authors. What is missing here is how the diffusion of Muslims along trade routes caused reversions. Ensminger (1997) highlighted that a voluntary behavior is present in conversion. So when non-Muslim societies met with Muslim mer-

1 İbn Mâce, Ticâret, 29.

chants and witnessed their honesty and truthfulness in business transactions, they might have altered their exchange behavior or questioned their own value judgements and thus converted to Islam. Or non-Muslim communities may see an economic advantage about being Muslim since Muslim traders can link those regions to commercial centers. Either way, trade or market behavior apparently is very much dependent on individuals' values and societies' value judgments. Human beings are complex organisms whose behavior cannot be separated from their emotions, perspectives, or values.

Hisbah Organizations

After the establishment of an Islamic state in Arabia, legal institutions were formalized. Hisbah organizations are one of these and their institutional structure was developed in Khalifa Omar bin Hattab's time (634-644 AD). These organizations occupy a significant place among Islamic State institutions (Bal, 2013, p. 135). Their main purpose is to follow Allah's orders and the Prophet's Sunnah by promoting good and forbidding evil (*amr bil maroof & nahi anil munkar*).

Hisbah organizations affect numerous relationships in society and have had major effects on market relationships in particular because their major aim is to protect the consumer by implementing economic regulations and controlling transactions (Alkış, 2011). Controlling business transactions provides less of a workload to judicial bodies, and with the help of Hisbah organizations, people resolve their problems in the market.

Hisbah organizations have various roles in Muslim society and have maintained their status as a social institution in almost all Islamic states throughout history. People working for these organizations are called *Muhtasib* [Constables] and require having certain proficiencies in order to do this job. The first *Muhtasib* was the Prophet. The Prophet frequently inspected the market to supervise the implementation of economic provisions and immediately intervened when illegitimate situations or behaviors were observed (Kallek, 2015, p. 133). Ibn Khaldun considered the execution of Hisbah affairs as a religious obligation under the responsibility of the ruler. The ruler is responsible for assigning appropriate people to this position (Bal, 2013, p. 135). A person who works for the organization should have qualities such as:

- being a Muslim,
- being a freeman,

- abstaining from unlawful acts,
- having transparent intentions
- being content with one's own belongings and having no interest in others',
- a high commitment to Sunnah,
- knowing how to regulate and monitor,
- keeping his word,
- and being sufficiently able-bodied to perform one's duties

According to Nasr al-Shayzari (n.d.), who wrote *Nihayat al-Rutba fi Talab al-Hisba* [The Utmost Authority in the Pursuit of Hisbah], which gives a clear picture of the organization during the Salahaddin Eyyubi time (11th century), the organization's duties (i.e., issues that organization members should be in charge of) are as follows:

- Regulating the measurements used in business transactions,
- Detecting those who cheat and do not pay their debts on time,
- Regulating the sanitariness of meat and vegetables,
- Checking whether doctors are eligible to prescribe medicine,
- Monitoring whether non-Muslims are following agreements they have made,
- Regulating schools to make sure that education is on track,
- Regulating the cleanliness of market and shops

As mentioned above, a *Muhtasib* has duties not only regarding trade or market transactions but also with respect to almost all social interactions. This shows that Muslim societies make no distinctions among the spheres of daily life. Business, social, and religious life are interdependent. This is more of a holistic view that accepts human experience and life as a whole. That is why a *Muhtasib* can be interested in many things, as their primary duty is promoting the good, truth, and justice and forbidding evil and injustice (*amr bil maroof & nahi anil munkar*). They use this motto to regulate social and economic life in society, which has resulted in the development of a standard way of doing business in buyer/seller relationships. Both the institutional values of societies and the intrinsic values of individuals shape these relationships.

Al-Ahkam al-Suq, another important work by Yahya Ibn Omar al-Andalusi, is also about Hisbah organizations and contains valuable information about market regulation and structure (Bal, 2013, p. 139). In *Al-Ahkam al-Suq*, Yahya ibn Omar has collected fatwas for Hisbah organizations under the following headings:

- Transparency
- Banning monopolistic tendencies and cartels
- Preventing ihtikar [Hoarding]
- Forbidding cheating and unfair competition
- Prohibiting the sale of haram (forbidden) goods (Bal, 2013).

Hisbah organizations were actually important regulators of the market economy in the early days of Islam. In this context, these organizations can be considered as the institutional equivalent of the free market mechanism that is a must for modern marketing.

When the Prophet Muhammad decided to construct a communal market place in Madinah, his persistence about creating a Muslim market caused an increased demand for the market. Therefore, all Muslim societies and states have attempted to formulate their own Hisbah organizations. In the Anatolian experience, Turkish Muslims created Akhi organizations and manifested an alternative and distinct way of doing business in 13th-century Anatolia.

Akhi Organizations

Akhi organizations, being a pre-guild experience in Anatolian history (Özbirecikli, 2010), date back to the Abbasid Khalifa al-Nasir (1180-1225; Gölpınarlı, 1950). When he developed the futuwwa organization, Seljuk sultans also participated, and Akhism had a chance to bloom and grow in Anatolia with their contribution (Köksal, 2008).

Futuwwa groups are associated with altruism, kindness, assistance, philanthropy, tolerance, and being opposed to self-indulgence. They have also been defined as a movement in Islamic mysticism, a religious and professional union, or craftsmen's organization. Akhis all around Anatolia were active in social life. When a member of these organizations saw any travelers around their city or village, they immediately organized their accommodations and arranged for food for them. The section on Anatolia in Ibn Battuta's travel book *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-354* shows several instances of this.

We stayed here at the college mosque of the town, the administrator of which was Shaykh Shiháb ad-Dín al-Hamawí. Now in all the lands inhabited by the Turkmens in Anatolia, in every district, town, and village, there are to be found members of the organization known as the Akhiya or Young Brotherhood. Nowhere in the world will you find men so eager to welcome strangers, so prompt to serve food and to satisfy the wants of others, and so ready to suppress injustice and kill [tyrannical] agents of the police and the miscreants who join

with them. A Young Brother (Akhi in their language) is one who is chosen by all the members of his trade [guild], or by other young unmarried men, or those who live in ascetic retreat, to be their leader. This organization is known also as the Futuwwa, or Order of Youth. (Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354, Chapter IV)

We of course did not know what they were saying and were afraid of them, thinking they were those brigands and that this was their town. At length God sent us a man who knew Arabic, and he explained that they were members of two branches of the "Young Brotherhood," each of whom wanted us to lodge with them. We were amazed at their generosity. It was decided finally that they should cast lots, and that we should lodge first with the winner. (Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354, Chapter IV)

Even though some authors are found to advocate that Akhism has no roots in futuwwa organizations and is just a unique way of doing business in Turkic societies (Çağatay, 1997), we believe that many similarities exist between the futuwwa and Akhi organizations and that they both benefit from the heritage of Hisbah organizations. Both Hisbah and Akhi organizations facilitate the survival of religion's social values in society. They are not just secular institutions that monitor the market and provide municipal services (Kallek, 2015, p. 133), unlike the *Agora nomos*, which performed similar functions in the Roman Empire (Foster, 1970).

Akhi organizations had branches in every area of life and were social-economic structures where craftsmen and traders made worldly and spiritual improvements (Erdogan et al., 2015). At the same time, Akhi organizations were institutions of solidarity for craftsmen that had arisen in Anatolia at the beginning of the 13th century. The term *Akhism* refers to the social, political, and economic principles of Akhi organizations and constructed the social relations of that time. Akhi organizations also had certain regulatory and supervisory duties that were just for members. However, these rules also followed the spirit of the motto of promoting the good, truth, and justice and forbidding evil and injustice (*amr bil maroof & nahi anil munkar*). Based on this motto, the rules for Akhism can be classified as social and economic (Gülvahaboğlu, 1991, p. 248). Its social rules consist of:

- Obeying the orders of Allah
- Being hospitable and helpful,
- Embracing people without taking into consideration religion or culture,
- Not talking behind people's back,
- Resisting cruelty and injustice,
- Trying to guide people to follow a righteous path, and
- Not having hatred or enmity toward anyone.

Furthermore, economic rules were also present, including:

- being generous,
- not cheating or lying in trade,
- helping the just weak over the unjust strong,
- being fair,
- giving priority to public interests,
- considering manual labor as sacred,
- not committing thievery (Özbirecikli, 2010).

The *raison d'être* for Akhism was excellence in service (Torlak & Özmen, 2009), and the Akhis had to produce quality in terms of social and economic rules based on *amr bil maroof & nahi anil munkar*. According to Ülgener (2006), moderation and austerity are the basic economic elements of Akhism. Ülgener said:

The perfect human being (insan-ı kamil) of this age is the person who is far from anxiety about the future and the rampant greed resulting from continuous contacts with the material world. He is also calm, at peace within, and confident about his livelihood (p. 87).

The key point is how that kind of philosophy affects people's behavior in the marketplace. How does the past compare to the present in this regard? Torlak, Erdoğan, and Yılmaz (2013) advocate that an Akhi understanding of exchange provides a different perspective regarding the notion of exchange in terms of both its situational and functional characteristics. In an Akhi understanding of exchange, exchange processes are seen as instruments facilitating personal faith and progress as well as mastery in business; therefore, intrinsic satisfaction and solidarity predominate over economic considerations. The Anatolian approach, which will be discussed in the next section, originates from the Akhi understanding, but the application and philosophy of business has been altered in accordance with the spirit and context of the times.

The Akhi organization should be emphasized as having been a beneficial social institution within the Ottoman economic system, which is arguably far from the case of anything found in a liberal capitalist economy. From the 13th century to the late 19th century, the Ottoman economy was a planned economy controlled by the government. The government strictly controlled the land, labor, and capital. Taking this controlling function as the base of the system, the Ottoman economic system had three principles: ensuring provisions, traditionalism, and fiscalism (Genç, 2000). Genç states that every economic action in Ottoman markets where Akhi organizations were active consisted of different combinations of these three princi-

ples. According to the provision principle, every single economic action has to meet people's needs. That is why the most important criterion for markets is to be able to provide goods and services to consumers. This way of thinking may be accepted as customer-centric at some level. The second principle is traditionalism, which represents the tendency to maintain social and economic balance and to restrain instability. Through traditionalism, the Akhi organization and its rules for trade, markets, and craftsmen were institutionalized in this social sphere. The third principle, fiscalism, is about maximizing treasury income and stabilizing it at a maximum level. This means that strict laws and orders existed for collecting the taxes that provide the government with power and wealth. For accurate and sustainable tax flows, the government should promote more market activity. Thus, Akhi organizations existed and developed based on an economic system established on these three principles. In this way this heritage lastly creates an alternative way of doing business.

Discussion: The Anatolian Approach

The aforementioned explorations of historical and cultural institutions' heritages can be seen as the foundations for the Anatolian approach, which has the motto "The customer is the benefactor." However, the Anatolian approach is different and distinct from the Hisbah and Akhi Organizations. It is a somewhat synthesized and modernized version.

Akhi understanding prioritizes a high level of societal and spiritual objectives and individuals' maturation and development over self-interests; it also presents a different exchange model with considerations beyond commercial objectives and activities and is shaped by political, martial, and social concerns (Torlak, Erdogan, & Yılmaz, 2013, p. 189). According to Ülgener (2006), the Akhi organization represents a mindset opposite in all respect to the liberal capitalist system, while the Anatolian approach just presents a different and distinct mindset among today's business people and relationships. In the Akhi organization, the moral code of social life even for craftsmen and traders who should have connections to economic activities is based on a spiritual worldview. This basic idea can be summarized in one sentence: Do not get caught up in material possessions or the material world. In addition, the Anatolian approach mentions the ethical considerations of today's business people and advocates having a relationship with possessions and material goods but not affirming a bond with them. The relationship should be limited to doing business with the ultimate goal of this business not being the pursuit of

fortune. Business people who accept and advocate the heritage of Akhi organizations, whose heritage stems from the Madinah markets and Hisbah and Futuwwa organizations) and its moral codes not only expect material gains from business transactions or relationships but also possess a spiritual goal for the sake of Allah.

The Anatolian approach is a reflection of a unique philosophy stemming from the historical and cultural institutions and way of doing business in Anatolia. The conservative merchant group, which is handled through the concept of Islamic Calvinist in the context of Anatolia (European Stability Initiative, 2005), has acquired such nomenclatures by considering their work at the macro level from an economic perspective. However, instead of treating Anatolia as a uniform whole, it may also be addressed as different groups. This nomenclature, which can be defined as a combination of macroeconomic effects such as the employment these groups create, their effects on export and import values, and their personal characteristics such as being socially conservative and religious, actually reveals that these traders' business practices are ignored. Instead of these conceptualizations, the Anatolian approach emphasizes that the point of view of the market and marketing in Anatolia emerged through a unique historical legacy with its own social continuum. Even today, some actors in the Anatolian marketing environment pursue the traditional way of doing business by borrowing, altering, and transforming the Akhi practices and ideas. As a product of marketing relationships within networks that prioritize societal and spiritual considerations, the Anatolian approach is derived from a market economy that cares for society, producers, customers, and the environment as a whole. The Anatolian approach sees the cultural context as an institutional actor that shapes the exchange process between the marketer and the consumer. It defines ideal approved behaviors in the marketplace and, in this way, shapes practices similarly to the functions carried out by the Hisbah and Akhi organizations. On the other hand, the Anatolian approach does not ignore the strong effect of Protestant ethics on today's business relationships and the reality of consumer society. Instead, it presents an alternative way of doing business, which today's business people currently practice.

A marketing approach that explains the relationships the buyer, seller and all other parties have within a market transaction is needed not just in Western countries but also all around the world. To advance the discipline, additional solutions must be found for non-Western markets. In the case of Anatolia, attempts have been made to overcome this deficiency by developing more suitable theoretical approaches with regard to explicating the idiosyncrasies of Anatolian society (Er-

dogan, 2009; Torlak, 2010; Torlak, Erdogan, & Yilmaz, 2013). These approaches are rooted in the historically rich Anatolian culture, whose fundamental aspects are virtuous behavior and the Akhi organizations. However, more effort is needed to give a clearer picture of the situation. Therefore, the connection Akhi organizations have with Hisbah and Madinah markets is significant. The main guiding principle for all these organizations is to follow Allah's commandments and the Prophet's Sunnah by promoting the good and forbidding evil (*amr bil maroof & nahi anil munkar*); this is the Islamic way of understanding markets and market relationships. At the beginning in the Madinah markets, regulatory influence remained minimal as the market relationships were simple. The market relied on interventions and solutions in the face of events that developed on the spot. However, later on, with increasing numbers of products and people subject to exchange, the market needed more systematic institutions such as the Hisbah and Akhi organizations. This systematic guidance did not occur just through written rules. In addition to written rules, a worldview centered on religious principles in every sphere of life influenced the market transactions. The Anatolian approach is also seen to have a visible, systematic effect on today's markets. Followers may waive potential profits or choose less profitable options in order to live morally (İşlek & Erdoğan, 2019).

The Anatolian approach has been shaped by the powerful effects from Muslims' practices in the marketplace and from Muslim scholars' work on business ethics, as well as non-Muslim actors in the markets and their cultural influence. In other words, the collective history of Anatolia is not only from Islam or Islamic tradition but also from interactions between Muslim and non-Muslim actors in the marketplace. During these interactions, they learned from each other and of course their ways of doing business became similar over time. Not just during the Ottoman era but even today, Anatolia is a place where people from different racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds live together peacefully. Although Ottoman cities were characterized by residential segregation of certain religious groups (Karagedikli & Tunçer, 2016), craftsmen and tradesmen in the cities may have been from different religions, but they were neighbors in the market (Faroqhi, 1987). Foreign merchants (Iranians, Italians, Mongols, etc.) did not restrict themselves to visiting the ports; they were active actors in bazaars and khans (caravan stopping points) that were located in city centers for trade exchanges (Cahen, 1968). With this close relationship between market actors coming from distinct places, cultures, and religions, they learned from each other through their business relationships. This shows that market practices are not shaped just by religion; social interactions and

relationships shape the market ideology of every actor in the market. Furthermore, Anatolia has always been a peninsula where different ancient civilizations and societies have lived. Throughout its history, Assyrians, Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Urartians, and others formed huge civilizations in Anatolia (Mortan & Küçükerman, 2010). Their heritage was accepted *posteriori* by societies. The Persian Empire, Byzantine Empire, Seljuks, and Ottoman Empire all landed in Anatolia and created a unique and authentic cultural background as a result of rich interactions among distinct societies.

In a mostly globalized and *glocalized* world (Robertson, 1995), specific approaches stemming from particular contexts or world views may seem problematic; yet scientific research in the social sciences predominantly examines the West, and conceptual frameworks created in this context are applied to non-Western contexts in an attempt to understand them. This way of attempting to achieve understanding is criticized by authors from both Western and non-Western cultures (Said, 1978; Alatas, 2003; Fırat & Tadajewski, 2009). However, the Anatolian approach is a set of practices that attempt to survive in the global world. No market or structure is found that hasn't been influenced by the global financial sector, interdependent economies, or macro-economic policies. Essentially, the Anatolian approach is an effort to establish a marketing and business method by either integrating into or existing in spite of strong global influences. Furthermore, it seeks to understand the market in a non-Western (even defining itself as a bridge between the West and the East) context. Having a concern with doing business in a manner appropriate to Islamic ethics and traditions has been the main component of the Anatolian approach. This core component presents itself as not only ignoring worldly gains, but also considering competitors' earnings in the marketplace with exalted feeling of *hassanat*.²

Being in a critical and significant area on the Silk Road, Anatolia has had the advantage of ongoing relationships and business transactions for a long time. The marketing success of the Anatolian approach and its importance from a marketing relationship perspective relies on the ongoing relationships of buyers and sellers who have exchanged their goods and money for a long time. Silk Road trade has enabled commerce of art, ideas, and luxury goods at a competitive but amicable rate that helped shape the European Renaissance (Brotton, 2002). In addition, the same Silk Road created improved trade and stable markets in Anatolian cities. Ibn

2 Acts of goodness enabling man to reach Paradise.

Battuta emphasizes the existence of fine and rich bazaars in Anatolian cities for many years. Trade and exchange usually continued regardless of ideological differences, military conflicts, or the like. The consistent market structure of Anatolian cities contributed to the growth of safe and reliable trade. Safe and reliable trade also came from the practices of merchants. Without being honest, reliable, and trustworthy, relationships between buyers and seller could not survive long enough to maintain the transactions that required lengthy transfers along the Silk Road. The Anatolian approach also considers this way of doing business as a source of its rich trade culture.

Conclusion

Exchange behavior is a necessity for all types of social and economic interactions and relations. It does not date back to any one place or any time but has been present throughout history. However, in the marketing discipline the way the concept of exchange is understood and interpreted is mostly based on the marketing literature composed by the Anglo-Saxon and the Germanic Alpine approaches. These approaches not only shape the understanding of markets and marketing behavior, but also restrict the perspective of marketers from non-Western countries with regard to both the alternative historical views of market exchange and original contributions to the discipline. With these approaches, central and peripheral relations have been established between Western and non-Western marketing academicians, creating a dependency on the center. To escape this vicious cycle, marketers should concentrate more on history, try to make some original findings, and provide these authentic ideas for the benefit of marketing academia. Because much can be learned by studying market behavior in pre-modern times, more effort needs to be placed into understanding market behavior throughout history. Even in pre-modern times, as Braudel (2015; 1985) stated, society did not exist without exchange. He also highlights an important contrast within the market economy between villagers who are satisfying their needs and those who develop capitalism, which has become more dominant in today's world. Indeed, what this paper attempts to achieve has arisen from these kinds of ideas and problems. This study has argued exchange to have been practiced and viewed in Madinah markets as internal to the self and not separate from religion essentially as a means to reach the final objective of spiritual perfection and receiving the praise of Allah on the Day of Judgement. Similarly, the primary motives for exchange in the Anatolian

Akhi tradition were not only to serve individual interests and desires but also the well-being of society at large and its spiritual advancement.

By following Venkatesh's (1995) suggestion for using historically constituted systems of meaning to interpret and theorize about contemporary behavior, the Anatolian approach may shed light on the background and current situation through its own context. Similar to Tadjewski's (2015) effort at charting marketing relations practices, which date back much further than the 1970s, this study also shows that today's marketing practices in a non-Western context may not be understandable solely in terms of industrialization or Western historical events because the influence from the unique histories of particular locales may be present that Western thought doesn't consider. The concept of multiple modernities discusses multiple trajectories of diverse modernization processes rather than a single and uniform modernization process (Karababa, 2012, p. 14). This concept provides a basis for the Anatolian approach in two ways: (1) as a modern marketing approach due to the Anatolian approach having been developed during the modernization process of the late Ottoman Empire and early days of Turkey, and (2) as an alternative way of doing business that does not include capitalist development of markets (Slater, 1997) or Protestant ethics (Weber, 1978), even though these are central in Western markets. Hence, the Anatolian approach offers far more comprehensive principles than today's principles of marketing ethics.

Non-Western cultures have certain unique business cultures such as *Guanxi* in China (Liu, Li, Tao, & Wang, 2008), *Blat* in Russia (Michailova & Worm, 2003), *Et Moone* in the Middle East (Abosag & Lee, 2013), and *Boon Koon* in Thailand (Pimpa, 2008). All these different approaches and sets of practices are worthy of attention for understanding local business structures. We believe that, just as in the Anatolian approach, look at practices of local or regional marketplace actors in every single culture with these more suitable lenses is more sensible.

Finally, by focusing on the exchange philosophy in Anatolia, we have aimed to initiate a discussion that will be able to help achieve a better understanding of the depth and diversity of marketing. We believe that an increased academic interest in these unique historical and cultural backgrounds may bring original contributions to the marketing literature.

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