Abstract
The purpose of this study was to understand the culture and to evaluate the changes in the culture of YorUKs of Antalya-Serik. For this purpose, a cross-sectional study was done with a small group. Before field research, a deep literature search was done and with this knowledge obtained from the literature related to the history and lifestyle of YorUKs. In the field, conversational interviews were done with a YorUK family in Serik. The participants seemed very eager and ambitious to continue their own culture, but it was observed that depending on the changes in the world, YorUK’s customs and traditions are also changing in spite of their resistance and powerful solidarity. It was thought that the developments in technology and communication and the understanding of the importance of education were the reasons for these changes.

Keywords: YorUK, Turkmen, Anatolia, Food Culture.

Öz

Anahtar kelimeler: Yörük, Türkmen, Anadolu, Yemek kültür.
Introduction
In the beginning, to understand who the Yoruks, the scientific studies carried out were researched. In Gelekçi’s publication, the words Turkmen and Yörük are used synonymously in historical documents and the word Yörük is a name derived from the verb of nomad (in Turkish Yürüyen) and it means nomadic, nonstop nomadic. The nomadic Oghuz tribes who came to Anatolia from Central Asia in 11.century and hold Anatolia as homeland are Turkmens. It is seen that some of the people who were not settled and became nomads from these Turkmen were called Yörük (Gelekçi, 2004). This study was done to understand the culture of Yörüks.

Culture
There are many definitions of culture in anthropology. One of them would be the common set of ideas, values, attitudes, and norms that characterizes a group of people. This is an aspect of all sides of a society and thus influences how we approach safety, technology, politics, economics etc. The other one, culture is how we act and think in our everyday lives. In other words, culture is “something” that has an influence on most things, perhaps everything that we do (Haukelid, 2008).

Edward Tylor’s definition of culture is “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”. Whereas the evolutionists stressed the universal character of a single culture, Franz Boas emphasized the uniqueness of the many and varied cultures of different peoples or societies. Moreover, he dismissed the value judgments he found inherent in Tyloren view of culture; for Boas, one should never differentiate high from low culture, and one ought to not differentially valorize cultures as savage or civilized (Spencer-Oatey, 2012).

There are many ways to view cultural change, and most researchers have been involved in the quest to understand the dynamics of this change. However, the underlying factors affecting cultural change vary among different societies. Despite the variety of applications, there are two main nomad movements. The first one is known as horizontal migration. It is a common variety in steppes and deserts. The second one is the type that can be called vertical migration. This type of migration takes place between low and high grasslands. The migration experienced by Yoruks is an example of the second one, vertical migration (Bates, 2009).
A study which investigates the effect of external factors and migration in the cultural change of the Qashqa’i neighborhoods in Iranian cities, said that from the 1950’s to the 1970’s, the Qashqa’i were faced with several external factors that led to the adaptation of the dominant Persian culture. These factors are outlawing traditional forms of Qashqa’i leadership; the implementation of the land use policy in nomadic regions; and the development of ‘institutionalized’ education among the Qashqa’i (Gharakhilou, 2006).

Yoruks
Yoruk-Turkmen in Anatolia is a nomadic community. There is a historical background of the Anatolian nomadic culture which is based on the tradition of Central Asian Turkish nomads. In the past, the way of life of the Turkish communities living in the Central Asian steppes is based on the nomadic tradition determined by the livestock-based economy of the geographical environment (Artun, 1996). The dry season of summer of Central Asia has forced them to emigrate to find fresh pastures for their livestock. The Turks who migrated to Anatolia around the eleventh century generally preferred to choose mountainous regions close to the seaside (Dulkadir, 1993).

The word Yoruk has been used in historical documents since the 14th century. It has undergone phonetic changes in the Anatolian dialects, has resulted in controversy and no clear result has been found but its widely used name is Yoruk (Yiğit, 2019). One of the participants explains the word Yoruk with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s word, who is the founder of the Turkish Republic. According to him, all Turks who came to Anatolia from Central Asia are nomadic.

According to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Yoruk is the Turkish people who walk. According to us, Nomadism is the original and itself of Turkishness. It is the most concrete expression of the past of the Turkish nation and the true story of its historical adventure (A.D., 65).

Yoruk and Turkmen words are notably known as the essential components of Turkish history. Nomadism has been an important phenomenon in Turkish history until settling to Anatolia. The origins of nomadic cultures have a structure that is identical to a nomadic lifestyle. In this framework, it is first necessary to understand the origins of the Yoruks.

Anatolia has always been remarkable due to its geography that is extremely suitable for human life. Its richness in terms of natural and human resources have always supported the development of various civilizations and cultures (Karakuzulu, 2015).

In this work, Toros region was chosen as the study area since when we look at Anatolia, Toros is surrounded by a vibrant landscape culture. Also, the regional cuisine has a deep-rooted cultural background.

Origin of the Yoruks
It is seen that the researchers have different opinions about the origin of the Yoruks. Historian Gökbilgin mentions two separate groups (Doğan & Doğan, Tarihsel Gelişim Sürecinde Yöрукler, 2004).
• According to the first opinion, the Yoruks are regarded as Mongols as race, and they show a mongoloid typology. A large part of the Yoruks in Anatolia is Caucasian, while a small portion is a mongoloid type. According to these, it is recorded that only the descendants of Nogay, a branch of Turks from Central Asia, brought the blue Mongolian blood to Anatolia.

• The second view is that the Yoruks are pure Turkmen. Guillaume Lejean stated that a large part of the Yoruks passed through a settled life from nomadism. Tsakyroglou argued that the Yoruks came from the Turkmen of Central Asia and that they are of Turkmen descent.

In the context of the points mentioned above, it is thought that there is a consubstantiality between Yoruks and Turks. It is also often seen that the Yoruk concept is used instead of the Turkmen term in the research on the origin of Yoruks (Özçatalbaş, 2016).

In the 11th Century, the Turks began to settle in Anatolia intensively. During this settlement period, Turkmens mainly oriented to the Mersin-Tarsus region have acquired this region as a residence for them. Turkmens who came to Anatolia were the origin of the Yoruks. Those who settled in were named as Turkmen. The group who did not settle in, and became nomadic was called Yoruk (Gelekçi, 2004).

Migration activities of Yoruks are mostly shaped by seasonal needs. In addition, animal husbandry is the main reason for this need (Eröz, 1991).

During the Ottoman Empire period, the nomads spread all over Anatolia. The nomads living in the Taurus are among the nomadic examples that can be investigated because of their unique culture. The geographical characteristics are the most crucial determinant factor to understand their livelihoods. The primary source of livelihoods is animal husbandry. The productions of agriculture include short-lived agrarian products. But the livestock is more prevalent regarding the livelihood of the nomads (Demir & Bakar, 2014).

The names of the nomads and the legal provisions related to them were included in Fatih Kanunnamesi for the first time. Fatih Kanunnâmesi is the basic regulatory law on the functioning of the Ottoman Empire’s state organization and organizational structure. It was called "Fatih" since it was created during the time of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. This organization is shaped for military and administrative purposes. According to this arrangement, the nomads were provided with a specific organizational structure. By Fatih Sultan Mehmet, the nomads were actively used in wars (Türkçe Tarih 2016).

The Lifestyle and Culture of Yoruks

Agriculture and animal husbandry, weaving, and hunting are the main topics that determine the lifestyle of the Yoruks.

The nomads’ lifestyles are interrelated with livestock breeding. For this reason, the search to find efficient pastures has always led to the displacement of the Yoruks (Ersavaş & Özkanlı, 2018:40). Nomads go to cooler and higher regions in summer which is more convenient for their animals by getting. Towards winter, they go down
again to the hot zones. The Yoruk families who live a nomadic life have to change places continually because of the need for grazing (Doğan & Doğan, Tarihsel Gelişim Sürecinde Yörükler, 2004).

The religious belief of the nomads in Anatolia is generally Islam. However, among the nomads, especially sacrifice, votive and mountain mysticism are the values considered sacred. In addition, some graves are considered sacred, and they make wishes next to these graves. Cultural life, eating and drinking culture, apparel, family visits vary depending on the region and especially climate (Eröz, 1991).

They eat meals together but after the spread of Islamic policies, cultural changes occurred. In some of the Yoruk groups’ men and women eat their meals separately (Duman, Anlık Kareler, 2009).

They are making less horse breeding if compared to past times since the horse needs maintenance and it is very expensive anymore. It is known that goat breeding is widespread due to geographical reasons. It is mentioned that goat breeding has become increasingly widespread after the 17th century and even this situation has also shown its influence in the living spaces, and bristle tents have been used instead of felt tents (Eröz 1991).

Goats easily adapt to mountainous, rocky and rugged terrain and more resistant than sheep. Therefore, they are suitable for most nomadic families. The milk of goats is given to offspring which are generally born in February, and the production of cheese and butter is done at the end of spring and summer months. In May, the milk and hair yield of goats increase. Cheese and butter obtained from these milk is sold in bazaars and markets. Some of the hairs obtained from goats are sold in markets, while others are used to make tents (Ersavaş & Özkanlı, 2018:42).

Since nomads are dealing with livestock, they effectively use the products obtained from animals in their daily lives. Weaving activities can be partially used as an income source. Carpet weaving looms, hand weaving tools are frequently used in Yoruks’ weaving habits. The history of weaving in Turks is based on Central Asia. Uighur Turks, who created an agricultural culture especially in the advanced level, have made significant developments in the field of weaving. After the commencement of migration from Central Asia to Anatolia, this weaving culture was moved to Anatolia (Eröz, 1991:73).

Some woven products made by the Yoruks are sold in cities at high prices. For Yoruks, these products are seen as a reflection of their traditional cultures. The Yoruks have been an important contributor in the recognition of Turks in carpet weaving. In particular, the construction of rugs was developed directly by the Yoruks. (Gökbilgin, 1957:13-19).

In nomads, hunting is different from traditional hunting. The nomads pay attention to the environment and ecological balance therefore their hunting based on just their basic needs. They fish on the river or lake and provide just nutritional needs.

Nutrition is the biological activity of humans. Food is necessary for the nutritional and energy needs of human metabolism. In addition, to be a natural action, food is seen as an element of culture (Beşirli, 2010).
The quality of culinary materials used in dishes such as pottery, plates, and cutlery may have changed. However, the quality and varieties of meals have preserved their existence significantly. In the past, wooden spoons were used as the most important eating tool of the nomads, now metal spoons are used instead. However, wooden spoons are still used to preserve their presence, as decorative items, or to mix large boilers. At the present time, Yoruks prefer steel kitchen utensils instead of copper and aluminum cookware. In addition, almost all of them are using tube gas cooker (Doğan & Doğan, Yörüklerin Sosyal ve Kültürel Hayatı, 2005).

The culture of food in the Yoruks is especially based on dried foods. They make their own stock. During movement, even the poorest nomadic family has 10 camel load goods and that most of them are foods. In the winter period, Yoruks consume different kinds of meat, pasty foods, rice, and pastrami which they produced in summer (Eröz, 1991:210).

They consume sweet or mature figs but also consume as dried with walnut. To dry figs, they soak them in boiling water with clay and Myrtus leaves, then dried on white cloth bags. In Yoruk culture, wrestlers, traditional sportsmen, are rewarded with a handful of dried figs (Duman, Anlık Kareler, 2009).

In festivals, weddings, grave visits and when their guests came, in the past Yoruks were sacrifice animals (Seýirci 2000). In Yoruk tradition, meat first roasted and then heavily salted and protected in this way. This is a part of their food culture. Yoruks cook all their meals generally at tandoori. Meals are cooked in copper boilers or in pots. The high conductivity of the copper provides the delicious cooking of the dishes (Çaferoğlu 1973).

Yoruks do not want to spend too much time for cooking because they are constantly moving. They consume both animal-sourced and plant-sourced foods. The main dishes of the Yoruks are bulgur pilaf, roasted meat, and stewed meat (Artun, 2008).

Tarhana soup, a traditional soup made with yogurt, is the best-known dish. They consume it with cornbread that they prepared. Chickpeas, beans, and wheat are boiled and seasoned. Yoruk women prepare their foods from the ingredients they have. For example; molasses from grape, sour from pomegranate, paste from tomato and pepper, tahini from sesame, flour from barley (Duman, Anlık Kareler, 2009).

In the context of two interdependent global trends: mobility and digitalization, digital nomads have appeared. They are people who, in the processes of their professional activities, are not confined to particular spots since they use internet technologies and mobile connections. (Kuzheleva-Sagan & Nosova, 2014)

Integration is defined as a situation where all members of the society, regardless of their citizenship or ethnic association, are free to participate in all forms of social interaction (Gharakhilou, 2006).

Followings are some of the important conclusions of Çakır's research about Yoruk's life changes (Işıkhan 2006);

- The transition from the extended family type to the nuclear family type.
- The forms of accommodation have changed and have been passed on to tent-type residences.
• With the transition to settled life, some of the elements of material and spiritual culture have changed. There is no solidarity in life no longer.
• Education has come to the fore.
• They still hide the tools they used in migrant life despite losing their functions.

Nomadic culture is not only a cultural value that is unique to Yoruks. There are nomadic or semi-nomadic communities in Anatolia such as gypsies, Copts or wanders. There are some differences between Yoruk culture and the cultures of other communities in areas such as social life, male and female relationships, clothing, as well as in food culture (Duman, 2009).

There are organizations and individual efforts to sustain the nomadic culture. Every year Yoruks and representatives of Nomadic Turkmen Associations from various provinces, involved in special festivals like "Ertugrul Gazi" and "Söğüt Festival" (Horzumlu, 2017). In order to preserve the existence and continuity of the Yoruk culture, these associations focus on the activities. They care about these festivals as a social and cultural field which can increase their visibility in society. Also, they want to transfer nomadic tradition to the new generations and ensure the sustainability of the sense of unity and solidarity (Edebiyat Evi, 2015).

Material and Method
In this study, to understand the culture of Yoruks of Antalya-Serik, one of the researchers went to Serik and made a conversational interview with a family. This is a cross sectional study which is a type of observational study that analyzes data from a population at a specific point in time.

In this study, which was a graduation dissertation, the researcher originally from Antalya himself, gave information about the study by making interviews with the family he reached with the snowball method. During a period suggested by the participants, he went to the region where they settled and held conversational interviews. He spent time with them and interviewed family members within the framework of the research.

Conversational interviewing is a way used by research interviewers to generate verbal data through talking about specific topics with research participants in an informal and conversational way. Although all qualitative interviewing relies on speakers’ everyday conversational resources, conversational interviewing foregrounds aspects of sociability, and reciprocity (Given, 2008). Semi-structured interviews were conducted within the framework of the subjects planned to be examined.

In the participant family, there were 7 people, 4 of them were men and 3 of them were women. They all had a total of 17 children. Apart from these, a 65-year-old Yoruk man who was the manager of a Yoruk association was also interviewed.
Results
Socialization in Yoruks is shaped by nomadic identity rather than by individual identity. Their social norms and values of their lives determine their collective character. The livelihood activities of the nomads are based on agriculture and animal husbandry. Although they do not have large land areas, the income from agriculture is essential for the daily needs of the nomads. Animal husbandry is used as the most important economic source. A.Y. said that his job is animal husbandry. Despite the fact that the family elders have been permanently settled, he told about the continuation of his own immigration;

I have 120 livestock; I have a livestock profession. I continue to live a nomadic life. I never gave up on this lifestyle. I tried to continue on the contrary. My parents live at home in the village. I live in a tent on the plateau (A.Y., 54).

Yoruks have their own unique economies, their own wedding traditions, and culinary cultures. According to them, women and men are equal in life. In decision making they have the same power. But there is a gender difference in the division of labor. The women are engaged in housework and taking care of the animals, little boys help them in this work. One of the participants said that;

Women are very important in our culture, they raise children, immigrate at the same time and are engaged in animal husbandry, they are very skilled (M.Y., 68).

Women also know their own importance for family. They described many things as their responsibility;

I raised my children and also grandchildren. When I was working, milking and migrating, I used to tie my children to my back (A.A., 65).

Our children grow on our back (Z.A., 38).

One participant said;

We wake up at 7 in the morning. We have breakfast, then we milk the lambs, then milking sheep. We accumulate cream, boil milk, and make yogurt (Z.A., 38).

The nomads’ lifestyle is interrelated with livestock breeding. For this reason, all year round, their income sources and occupations are animal husbandry. The livestock is vital for Yoruks. The most popular animals in the Yoruks are sheep, goats, cattle, and cows. In addition, the nomads breed horses and donkeys. O.A. told about their migration;

We migrate with camels and donkeys. We have a house in Manavgat, but we don’t like to stay there. We look forward to migrating in April. But traditionally we don’t start migration on Tuesday and Friday. In those days, even if the neighbor wants, onion is not given to others, otherwise, we believe that our property and our life will be harmed. (O.A., 75).

Animal husbandry can be seen not only as an income source but also as a traditional cultural activity. The bells attached to the necks of sheep or goats or the decorations made to these animals reflect the unification of animal husbandry and nomadic culture.
The weaving culture of Anatolian nomads is based on products made from goat hair. The most important product is the black tent of the nomads. F.Y. explained that carpet weaving is not as common as it used to be. According to her, Because of technological developments and mobile phones, young people do not want to spend time at the carpet counter;

*If you weave carpets and rugs every day, it ends in 15 to 20 days. We make the color of white, black and gray by ourselves. We buy colored paints and use them. But nobody is weaving anymore because the technology is developing. This culture is over now, young people are not engaged in such work. They want to play games with smart mobile phones (F.Y., 46).*

Yoruks produce not only tents but also clothing items such as trousers and sweaters. The tools used changed according to literature but the eating habits seem to remain constant according to A.A.;

*We get breakfast at 7:00 in the morning. We do not have any table for the meal. We eat on the floor together but we prepare separate meals for the shepherds (A.A., 65).*

Breakfast includes herbal teas such as sage. Sometimes they consume soup. Cheese, curd and handmade bread are consumed.

The Yoruks who are very generous to the guests are also friendly people. They reserve special places for their guests. When a guest is invited to the dining table, the oldest of the house asks the guest to sit and then the other family members who attend the dinner sit.

A.Y. told a major and positive change;

*While migrating 30 years ago, we always had trouble with the villagers on the road. The villagers never liked us, they even said that we had to pay money because we were passing through the roads of the village. Today, there is no such problem (A.Y., 54).*

According to Güvenç, in the life of the Yoruks or nomadic communities, it is possible to see changes due to the changes over time and due to various factors. But the community always draws attention to its own unique cultures. They are struggling to keep the tradition but gradually becoming a peasant, urban citizen (Güvenç, 1976)

People living in Yoruk tents are people who are used to all kinds of troubles.

*We do not have fixed toilets and our biggest problem is water shortage and taking a shower (O.A., 75).*

While living with nature, struggling with natural difficulties has become the traditional habit of Yoruks. In spite of the difficulties of the plateau, they could not be fully urban;

*We couldn’t get used to living in the city. Roads and streets are not for us. We are used to living on mountain ridges. We are used to livestock and nature (A.A., 65).*

*We don’t like the city, nomadic life is better for us. Here we like to live in fresh air and nature (Z.A., 38).*

With their unique lives and traditions, the nomads settled in the mountains and gradually moved into the city and village life and provided an established order. According to Duman (2012), although there is a cultural erosion, the Yoruks are still in a structure that is connected to their roots and continues their traditions. M. Y. proudly described the hierarchy within the group;
In the highland, each family has its own area and no one disturbs the other one. Every tent has specific locations. There is a hierarchy between groups, the oldest or the older people are aforementioned (M.Y., 68).

Especially over-the-middle age Yoruks carry on their past lives. Of course, there has been a major change in Yoruks lives after settlements in the cities. The most important is missing for the nomadic life after the introduction of settled life. Especially older Yoruks start to say sentences like “it was in our time” more often.

To protect Yoruk culture, to continue this tradition they believe to become healthy and to be resistant to natural conditions. To achieve this, they continue to use their own ethnomedical methods.

The beginning of migration is the end of March and the beginning of April, the migration done with camels and horses. During migration, the biggest problem is the possible disease for both us and animals. But we eat very healthily, the disease does not live much. If there is a disease during the migration period, we use our own treatment methods (M.Y., 68).

They explained that solidarity is important as well as health;

We live free and always support each other. We say that; “During migration, evil only comes from God.” (B.K., 54).

Those who believe in the importance of the nomad culture and those who resist to keep this tradition alive are trying to solve their children’s school problem.

Because the schools are open during the immigration period, we send our children to our relatives or acquaintances so that they can continue education (O.A., 75).

When I was young, I started school one month late due to immigration, and I left 1 month before the school ended but I sent my kids to my parents, to the village during the school and they came to me all together after school ended (A.Y., 54).

Discussion

Nomadic, Turkmen and Yoruk words are notably known as the essential components of Turkish history. Nomadism has been a phenomenon in Turkish history until settling to Anatolia. The origins of nomadic cultures have a structure that is identical to a nomadic lifestyle. Understanding the nomadic culture is one of the most important aspects to understanding Turkish culture.

In this study, issues related to the nomadic culture of Yoruks and the traditions of the Yoruks were discussed and the possible changes in the culture were examined. The Turkemens migrated from Central Asia to Anatolia in the 11. century. These Turkmen tribes settled in certain regions in Anatolia but some of them did not enter into a fully settled life. These were Yoruks who have an important cultural heritage that is passed from the past to the present day. The lifestyles, behavioral patterns, cuisines and collective consciousness they represent forms the basis of today’s Anatolia lifestyle. However, modern world conditions, technological developments and the living conditions that resulted from these changes have also caused the Yoruk culture to change.
Besides these, another problem is the insufficient spaces for animal husbandry, which is the basic point for their culture. These all may lead to the disappearance of nomads. When Yoruk culture is examined, it is seen that their lifestyles are different from the established people. Because Yoruks are nomadic societies, eating customs are also based on this lifestyle.

However, change is a dynamic force of the environment. Changes in food habits can be examined under the title of social change and/or cultural change. Culture has different factors like tradition, family, health, education, production, economics, politics, religion and state.

The rapid changes in technological developments, communication, and transport in the last decades have created both visible and invisible effects on Yoruk culture. One of the visible effects is the differentiation of the Yoruk in the way of life. The traditional tools which are useful for migrated people have been replaced by television, refrigerator, and oven. Yoruk cooking methods, food storage and preservation methods, kitchen appliances and table cultures have undergone major changes. However, they are aware of these changes and they are not happy about it, but their cultures are disappearing from their hands and they cannot stop even though they are upset.

Yoruks participants in this study want to protect their cultural heritage, but they succumb to the changing world system and technological developments. Nevertheless, as if to protect the legacy of their ancestors they are trying to keep their mobility, and they are trying to keep their old tools, although they buy new items that will make their lives easier.

The sentence of an old Yoruk is like a summary of a whole change of their cultural life. "The nomadic Yoruk was a reign and tradition, but it's over!"

**Recommendations**

Countries maintain their cultural wealth when they do not discriminate religions, language and ethnicity. Supporting the nomadic life of the Yoruks, who are experiencing economic difficulties and struggling to survive and protect their culture, can help them survive. With more detailed studies in the future, the problems can be revealed more clearly and conveyed to the relevant authorities. This can contribute to stop the cultural erosion of the Yoruks and with them the Turks.

**References**


