CARPET WEAVERS AND WEAVING IN THE GLOBAL MARKET: THE CASE OF TURKEY

A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine factors affecting the lives of women who weave carpets in rural Turkey by investigating these questions: 1) Why do rural Turkish women weave carpets? 2) What are the influences of the global market on carpet design? 3) In what ways is the government involved in the weaving industry?

Data were collected in Turkey during the summer of 2005 from weavers, university professors, government officials, and carpet dealers. Data collection took place via key-informant interviews, observation of carpets and weaving venues, and gathering statistical information. These data were then analyzed as case studies pertaining to the research questions.

The intention of this thesis is to present a picture of some of the factors that impact the lives of rural Turkish women, and how these factors are reflected in the carpets that they weave. These factors include the economy and geographic location of their villages, access to markets and education, and local traditions.

The findings of this research suggest that if other income generating activities are available, women seem to be less likely to weave for sale. This also appears to be true if women continue their educations beyond the eighth-grade level. Even so, a tradition of weaving, and the pride and creative outlet associated with being a good weaver may mean that some women will continue to weave for themselves. Also, high-end weaving may be able to generate enough income to be attractive labor even when other opportunities are available. Some women were found to alter traditional designs in order to suit the global market; others were not. This may be due to contact, or lack thereof, with consumers in the global market. The government appears to be withdrawing support from the weaving industry, although changes in policy in anticipation of accession to the EU may strengthen the industry. It seems as

though the low-end weaving industry might disappear, but high-quality weaving may continue.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in Boston, MA in 1980, Kimberly Berman graduated from Cornell University with a BA in Costume Design in 2002. After teaching English in Japan and studying fiber science in Kansas she returned to Ithaca in order to pursue an MA in Apparel and Textiles. During her studies she was able to take courses in Anthropology, Development Sociology, City and Regional Planning, and Development Economics as well as participate in the Farmworkers Advocacy Coalition and lead a book club at the MacCormick Juvenile Secure Center. Kimberly looks forward to relocating to Washington D.C. and working in the not-for-profit sector in community development and fair trade.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis will focus mainly on the following three questions:

1) Why do rural Turkish women weave carpets?

2) What are the influences of the global market on carpet design?

3) In what ways is the government involved in the weaving industry?

Dickie and Frank (1996) propose a framework for examining the economic and social significance of craft production through recognition of the social and economic environment in which production takes place. Their framework is used in this study of rural women in Turkish society and weavers in rural society to examine their social and economic status as artisans in the world market.

Knowing why a woman might weave (or not weave) illuminates the changes that have taken place in the weaving industry over the past ten years and helps predict where the industry will be in the future. Changes in design and structure of carpets demonstrate how markets influence weavers as traditions become commodified. These changes in the structure of carpets reflect changes in the society in which they are being produced, and shed light on the lives of weavers as well. An understanding of certain ways in which government entities are involved with weaving and how they interact both with weavers and with each other could help stakeholders work together in furthering their agendas and aiding impoverished rural women, the group most likely to be employed as weavers.

Carpet weaving is an ancient art that has traditionally been passed down from mother to daughter as a means of supplying furnishings for the household and goods for a girl's dowry (Anderson 1998). It was a communal activity, in which all of the

women involved in a girl's life took part in the weaving of her rugs. These carpets were created primarily for use in daily life and sold only in times of financial hardship. They acted as a medium for displaying a woman's skill in contributing to the household, social ties and wealth. The carpets also served as insurance during marriage. Carpets could be sold if the household had no other means of generating income, and a woman would take her carpets and other dowry goods with her in the case of divorce.

As trade increased during Ottoman times (1299-1923), Turkish carpets began to be woven for export as well. These carpets can now be found in museums across Europe and seen in the paintings of Renaissance artists such as Lorenzo Lotto and Hans Holbein the Younger. With the introduction of manufactured carpets in the 1940s, home weaving rapidly declined. As customers could go to the store and buy rugs, instead of spending months in front of the loom, incentives for weaving carpets by hand were significantly reduced. Since the rural Turkish economy was still primarily based on subsistence agriculture, carpets bought with cash became prestige items (Anderson 1998).

Attempts have been made since the 1960s to revive the craft through cooperatives and private entrepreneur-organized large-scale carpet weaving venues, sometimes known as "rug farms," which employ women as weavers. Some villages have used this craft as a tourist attraction, drawing groups interested in witnessing an "authentic" rural Turkish lifestyle (Jirousek 1994). Though these forms of employment have drawn women into the labor force, weavers have not necessarily seen an improvement in their economic and social status (Berik 1989).

My thesis consists of exploratory research to help guide further study of the three questions presented in the introductory paragraph. The subsequent chapters will include data gathered from managers and owners of companies, carpet dealers,

university professors, and government officials about the changes that the industry faced by the industry, and their concerns for the future, as well as data obtained from interviews with weavers. I will compare my findings with the results of previous research into effects of the global market on carpet design, and some of the ways in which the government interacts with weavers and the weaving industry. I will also present some conclusions regarding the relation of weaving to production in the lives of rural women and how changes in society affect women and attempt to determine whether or not they are able to, want to, or have to weave.

This thesis consists of a review of literature, a description of procedures followed during the research process, and the analysis of data gathered, and conclusions drawn from this analysis. In order to understand why rural Turkish women weave carpets it is necessary to understand both the position of artisans in the world market and the positions of rural women in Turkish society. Previous research with weavers in Turkey guided the direction of my research and helped contextualize the findings of this study, and a review of research methods in the social sciences explains the methods chosen for this study and the reasons behind choosing them.

The procedures chapter enumerates the methods used to gather data in various settings. Methods used included key-informant and focus-group interviews, visual data collection, and the accumulation of statistical data pertaining to weavers and the situations in which they live and work.

The analysis chapter looks at the results of data collection in reference to the reasons rural Turkish women weave, how weaving for sale changes design of carpets, and some ways in which the government is involved in the weaving industry and in relation to the previous body of research.

This thesis will attempt to affirm certain previous findings regarding women's agency within the structures of petty commodity and workshop production, as well as those

regarding shifts in design in relation to the demands (or perceived demands) of the global market. It also presents discussions of the involvement of the government that updates findings in previous research that are between twelve and thirty years old. Some predictions will be made for possible directions to be taken by the industry and weavers, and proposals will be made for further research on the subject.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of relevant previous studies and the ways in which they pertains to my research questions. Areas covered are how artisans and their crafts fit in the global market and the effects of the global market on artisans, the position of rural women in Turkish society and the Turkish labor market and the carpet industry in Turkey, and research methods used in the social sciences for continuing studies on these issues.

2.2 Artisans and the global market

Dickie and Frank's (1996) conceptual framework for examining the position of artisans in the global market involves the investigation of the ability of crafts to act as "a vehicle for individuals and societies to adapt to changing systems of production, a means for economic and cultural expression, and a voice of resistance against domination and oppression" through investigation of the economic, social, and cultural settings in which crafts are produced, as well as economic factors affecting these settings (Dickie and Frank 1996, 45).

Craft production helps people in subsistence economies generate cash. Large-scale mechanized farming, which displaces peasants with small landholdings leads to a need for or dependence on craft production (Mies 1982, 173). As transportation and infrastructure improve, more (but certainly not all) rural areas in countries like Turkey are becoming incorporated into the world market. For artisans this means that they have better access to markets for their goods, but also that they must compete with

manufactured goods both in the world market and in their own communities. “Craft production can serve as either a haven from or a source of capitalist development” (Stephen 1991, 394). Artisans become dependent on faraway markets (Nash 1993, 13), but can also maintain their households through a combination of subsistence farming and craft production. Crafts are bought either because they are cheap and utilitarian or “because of their symbolic representational or esthetic status (which may inflate their value in price terms and put them into the “luxury” category)” (Cook 1993, 60).

Increase in disposable income leads to improved health and dental care; diet also improves (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999, 201). Colloredo-Mansfeld found that one of two men in Ariasucu, Ecuador, still weaving cloth to make garments with a 600-year history does so to pass the time while watching *MacGyver* (and in this way the TV bought with cash income is helping to preserve a traditional craft). As will be shown later, in the discussion of Turkish weavers, artisans in this region use weaving as a way of being productive during “leisure” time. Stereos, bought with cash generated by craft production, also “make a shop happy,” thus helping managers retain weavers; likewise, having appliances in the home allows women time away from chores to work commercially (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999, 180-185).

There are (and have been throughout history) a huge number of forms of production and exchange involved in the craft market (Cook 1993, 60); any one place can have one or many production levels (high-end, middle, and low) at any given time (Stephen 1991, 385). In many rural areas the household needs to engage in various combinations of production (wage labor, and home-based industry, share-cropping and wage labor etc.) in order to produce subsistence, with all members of the household involved – thus “no single individual is able to guarantee her or his survival” and “women are <u>not</u> housewives, dependent on the income of their husbands: they are in

fact the last guarantors of the survival of the family through various types of work and services" (Mies 1982, 4).

Milgram and Grimes (2000) posit artisan labor as more secure, allowing women to be more independent. "Craft production is an important industry for the employment of women. Significantly though, the final stage of the process – the selling of finished goods – remains an inherently masculine task" (Scrase 2003, 451). Male-dominance in communities, of course, is typical of "traditional-patriarchal" societies - to use a term drawn from the sociological theorist Max Weber in his study of civilizations through history (Weber 1947, 120) such as what was found in the Ottoman Empire, whose traditions continue in rural villages of contemporary Turkey. Due to such sexism, women from many rural/peasant areas cannot compete with men for jobs in the "modern" sector and thus women are relegated to more "traditional" occupations/modes of production (Mies 1982, 5). While in some areas (such as along the US-Mexico border) factory-owners seek female labor as a cheaper alternative (Nash 1993, 20), in areas where wage work is scarce and a patriarchal structure prevails, such as the rural Indian villages visited by Mies, women may not be permitted to compete with men for jobs.

While artisans "were never self-sufficient producers isolated from market relationships" (Grimes and Milgram 2000, 3), the current level of competition is something brought about by capitalist industrialization. Artisans around the world are increasingly producing goods especially for the world market – even so, though they don't abandon local customs, but "continually refashion personal strategies that enable them to maintain those aspects of production that they deem most important to the livelihood of their families and to their membership in the community" (Milgram 2000, 107).

The literature indicates that craft production may be a subsistence activity or a means of generating income. While many forms of production may exist in one place, the displacement of peasants worldwide has led to a search for an alternate means of making a living. Globalization and economic development can encourage artisanship by bringing labor saving devices into the home or generating enough cash through employment that artisans have time to practice their crafts. It can also put artisans at a disadvantage through competition with cheaper manufactured goods or handmade goods from places with lower labor costs. Work as an artisan can allow people to survive outside of the global market, but, being part of the informal economy, artisans are less likely to have social security and other insurance benefits and are more likely to be exploited as laborers.

This review of previous research on women in rural Turkey and weavers in Turkey discusses how the global market affected weavers and rural Turkish women in general. Some issues raised by this research include: What is the likelihood of women to continue weaving as economic development brings cash and goods to their communities? Are women in rural Turkey more or less independent when working as artisans? In what ways has global competition affected the carpet industry?

2.2.1 Women as artisans

Adoption of capitalist modes of production rewards people differentially, often along class and gender lines (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999, Stephen 1993, Cook 1993, Mies 1982). Community members who are able to move from production to distribution often make much more money than the artisans themselves (Stephen 1991). Artisans can become marginalized through a lack of education and experience, which makes them less able to conduct business with foreigners (Stephen 1993, 49).

Low wages and exploitation of workers is what makes craft products marketable in the world market (and thus what makes cottage industry appealing to investors) (Mies 1982, 177). And, especially when women are the artisans, it is often the case that men control the incomes (Stephen 1991, Mies 1982). Women in these situations are usually listed in the census as "housewives" and their labor is not officially recorded. The fact that they are seen as producing handicrafts in their "leisure time" means that their work is often undervalued both by themselves and by the men who sell the products of their labor (Nash 1993, Mies 1982).

Women's production is often undervalued because of "the myth that men are the breadwinners of their families" (Mies 1982, 4). In some cases domestic violence increases as men struggle to keep control over women who are bringing cash into the household. Sometimes women who attempt to assert autonomy through cooperatives end up serving as examples of what happens to women who challenge gender norms. In one extreme case, a female cooperative leader from Chiapas, Mexico, was murdered by men in her community (Nash 1993, 10-11). On the other hand, unpaid household labor by women and children allows men to amass the capital necessary to expand production and/or hire laborers.

When women work in the home they are considered housewives, not laborers – this does not upset patriarchal systems and means that the women do not/ or cannot demand a "just wage" (Mies 1982, 173). Women working in putting-out systems consider their labor to be household work, but really objects produced for exchange value in the capitalist world market are made not for the family, but for the exporter – since it the producer does not see the value, she devalues it as non-work (supplementary to husband's income). Of course under these conditions, collective bargaining does not happen (Mies 1982, 173-4). Mies found women being pushed out of trading (the profitable part of the sector) by men, and, thus, in effect "reduced to

nothing but crocheting machines" (1982, 175). Unless craft development efforts work to change societal attitudes of relations to production, exploitation in craft production mirrors the biases of society in general (Milgram 2000, Scrase 2003, Nash 1993).

In summary, it can be said that members of a community who are able to become part of the distribution network for craft products profit more from integration into the global economy than the artisans themselves. Wealthier members of a community and men in general are more likely to be able to take these roles, due to their social standing and access to education. Women are therefore likely to work in the less-profitable role of producer. Women's work as artisans does not upset patriarchal structures when the craft is produced in the home. If men control the income generated by women then craft production is undervalued, seen as a duty amongst other duties women perform for the household. Craft production in the home can reinforce gender roles, but income generated through craft production may allow women to become more independent in cases where women are able to control this income.

Issues raised in this area for the research include the following: Does weaving challenge or maintain the gender hierarchy in Turkey? What is the effect of control (or lack thereof) of income from weaving on women's lives? Examination of these questions would touch on various aspects of the impact of income generation activities on the lives of women in rural Turkey.

2.2.2 The effects of the tourist or export market

Craft production in rural areas is often seasonal, following cycles of both crops and tourist presence (Milgram 2000, 114). This ebb and flow of work means that the situation of artisans is often not secure, and their work is generally undertaken as part

of the informal economy, slipping through government regulations. Craft production in areas with agriculture (subsistence or otherwise) means that families can be employed during the non-agricultural season as well.

Production for tourism can lead to the abandonment of more strenuous means of production (such as migratory plantation labor), but availability of imports (both goods and ideas) means that people produce for export what they may no longer use in their own households (as is the case with indigenous garments). Nash asserts that production-for-use transitions to production-for-sale in response to "shrinking land and expanding markets for craft goods". The dislocation of peasants, as happened with the mechanization of agriculture in the Anatolian plateau starting in the 1950s, led to craft production transitioning from a subsistence activity to an income-generating activity for some families (Nash 1993, 17).

Production for the tourist market may affect design of objects as well as influencing which objects continue to be produced after they are no longer used by a certain community. Small objects that are easy to transport (bowls or war clubs, in the case of the Marquesas Islands) are more likely to become tourist objects. Commodity production for the tourist trade led to a limiting of repertoire of objects and motifs for made by carvers in the Marquesas Islands. New arts are also developed, using "traditional" motifs in new venues (Ivory 1999, 323-330).

Popularity among visitors can encourage the production of an object after the society has changed so that it no longer has the use value once associated with it (Ivory 1999, Grimes and Milgram 2000). Popularity can also lead to imitation, broadly, of designs (Ivory 1999, 324). If art from one area becomes popular, then other areas in the region (or businesses outside of the region looking to imitate the exotic "feel" of a place) will copy that artform, as in the case of Tiki figures from the

Marquesas Islands displayed all over Polynesia and in Polynesian-themed hotels and restaurants elsewhere (Ivory 1999, 316).

Government programs to promote handicrafts (both to tourist and domestic markets) can help transform "use articles" into commodities (Stephen 1993, 39). In order to attract tourists "particular features of culture and material production [are] commoditized and packaged for sale by the federal government." This development can lead to a homogenization of the arts to conform to stereotypes (Stephen 1993, 39-41). In Ecuador some merchants have to travel to smaller markets deemed more "traditional" by tourists in order to sell their goods (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999, 197).

Thus tourism can provide a market for craft products, even those which are no longer produced for community use. Small items and those that appeal to the aesthetics of the tourist sell better, affecting the design and construction of items for this market. As tourism is seasonal, in some situations the tourist market can generate income during non-agricultural seasons. Money generated through tourism can allow a community to integrate into the world market in a way that preserves their culture and traditions. On the other hand, tourist preferences for "authentic" or cheap goods can lead people to present stereotypical and homogeneous designs that do not require as much skill to carry out as the traditional items on which they are based. Government programs can promote these stereotypes, but they can also support artisans and help them find new markets for their goods.

Questions to pursue in relation to my research include these issues: What effect has tourism had on the design and structure of Turkish carpets? How has access to a tourist market affected the type of production undertaken in a given area? In what ways does the Turkish government support and promote weavers and Turkish carpets? A discussion of these questions will reflect on the relationship of the market to

weavers and weavers to the market, as well as showing the interaction of governmental agencies with these factors.

2.2.3 Culture as commodity

The common sense definition of a commodity is "an item with use value that also has exchange value" (Kopytoff 1986, 64). Graburn separates craft into "functional (inwardly directed) and commercial (other-directed)," though the "structural and aesthetics patterns underlying both" may be the same – art may serve two "intended audiences" (1999, 344).

With tourism "the culture of artisans is packaged along with the product" (Nash 1993, 12). "People are traveling to developing countries seeking an 'authentic' or 'lesser' culture, in search of images created through children's encyclopedias, television, and travel literature" (Orbasli 1994, 3). Relationships of artisans to visitors becomes commoditized by charging for photographs or posing with their work if a tourist buys something (Nash 1993, 12). Traditional clothing can be worn in order to lend authenticity to the craft being sold (Collored-Mansfeld 1999, 197).

"Often, the construction of "authentic" or "native" and quality goods for the marketplace is largely defined by outsiders who sit in judgment of local producers" – this is especially true of merchants who market goods by describing them within the frame of "traditional cultural practices" (whether this is still or, indeed, ever was how these goods were used) (Cohen 2000, 130). Many researchers theorize that this desire for the "authentic" among First World consumers and Third World urbanites springs from the fact that handmade objects are no longer readily available. The industrialization that has reduced the necessity for handmade production has ironically opened markets for handicrafts. Those who are alienated from the production of

objects want goods with “traditions,” with “histories” (Stephen 1991, Nash 1993, Graburn 1999). Authenticity “has to do not only with genuineness and the reliability of face value, but with the interpretation of genuineness and our desire for it” (Spooner 1986, 200). Those who talk of authenticity are “attempting to demonstrate, to themselves if no one else, a superior knowledge and power of discrimination” (Graburn 1999, 352). Thus, these goods can be purchased for use value, but also (in the case of high-quality items) for future resale – “the promise that oriental carpets, though bought for use, are a ‘good investment’” (Kopytoff 1986, 75).

Intermediaries transmit “the important information about the status of the artifact as commodity or treasure” (Graburn 1999, 349). In the export market, “trade diasporas” facilitate world trade by negotiating differing value and exchange systems across cultures (Kopytoff 1986, 88). In the domestic or import market these facilitators are often community members or the artisans themselves, though the government is also involved. Nash cites Geshekter (1978) in saying that tourism works within the international capitalist system in order to sell a country-as-product (1993, 13). Conservation of objects (crafts, or, in Orbasli’s research, buildings or historic neighborhoods in Bergama, Turkey) does not conserve culture – “it is improvements to their immediate needs and ‘quality of life’ that will be a measure of development” (Orbasli 1994, 4).

In summary, while incorporation into the world market has broadened the consumer base for craft items, it can also alter the design and significance of these items, changing production for the community to production for export. Production for export often caters to an external conception of authenticity, privileging foreign aesthetics over local forms and traditions. Items can also be bought as investments, though this is true mainly of high quality items with an elite clientele. Information

about the history and significance of craft items is transmitted by intermediaries who have their own agendas to promote.

This thesis will address some of these issues in the context of Turkish carpets woven for sale as well as domestic use. How weaving for sale changes how women weave for themselves, as well as which aspects of carpet design are altered when they are woven as a commodity, will be addressed in the research. The relationship of weaving to rural Turkish culture, and whether efforts to preserve the art of weaving are geared towards supporting culture as well will be considered, along with an examination of whether promotion of crafts encourages exploitation of artisan labor in the Turkish context.

2.3 The position of women in Turkish villages

The following two sections of this literature review address the position of women in rural Turkey, beyond research on carpets and weavers in Turkey. These segments will attempt to contextualize the practice and industry of weaving in Turkey and to show in what ways weaving might strengthen or change traditional gender roles. They will also discuss impacts of the global market on the culture, art, and business of weaving in terms of design and production observed by previous researchers, prior to a discussion of the findings of my research.

Prior to 1950, the social organization in rural Turkey was a classic patriarchy – three generations living in one house with the eldest male as the head of the household (Bastug 2002, Ozbay 1995, Kandiyoti 1990). Over the years a number of factors have led to people living increasingly in nuclear households (Bastug 2002, Dedeoglu 2002). As the mechanization of agriculture led to a decrease in the amount of labor needed for certain crops and a consolidation of land in the hands of the wealthy, many men became wage laborers on large farms or migrated to cities or abroad in search of work

(Gumen 1989). As life expectancy increased sons stopped waiting to inherit land or the family business from their fathers and more often set out on their own (Ozbay 1995, 101).

Even so, these nuclear households are not separated from the extended family system; family members are intimately involved in each other's lives, responsible for each other's wellbeing, and, even in cities, visiting each other often and holding keys to each other's houses (Dedeoglu 2002, Bastug 2002, Ozbay 1995). The shift from extended- to nuclear-family households is not, of course, uniform across the country. This is true of other changes discussed below; less developed localities (especially in the East of the country) following older, generally more conservative, traditional-patriarchal practices.

Under classic patriarchy a woman would become part of her husband's household after marriage. As marriage was important in the formation of both male and female identity, unmarried women had very low status in society (Dedeoglu 2002, 213). Women's status increased when they married, had male children, and if their male children married and brought daughters-in-law into the household. Women in this system had the most power when their sons married – they could stop working and instead manage the labor of their unmarried daughters and their son's wives (Moravidi 1992, Kandiyoti 1990). Though women's labor is still part of their husband's household in rural Turkey today, women in nuclear households are not as much under the control of their mothers-in-law as in the past.

Since marriage is such an important means of social mobility for women (Ozbay 1995, 109), it is important to be able to attract the best husband possible. If a girl's honor is suspect, it will be much harder for her to get married. Thus post-pubescent girls are closely watched by their families and even married women do not spend time alone with men who they are not related to them, or leave the village

unaccompanied by men of the family (Bastug 2002, Moravidi 1992). Many women from rural areas dream of marrying a man who will take them to the town or city where the workload will be lighter (Moravidi 1992, Ozbay 1995). Education can help a woman marry a man from the city, but if she is to stay in the village it might hurt her chances of finding a spouse, since men are not generally interested in wives who are better educated than they are (Ozbay 1995, 103)). Thus, many young women face a variety of issues and choices as they become eligible for marriage.

In summary, there are certain issues in this area that deserve further research. How has the role of weaving in rural Turkish society shifted as women's roles have changed over the years? How does education affect the likelihood of a girl to weave? Which production structures are more likely in extended- and nuclear-family households? These questions will be addressed in subsequent chapters, showing how economic and social factors impact women and weaving.

2.3.1 Rural women in the labor force

In rural areas women make up over half of the workforce, and roughly 90% of these women are unpaid family laborers (Akpinar et al. 2004, Dedeoglu 2002, Morvaridi 1992). As women undertake the activities of their daily lives they teach their daughters to do the same, and their main partners in domestic labor are their daughters and daughters-in-law (Akpinar et al. 2004, 482). Even when rural women work outside of the house, they see their primary responsibilities as domestic. Women's duties may include caring for children, food preparation, cleaning barns, feeding animals, milking, processing milk, making butter and yogurt, baking bread, weeding and hoeing, fetching firewood and water, sewing, knitting, weaving, stuffing mattresses and pillows, and maintaining dwelling spaces (Akpinar et el. 2004, Ozbay 1995, Moravidi

1992, Gumen 1989). Responsibilities change from region to region, village to village, and even house to house, with women from wealthier families only working in the fields when hired labor is scarce (Morvaridi 1992, 574). Though a wide variety of tasks can be assigned to women, they are not involved in agricultural management (Akpinar et al. 2004, Moravidi 1992).

While women may take on men's tasks when there is a lack of male labor or when men migrate for work, men never take on tasks assigned to women (Akpinar et al. 2004, Morvaridi 1992, Kandiyoti 1990). Women's labor is often viewed by both women themselves and the men in their families as an extension of their household responsibilities and thus not as a "real job". It is cheaper to hire a woman to work in the fields than to rent farm equipment, and cheaper still to rely on unpaid family labor, thus new technology is more likely to be adopted to facilitate men's labor as opposed to women's (Morvaridi 1992, 574). This is also true because men control the household's money (no matter who actually earned it) and make decisions about how the money will be spent (Kandiyoti 1990, 101).

Since women risk social standing by communicating with non-kin men, men of the household are generally the ones who negotiate contracts for women's labor or sell the products thereof (Akpinar et al. 2004, Moravidi 1992). Owing to the fact that men view women's work as an extension of their responsibilities as wives and daughters they often undervalue women's labor (Akpinar et al. 2004). As unpaid laborers women act as a buffer to help the family through financial hardship. Their labor for specific tasks is utilized as necessary, but when it is no longer needed they have other duties to attend to (Morvaridi 1992, 579).

Nonetheless, women are aware of their position as breadwinners and know that they can perform all of the tasks necessary to keep the household running. One woman in Morvaridi's study said, "We can survive without our men. The only thing

that we don't do in this village is drive tractors. Our men say that we are incapable of doing this work, but I am sure that we can do everything. We have seen on television that a woman can drive a tractor". In addition to television, women learn about other lifestyles from village women who have traveled to Germany as laborers. Women feign illness, or leave for their father's homes when their husbands treat them badly. They may also refuse to prepare meals when there is too much agricultural labor for them to do. This reflects poorly upon their husbands (Morvaridi 1992, 579-583).

Informal production of crafts and foodstuffs in the home can allow women to supplement a man's income while attending to their other home-base duties at the same time (Dedeoglu 2002, 219). On average, women earn half as much as men and are unlikely to find work with social security benefits (Dedeoglu 2002, 214). With the shift to a capitalist economy, there has also been a shift from agricultural to non-agricultural work as well as unpaid to paid labor (Ozbay 1995, 91). Women's labor, being cheaper, aided Turkey's integration into the global market in the 1980s by allowing exporters to produce goods at competitive prices (Dedeoglu 2002, 219).

It would seem that in nuclear households women are able to control their own time earlier than in an extended family household, but without daughters-in-law to do the household chores it is possible that they need to labor later into their lifespan. In this situation maybe having sons is not as important as in the past. It is also unclear from the literature who takes on agricultural and financial management in households without men or where men have migrated.

Questions raised in this section for my research include: What are the benefits to women of labor as a weaver? Have weavers been part of the shift from unpaid to paid labor? Are there companies hiring weavers that extend social security and health benefits to them? Under what circumstances could weavers be brought into the

formal economy? These questions also address social and economic concerns in the lives of rural women.

2.4 Previous research on Turkish carpet production; the state of carpet weaving in Turkey

According to Breu and Marchese (1999, 245) a lack of antique carpets on the market led to new production. This production was both independent and "merchant-controlled" (Berik 1986, 63). As industrialization increased in the 1960s and the Turkish economy expanded, so too did women's employment in the carpet weaving industry. In the same time period, cash-cropping developed along the coastal areas while mechanized grain production was introduced to the central Anatolian plateau. Of carpet-weaving households, 79 percent are agriculturalist (Berik 1995, 117) and most carpets are woven in 2,000 of Turkey's 35,000 villages, that is, less than one percent of all villages (Incirlioglu 1991, 255).

Hand weaving, as opposed to most forms of rural production, is unlikely to be completely displaced by mechanization of production because it is the "handmade" label that gives the product its cachet since the techniques of handweaving cannot be replicated mechanically (Berik 1986, Landreau 1996). The export of carpets is an important means of providing foreign exchange, but this "significant capitalist industry" uses "pre-capitalist technology" and thus the primary way to increase output is to hire more weavers (Landreau 1996, 293).

Weaving is part of the informal sector as women in home-based production (and many of those employed under workshop conditions as well) generally slip through laws ensuring minimum wage, social security, and protection against child labor. Thus, weavers generally do not show up in labor statistics (Gumen 1989, Berik 1986, Landreau 1996). Weaving was once the only source of cash income in many

rural areas, though in some areas by 1991 it had been supplanted by labor migration (Incirioglu 1991, 260). While Incirioglu found that women stopped weaving when remittances from labor migration began coming in the household, Landreau states that women "must shoulder a double or triple or even quadruple burden of farming, domestic chores, child care and piece work" under these conditions (1996, 304).

Improved infrastructures, new markets for agricultural products and an increase in tourism have led to a decrease in weaving (Breu and Marchese 1999, 245). Consumer demand has led to the continuation of a craft tradition that might otherwise have disappeared and a situation where "consumer demands dictate production" (Breu and Marchese 1999); these finding have been corroborated by Jirousek (1994) in her study of Comlekci, which had a cooperative, and kept weaving alive longer than other places which did not have such an economic enterprise.

This description holds true to a certain point today, but there is a need to update the information. One very recent major change is in the area of international trade regulations. In 1973 the U.S., Canada, and Europe adopted the Multifiber Arrangement (MFA), contrary to their otherwise free-trade policies, to place quotas on textile imports from various countries in order to protect domestic textile industries. The World Trade Organization introduced a 10-year plan in 1995 to phase out the MFA, and thus bolster the textile industries of certain developing countries (Somo, 2004). Since the textile quotas were lifted in January 2005, Turkish carpets now have to compete with carpets from countries with lower labor costs. This could greatly affect the carpet-weaving industry and it may not be able to withstand this competition.

In 1996 Turkey entered into a customs union with the EU, freeing Turkish products from quotas and tariff regulations (Togan 2004). Under this agreement products from Turkey must also meet EU standards for quality. Export in general

necessitates the implementation of standards expected in the consumer economies. Turkey's attempt to join the EU may also impact the weaving industry. At the moment most weavers work in the informal economy, without any protection in the form of social security. Even without social security payments to make many manufacturers find Turkish labor to be too expensive and are moving their production farther east. Until recently there was skepticism in Turkey as to whether EU membership talks would move forward and therefore Turkey did not begin reforms until after the Helsinki summit of 1999 (Schimmelfennig, Engert and Knobel 2005, 42-43).

With the inclusion of weavers in the social security system the cost of their labor will increase further. Even so, if Turkey comes under the Common Agricultural Policy, the benefits to the agricultural sector could make weaving for cash unnecessary in some rural areas. On the other hand, if Turkey is able to get protection under EU intellectual property-rights law, this could decrease competition from other countries and discourage Turkish manufacturers from outsourcing labor. All goods produced by countries in the EU must be marked with their nation of origin, and thus carpets from Turkmenistan or Nepal sold in the Europe could not be labeled Turkish carpets.

This area raises important questions that impact my research. What implications do the changes in the legal and market conditions of carpet production have for rural women who weave carpets? Will they have different effects depending on the mode of production and the geographic location? How is the government helping the industry to adjust? These questions provide a basis for discussing the possible impacts of global and national policies on the lives of weavers.

2.4.1 Modes of production

Past research, conducted mainly in the 1970s and 1980s, has identified three types of production structures by which carpets are woven as commodities (Berik 1986; Landreau 1995; Incirioglu 1991). These are petty-commodity production, the putting-out system, and workshop production.

Petty-commodity production involves weaving in the home, with the male head of the household or other male relatives selling the finished product to a carpet dealer or at a local or regional market. The family owns the loom and other weaving supplies and family members purchase or prepare the yarn themselves. Under the putting-out system, the loom and other equipment is supplied by a dealer who collects the finished product. Following the workshop model, weavers work in a centralized location, away from their homes, with all materials and patterns supplied by a manufacturer. Under all three systems women may be paid by the piece, by the knot, or by the square meter.

These different modes of production are suited to different settings. Where women are able to weave only intermittently due to other duties they are likely to weave in the home as this form of production can be stopped and started at will. Indeed, that is how weaving and many other art forms primarily practiced by women (crochet, needle-point lace etc.) developed – as a way of filling in 'spare time' with activities that did not distract from other domestic responsibilities and could bring some cash into the family. This mode of production is most suited to areas that have intensive year-round crops (as in the case of diversified cash crops), or where families are small and thus weavers must be able to interrupt their work on carpets to perform other tasks. Putting-out or petty commodity modes are also more likely where there

are nuclear households because there are fewer women in each household and thus women may not be available to work outside of the home (Berik 1995, 116-117).

Workshop weaving is most likely in places with distinct agricultural and non-agricultural seasons or where there are enough family members involved in reproduction of the household that some women are free to earn cash outside of the home. Under these conditions women can leave the house, and thus weave uninterrupted for extended periods of time uninterrupted (Berik 1986). Workshop weaving is more likely in extended-family households where girls can be sent out of the house as labor (Berik 1995, 116). Workshop production is most common in areas with mechanized grain-based agriculture (with a high level of landlessness and more need for non-agricultural incomes) where women don't have to work the land and thus are more likely to work year-round in a workshop. Merchants prefer the workshop method because it increases output (Incirlioglu 1991, 258). Pay is low per piece because most of this work is done for low-quality domestic market – weaving for export gets a better price (Berik 1986, 129).

Some workshops are cooperatives, organized by weavers, by the government, or by outsiders (as in the case of the DOBAG cooperatives). Government-operated Sumerhali (formerly Sumerbank) cooperatives offer health and pension benefits, but wages are very low because the carpets are sold below market prices (women work or sell their rugs elsewhere if they are able to) (Landreau 1996, 171-172).

None of the three modes of production changes in cases where women interact with people outside of their kin or village. Location, however, changes a woman's control over "labour power" (Berik 1995, 116). According to Berik, a Turkish economist, women who weave in the home do so in "spare time" and thus have more control over when they weave. Women who weave in workshops "are perceived as 'cash-generators'" and, with a separation between home and workplace, they are

encouraged to work long hours (Berik 1995, 116). Since women weaving at home have more control over their labor, they produce less, but the presence of women who do not weave in a household increases the output of weavers there (Berik 1986, 130).

Incirioglu, an anthropologist, counters Berik's claim that a major difference between the home-based petty-commodity and putting-out systems, and workshop weaving is "the weaver's control over the production process" by noting that "out-putters" have some manner of control only over weaving, which is one of many processes involved in carpet production (1991, 262). Women have some control over allocation of time, but weaving from cartoons with yarn that has been given to them, and thus control over their time does not mean control over the entire production process (Incirlioglu 1991, 262). While this may be true for the workshop and putting-out systems, many women weave via petty commodity production, in which they find the materials and choose the colors and patterns. While these choices may be based on what they think will sell or what they have seen on the market, they are choices made by the weavers themselves.

Under all forms of production, it is the male head of the household who arranges weaving contracts and collects payment (Berik 1986, 128). Workshop weaving, for instance in cooperatives, is more social in that weavers work with more non-household women, but existing kinship relations as well as gender and age hierarchies are maintained in the workshop setting (Berik 1986, 129). According to Incirioglu, integration of rural communities into the capitalist system entails "production for accumulation and not subsistence" (1991, 4). Landreau (1996, 296) notes that several different relations to production can occur at the same time in a village. Different families have different responses to family and village traditions, some conforming and some finding new directions in their relationships.

Due to the gap in time between previous research and this study, it remains to be seen if all of these modes of production still exist in the context of Turkish weaving. Which modes of production are most likely to be affected by the removal of the trade tariffs and the increased competition that has followed? Have modes of production been differentially affected by the capitalist-oriented economic development that has taken place, or by the economic crisis of 2001? These questions also raise issues of international policy and the impact of the global economy on the carpet weaving industry.

2.4.2 External factors affecting weavers

Globalization has affected and in some cases interfered with cultural heritages and value systems (Breu and Marchese 1999, 247). Prior to the 1960s carpets in Mugla were woven for dowry and "sold only during periods of financial hardship" (Jirousek 1994, 229). The global economy has impacted weavers both via merchants who transmit information about the market, and also directly as economic opportunities become available and change villages where carpets are produced (Breu and Marchese 1999, 247).

When traditional handicrafts become commoditized it changes the lives of the weavers – what was now "leisure" becomes separated from "work" through "a certain degree of work discipline, control of output, [and] following directions for patterns, colors and size, for example" (Gumen 1989, 158). Both Incirioglu (1991) and Landreau (1996), also an anthropologist, describe this in terms of alienation of producer from product. "The workers may begin to distinguish between the worlds of production and reproduction in the home, since carpet making brings in an income (no matter how low). In other words, they may begin to question the traditional

'inevitability' of such work as tied to homelife" (Gumen 1989, 159). This statement is not supported by the findings of Landreau (1996) and Berik (1986) discussed below.

Anthony Landreau, who conducted research in Turkey between 1972 and 1982, stated that contemporaneous conditions of commodity production had alienated traditional weavers from the labor that they undertook. As capitalism further influenced the lives of Anatolian peasants, marketability of products (in which foreign aesthetics had taken precedence in the design of "oriental" carpets) had become a prime concern for weavers. Landreau further argued that monetarization and consumerism in rural areas had led to a decrease in the status and well-being of women (Landreau 1996, 303). Social structures had changed and women could no longer expect an increase in status as they moved from young woman to bride to mother-in-law. Alcoholism and domestic abuse had increased, and where men work as migrant labor the household burden fell completely to the wife.

What Landreau failed to consider, however, was how industrialization and consumerism might also have eased the household duties of women in some ways. As people became able to buy the things they need, making goods for self-use was no longer necessary. Life was far less strenuous, and while women may feel alienated from the actual things that they produced as commodities, it might be that life had become much easier and they would not like to go back to making everything for themselves.

Gunseli Berik compares theories from Marxist, feminist and women-in-development literature positing wage labor as a means of improvement of the situation of women against those using case studies from the developing world to claim that wage labor does not necessarily improve the standing of women because of the ways in which women move into wage labor (Berik 1986, 1). Berik found that all women in weaving villages produced carpets, but those in more prosperous households produced

less “but not substantially less” than those in poorer households. In the most well-off households weaving generated one fourth of the income whereas in the poorest it constituted one-half of the total household income (1986, 186). Her research demonstrates that paid work as a weaver did not foster gender equality since the labor fit into the pre-existing cultural framework and men controlled the product of said labor (Berik 1986, 236).

Women did not have control over whether or not they wove (labor power), over the product of their labor, their income or the spending of said income, and thus weaving for pay did not increase their autonomy or enhance their position; weaving was not so much a “choice” as a “duty” as a woman in the household (Berik 1986, 226), contradicting Gumen’s prediction that weaving for sale would call into question the linkage between weaving and household responsibilities (Gumen 1987). Women also did not choose the production system that they worked under (Berik 1986, 229). Even if women were not able to choose the system of production, numerous types of production may be present in a single village. This examination of conditions did not, however, consider the differential effect on women’s lives of weaving in the home versus weaving outside of the home in regard to aspects other than control of labor and the product thereof.

Kimberly Hart (2005) also weighed in on these issues. She began her anthropological research in 1998 in Orselli village in the Yuntdag region of Western Anatolia. This village is the center of the Yuntdag cooperative of the DOBAG project and mainly focused on examining women’s lives through the practice of weaving and the institution of marriage. The Dogal Boya Arastirma ve Gelistirme Projesi (DOBAG) was established by German scientist Harold Bohmer in 1981 as a means of reviving natural dye traditions and generating cash income in subsistence-level agricultural villages in Western Turkey (Anderson 1998, 6). Bohmer’s cooperatives

were formed with an eye towards family rivalries; each major group had their own cooperative (Anderson 1998, 7). Thus, the DOBAG cooperatives have not dissolved due to the contention that normally destroys such enterprises and were still in operation in 2005. Hart notes the division between tradition and tradition-as-marketing-tool that her informants see in their lives. Her main focus is young women and the construct of "modernity" versus that of "tradition" and their relationship to economic development.

A major emphasis of this dissertation is on the "uniqueness" of Orselli village, which "stems in part from the fact that it is the center of a women's carpet weaving cooperative" (Hart 2005, 348). Though women are members of the cooperative, management is in the hands of the men of the village. Thus the structure can be put in a female-empowerment light for customers, but essentially functions as "an extended family in and across the villages" (Hart 2005, 355). Hart agrees with Berik (in opposition to Gumen, Landreau, and Incirlioglu) that weaving in the home is not "alienating" in the manner of workshop labor since it is done in the context of other chores (Hart 2005, 146).

In both villages with traditional weaving structures and those in which weaving was introduced as an income-generation activity, "carpet weaving is superimposed on the existing sexual division of labor as women's work" (Berik 1986, 236). In a traditional-patriarchal context, weaving is not seen as "labor," but as another chore that falls to a woman as her responsibility to the household "weaving as non-work" leads to women's labor being undervalued (Landreau 1996, 171). Even so, the value of daughters has increased. They are able to bring cash into their parents' homes whereas sons are starting to leave extended family homes earlier in order to establish their own households (Gumen 1989, 159). This value to their parents has led to women getting married later (Incirioglu 1991). Through such mechanisms as these,

Berik proposes that weaving outside of the home might eventually challenge existing gender hierarchies (1986, 237).

Further research could confirm or refute whether production for sale is alienating in the manner described by Incirlioglu, Landreau, and Gumen, or simply taken for granted as a traditional role for women. The concept of alienation presupposes weaving is tied to utility, and disregards the fact that in many locations weaving takes place solely as an income-generating activity, with no connection to local weaving traditions (or lack thereof). Apart from debating alienation from their product, the literature does not comment on whether weaver's opinions of weaving differ under various modes of production. How does weaving fit into and affect their lives? Has weaving outside of the home challenged existing gender hierarchies as Berik proposed it might? Illumination of the topics raised here may shed light on the agency of weavers in making their own decisions and controlling aspects of their own lives.

2.4.3 Factors affecting design

Gregorian (a carpet dealer based in Boston) presents three categories into which oriental carpets may be divided based on their patterns and production methods. There are geometric (woven by nomads), floral (woven in court manufactories), and all-over or "covered field" (woven in agricultural villages) (Gregorian 2000, 53-58). These categories may be appropriate to describe carpets from a wide variety of countries, but are not altogether fitting for carpet production in Turkey. In the first place, there are few nomads left in Turkey, and geometric carpets are woven mainly in agricultural villages. Also, floral motifs can be found in carpets woven by nomads and villagers, as well as those woven in the past in court manufactories.

I therefore propose that Turkish carpets may be divided into three slightly different categories from those above: 1) geometric (woven in villages settled by formerly nomadic peoples); 2) curvilinear (woven in high-end commercial workshops) and; 3) conventionalized (standardized versions of geometric or curvilinear carpets woven in lower-end commercial workshops). Below are examples of geometric (Figure 2.1), curvilinear (Figure 2.2), and conventionalized (Figure 2.3) carpets.

Figure 2.1 Geometric carpet woven in the village of Canakkeli (Gregorian 2000, 55)

Figure 2.2 Curvilinear carpet woven in Hereke in the 19th century (Lyon 2006)

Figure 2.3 Conventionalized curvilinear carpet woven in Kayseri (DOSIM 1992)

As Landreau points out, “material changes in rug production clearly mirror social change” (Landreau 1996, 11). This was likely the case since the inception of carpet weaving and is therefore likely the case today as well. Both the tourist market and the export market have changed the patterns and dimension of carpets. Factors influencing these changes have included the needs of the antique market, the requirements of the tourist market, and the actual or perceived aesthetics of global (mainly western) consumers. These factors have influenced design and construction of carpets most likely from the fist time a woman wove a carpet for sale outside of her community. They are moderated by the ways in which the designer (weaver, dealer or other manager) perceives customer desire. For a weaver this may be through seeing what dealers buy (Breu and Marchese 1999, 244), or what is being sold (and bought) at local markets. For a dealer this may be looking at what sells best for them and for a manager there may be other methods of gauging customer desire. Weavers, in the case of petty-commodity production, and those who decide on patterns under the workshop and putting-out system, respond not only to market demand, but to perceived market demand that may or may not reflect the actual desires of the market.

In the 1960s customers seeking Turkish carpets were mainly interested in antiques. In order to sell carpets, dealers who did not have access to antique carpets “aged” new rugs in order to pass them off as older carpets. This involved bleaching the carpets and cutting back the black yarns that were worn away in genuine antiques due to the tin used as a mordant in the dye (Jirousek 1994, 229). Eventually dealers stopped selling such carpets as antiques, but bleaching carpets and cutting back the black yarns had become a routine part of the finishing process (Jirousek 1994, 233) and possibly something that foreigners expected to see when they went to buy Turkish carpets (see Figure 2.4). In this way dealers and customers helped shape the current concepts of “authentic” Turkish carpets.

Figure 2.4 "Aged" Milas carpets Note bleaching and cut-back black yarns (photos by Jirousek)

It is not only dealers and customers who are agents in this process. Women engaging in home-based weaving, seeing carpets on the market that were lighter than those they wove for themselves, chose lighter yarns to weave their carpets. These lighter carpets, bleached and put out for sale, led to women choosing even lighter yarns in a feedback loop that Jirousek (1994, 234)) implied would lead eventually to carpets composed entirely in variants on cream.

As the tourist market expanded beyond wealthy vacationers in the 1970s, the market for carpets expanded beyond costly antiques. Dealers saw these new travelers, interested in souvenirs of their trip to Turkey, as likely customers for carpets, and their wants and needs also influenced what was being woven. Tourists preferred carpets that were easy to transport and therefore weavers who worked for the tourist market geared their production towards smaller carpets. In the workshop and putting-out systems designs were often simplified because weavers (and one would assume those who commission them to weave) reject complicated patterns in an effort to maximize productivity and thus profit (Breu and Marchese 1999, 246). In addition to raising productivity this simplification can lower costs, thus making simpler carpets

competitive in both the tourist and export markets, and some tourists prefer the simpler designs in and of themselves (Jirousek 1994, 232).

While Western conceptions of the "authentic" Turkish carpet may or may not have been influenced by the "aging" techniques practiced by dealers, Western aesthetics most definitely influenced the types of carpets being woven. When asymmetry came into vogue in Europe and the U.S. in the late 19th century more prayer rugs, which have a pointed design at one end only, were woven; when Westerners wanted symmetrical furnishings prayer rug weaving became much less common (Jirousek 1994). According to Landreau, "the romantic notions about rugs disseminated by a Western elite created a mystique that greatly enhances, and continues to support, marketability." Thus, through dealers and weavers catering to this Western notion, foreign aesthetics are important to design (1996, 301).

It remains to be seen how contemporary carpets compare to those written about in the existing literature. Have carpets finally reached the white-on-white stage that would culminate the trend observed by Jirousek in 1994? There is also need for an evaluation of the changes in carpets in relation to recent changes in the global economy, as well as an exploration of whether or not weaving for sale affects the design and structure of carpets woven for home use.

2.4.4 Government involvement in the weaving industry

Berik notes that weaving, being part of an agricultural lifestyle and requiring no materials unavailable in rural Turkey, was encouraged under the Turkish government's import-substitution industrialization strategy initiated during the First Five Year Development Plan in 1963. Policy up to the point of Berik's research focused mainly on export promotion, and not on the weavers themselves. The government recommended that workshops and cooperatives be formed in order to

maintain high quality weaving that could be used for export while at the same time subsidizing the machine-made carpet industry for domestic consumption. In this environment, the government-owned Sumerbank began training weavers in areas with no weaving tradition, and providing looms and yarn to cooperatives in areas with and without weaving traditions. Due to management problems and a lack of adequate funds, many of these cooperatives had dissolved by the early 1970s (Berik 1986, 37-41).

Weavers were virtually invisible in labor statistics, due possibly to the classification of weaving as a chore of a household and thus not employment, or the fear that there would be a tax on weaving income if women were formally identified as weavers. In addition to weavers being under-reported, state policy had focused mainly on the product of weaving and not the weavers themselves. Though the Social Security Law stated that all people employed in workshops must be covered, weavers very rarely were. By the early 1980s this lack of coverage, as well as the poor working conditions in many workshops, had been officially recognized, though nothing was done to rectify this situation (Berik 1986, 41-47).

In 1986 the Ministry of Culture undertook a project aimed at documenting examples of Turkish carpets found in villages, private collections, and museums. The goal of this project was to publish the resulting images in catalogues that could be used to revitalize village weaving. Over 5,000 carpets were photographed and archived at the Ministry of culture, and a few hundred of these were published in five volumes between 1987 and 1991. Copies of the catalogues (called *Turkish Handwoven Carpets*) were distributed to weaving cooperatives, dealers and other rug producers, who could then order graph-paper diagrams of carpets (see Figure 2.5) (Yilmazkaya and Unal 1992).

Figure 2.5 Graph-paper carpet patterns from DOSIM in the village of Comlekci (photo by author)

The role of the government in support of carpet weaving will clearly be a significant factor to consider in this research. What has been the effect of current attempts by the government to be involved both in the weaving industry and in the lives of individual weavers? What is the state of the Social Security issue? How successful are efforts to promote weaving as both income generation and cultural heritage?

2.4.5 Directions for further research

Much of the research cited here was undertaken between 1972 and 1985. Turkey has undergone many changes in the last 20 years. While Hart's research took place more recently than that of the other investigators, she focuses on the uniqueness of the situation that she studied.

The effects of events such as the economic crisis of 2001, the increased importance of tourism to the Turkish economy, the stabilization of the Lira and the expiration of the Multifiber Arrangement in 2005, on the weaving industry and weavers themselves all need to be addressed.

Breu and Marchese's research was also conducted relatively recently, but they interviewed carpet dealers and not weavers themselves. This is problematic as dealers

purchase carpets from men of weaving households and are not generally involved in the weaving process itself. Dealers definitely have an economic interest in seeming to be knowledgeable about carpets and thus might answer questions in a way that makes them look good. Incirouglu (1991) and Landreau (1996) both mention the problems a male researcher might face in terms of getting accurate information from female weavers. These issues can be addressed in future research by talking to many people involved in the weaving process in an area, including weavers and dealers, as well as by using female interviewers (Landreau, for example, conducted much of his research in conjunction with his wife).

Though the women in the studies discussed in this section were reported as not having control over their labor or the product thereof, it remains to be seen whether this is still true in the early twenty-first century and whether their attitudes towards weaving and the benefits thereof differ when they weave in the home or outside of the home. The difference of opinion between Incirioglu and Berik about the degree to which women control their labor power in different production settings also bears closer examination. Further research into control over labor and women's responsibilities could also clear up the disagreement between Incirioglu and Landreau in regards to whether male labor migration increases or decreases a woman's workload. Another direction that research could take would be to compare current and previous practices and attitudes with regard to dowry or in regards to women's work as a part of (a possibly changing) female identity.

The relationship of the geographic location to the type of weaving occurring could be examined, along with access of weavers to education and wage labor. It is possible that there has been a shift in the modes of production or that some of the modes of production that were common twenty or thirty years ago no longer exist. Thus an outline of the modes of production in addition to their geographic locations

(though a bit ambitious for a thesis based on two months of research) might be useful in commenting on the industry and craft in general and possible future directions.

2.5 Methodology

The three main methods of conducting research in the classic social sciences are experimentation, survey research, and field research (Babbie 2004, 219). Since experiments involve manipulating variables and observing the consequences (Babbie 2004, 221) and the survey method requires that a large number of subjects be given a systematic questionnaire (Singleton, Straits & Straits 1993, 247) these methods were not viable given the time and spatial constraints put on my research.

Singleton, Straits and Straits define *the field* as "a natural social setting familiar to the subject" (1993, 317). Field research makes the most sense in the case of my research since interviewing women outside of the home or workplace (not necessarily two different locations) is not practical in rural Turkey. Also, field research is the easiest way to study the relationship of people to their setting. Since I wanted to observe how different settings affect weavers and weaving, it was necessary to visit these settings (both in order to contact the weavers and also to collect information about the setting that may not be readily apparent through interviews outside of the home or workplace).

A major strength of field research is its flexibility – interviews can be tailored to the subject as they progress, (Babbie 2004, 300). The ability to reconstruct interview schedules on the spot was important during the course of my research, as oftentimes the specifics of a situation were unknown until after the initial stages of an interview were carried out. The ability of the interviewer to gather information about the setting beyond that which is gathered with the survey instrument itself is also important. I was able to observe the setting in which a particular weaver worked, as

well as the condition of the village in comparison to other villages visited. I could assess certain things about the situation (such as whether or not machine-made rugs were used in the house) without having to ask. The fact that many different types of data can be gathered means that field research lends itself readily to the construction of case studies, which are examinations of "a single social phenomenon or unit of analysis" (Singleton, Straits & Straits 1993, 317). In order to form a holistic picture of the phenomenon under investigation, quantitative data are a useful complement to more qualitative information (Lofland and Lofland 1995, 21).

In terms of weaknesses, field research, especially "brief" time-limited field research such as this study, is also conditioned by the fact that it is often carried out by an individual or a small number of researchers and thus the data that they are able to record (or deem important to record) is all the data that become publicly available (Singleton, Straits & Straits 1993, 320). Data gathered through field research, then, is often quite descriptive, comparatively subjective in terms of what is observed and how the observations are interpreted, and difficult if not impossible to replicate (Singleton, Straits & Straits 1993, 320). This "qualitative" nature means that it does not generate data, observations, or interpretations that can be replicated easily by other researchers; nor are findings generalizable in a statistically significant manner to the population as a whole (Babbie 2004, 307). Much depends on what key-informants are chosen, and their possible eccentricities in responding to interviews. Still, exploratory field research can serves as a bases for supplying propositions that provide directions for additional study. In other words, such research as this is certainly not conclusive in and of itself, and provides neither statistical significance nor the ability for other researchers to come to the same conclusions. These are major concerns. Even so, my finding have converged with certain findings by other investigators as well as presented areas for further inquiry. Such benefits are important in any science that

depends on accumulating converging findings over time, and especially in social science where more definitive research is so expensive.

2.5.1 Data collection

Data can be gathered from subjects through formal and informal key informant and group interviews. The advantages of group interviews are that they are flexible, and can generate a lot of data in a short period of time (Babbie 2004, 303). Disadvantages include difficulty in analyzing data, and possible exclusion of minority viewpoints due to pressures for group conformity (Babbie 2004, 303). In order to counter these tendencies, it is preferable to use a video camera to record data and to compare the focus group data to data gathered during individual interviews with the same population (Babbie 2004, 303).

When interviewing people singly or in groups it is also necessary to keep in mind that the facts reported are tempered by opinions of people in specific, not necessarily typical situations, and limited access to knowledge. Thus, a review of prior literature on the topic is necessary in order to gauge how any particular datum collected fits with previous studies and interpretations (Babbie 2004, 298). Data are colored both by the opinions of the interviewee and also by those of the interviewer who is recording the data. It is important, therefore, to assess views on subjects related to the research topic and to interview as many people as possible in order to account for biases while also properly situating data in a picture based on previous studies.

Written notes, photographs and audio recordings augment visual observation, though sometimes it is awkward to tape informal interviews (Singleton, Straits & Straits 1993, 342). Consequently, the most reliable means of recording data is not

always an option (and even when it is, problems with the recording device or that familiarity of the user with said device can lead to improper recording or a lack of record). Still, both notes written at the field site and those recorded afterwards can be combined with impressions written in journal entries to provide a more rounded view of a situation than might be constructed from survey evidence alone.

In theory field notes are impartial observations of what is going on at the time and journal entries are more subjective, providing an insight into the researcher's state of mind at the time as well as allowing the researcher to make tentative analyses of situations before all data have been gathered. In practice this is not the case. What actually gets recorded (especially in the absence of audio or video tape) and how these "facts" are interpreted is at the discretion of the researcher and thus biased by many factors (Sanjek 1990, 412).

Gathering institutional data, such as census information, is also useful for complementing field research (Singleton, Straits & Straits 1993, 345). Under ideal circumstances in depth field research can be combined with statistical and other institutional data (such as population size, average income, or information about changes and improvements in infrastructure) to form a case study of a village. Case studies can be used to develop general theories, in which causal factors are identified (Babbie 2004, 293), and thus help provide information about why, where, and when women weave.

2.5.2 Data analysis

The major means of categorizing data gathered through field research is via coding (Singleton, Straits & Straits 1993, 417). Coding is a form of content analysis in which data are divided into categories so that comments on each category by different

informants may be compared (Babbie 2004, 318). This allows for large amounts of information to be dealt with easily. Content analysis allows the researcher to choose which types of data are important and compare them across interviews (Babbie 2004, 324). The codes can be reformatted to show different types of information, and analytic coding allows the researcher to pick up on themes that come up in numerous contexts and can form the basis for discussion about a given topic (Lofland and Lofland 1995, 190).

Once data have been coded, they can be examined using cross-case analysis. The two methods of cross-case analysis are variable-oriented analysis and case-oriented analysis. Case-oriented analysis looks closely at one or many subjects in order to understand the subjects themselves (Babbie 2004, 371). This method of analysis is used to predict behavior of an individual subject. Variable-oriented analysis is used to determine how different levels of certain variables affect outcomes (Babbie 2004, 371). This method is useful for making predictions of what will happen in different contexts. A combination of case-oriented analysis and variable-oriented analysis will be employed for this study.

Field research allows individuals and groups to be observed and interviewed in certain of their social settings. The presence of an observer may change what a stakeholder does or says, and recordings of events are biased by choices made by both the recorder and the interviewee. Even so, many types of data can be recorded virtually simultaneously, enabling the construction of more thorough case studies. In this study data will be categorized via coding and then examined using cross-case and variable-oriented analyses. This will allow for discussion of both the factors that affect women's lives and the state of the hand-woven carpet industry as well as why individuals might weave or not weave.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that much has been written both about the position of artisans in the global market and also about weavers in the Turkish context. This said, many Turkish data are, for the most part, more than twenty years old. There is a need for an examination that takes into account the changes that Turkey has undergone since the 1980s. Field research is the most practical method of conducting research in this area since it allows a researcher to interact with the stakeholder as well as his or her environment, collecting data from interviews along with photographs and direct observation of circumstances. The following chapters will detail the methods used to collect data as well as the results of said data.

CHAPTER 3

PROCEDURES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the procedures by which data were collected during this study. First the methods used to collect data will be discussed and then situations in which data were collected and why certain methods were used in these situations will be examined. These situations will be discussed in roughly chronological order as the format lends itself to the grouping of similar situations.

3.2 Interview methods

The primary method used in this study to collect information from stakeholders was key-informant and focus group interviews. These interviews were recorded in a notebook and with audio or video recording equipment when possible. As many interviews were conducted through an interpreter, having an audio recording of an interview allowed the researcher to listen to the Turkish original as well as the translation, which was not possible when the researcher was asking questions and jotting down fieldnotes.

Recordings were important even for interviews conducted in English. For example, the first interview collected was with a former head curator of the Carpet Museum in Istanbul, now a fiber artist who designs and commissions flat-woven rugs. Very little data were collected during this interview because the recording device was not used properly and notes taken were found to be inadequate to reconstruct the dialogue. A journal was also kept to record thoughts and impressions external to the fieldnotes made during interviews, and locations were photographed in many cases for

later analysis and comparison. Additionally, statistical information was gathered pertaining to places visited, supplementing data gathered through interview and observation.

Initially two interview schedules were developed – one for weavers and one for managers of weaving operations. These were intended as tools to evaluate the differential effects of weaving in various production situations on the women doing the weaving, how they weave for themselves, and how weaving techniques are transmitted, as well as weavers' opinions of weaving in different situations. The categories of questions pertained to wages, training, and benefits. These interview schedules were constructed with the help of many individuals and went through many revisions before being used in the field.

Although data collection began by using these formal questionnaire-based interviews, the procedures quickly changed to the use of an interview guide - a list of things that should be asked about during the course of an interview. A list proved more appropriate as each situation was different and it allowed the same information to be gathered in various locations as well as other information that was particular to a venue. This meant that more accurate situation-specific information was gathered than would have been obtained following a questionnaire (see appendix A).

The main method of collecting data from stakeholders used in this study was the key-informant interview. This method involved asking questions of between one and three subjects at a time, often with the help of an interpreter. This form of data collection took place in living rooms in rural villages, the premises of carpet producers, stores of carpet dealers, offices of university professors, and offices of government officials. A focus group interview took place in a situation where time was limited and 25 weavers were present. In this situation it did not make sense to interview each weaver separately both because of the time it would take and because

everyone was sitting together in one room. In some instances printed reports, research or other publications were also collected as source material to supplement interviews.

3.3 Data collection: Istanbul

The collection of data began in Istanbul, where I first arrived in Turkey. In Istanbul an examination was made of historic carpets as well as those currently on the market. This was important both to get a better understanding of the history and development of carpet weaving as well as to assess the changes in the craft from a material culture perspective, and to see what carpets are popular in order to assess how this affect weaver's preferences for self weaving. To examine historic carpets, a trip was made to the Carpet Museum and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts. A carpet store operated by an agency of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (DOSIM) and the carpet shops of the Grand Bazaar were visited to inspect the range of carpets that were for sale currently. The carpets for sale were generally much less intricate than those in the museums.

The DOSIM store stocks carpets with designs from all over Turkey, both contemporary and from earlier periods in time. Carpets in the stalls of dealers at the Bazaar also had designs from various regions in Turkey. These dealers also stocked carpets woven in countries farther east such as Afghanistan and Turkmenistan. One dealer reported that Turkish women's taste in carpets has changed as they have become more interested in Western concepts of interior design whereby living spaces should be furnished according to a color scheme.

The first interview conducted was with a former curator of the Carpet Museum who is a textile artist and designs flat-woven rugs. These rugs are woven by women who have migrated to Istanbul from Eastern Turkey. The weavers learned to weave as children, but had to be re-taught when they began to work in Istanbul. Due to

improper use of the recording device and a lack of thorough notes, there was not a lot of information collected from this interview. The curator did speak of difficulty with finding good weavers, and named a carpet dealer she knew who was willing to be interviewed in an area of Istanbul with many carpet shops (Balpinar 2005).

The attempt to find this particular dealer in an area full of stores on winding back alleys was a failure, but two other dealers in the same area agreed to be interviewed. The dealers were asked where people are weaving now and what changes had occurred in the industry in the past 5-10 years. An attempt was made to follow the interview schedule for managers, but it was quickly abandoned when it became apparent that many of the questions did not apply to these dealers since they did not have direct contact with weavers. This being the case, they could not answer questions about weavers' wages and their work conditions. What they could explain was how their side of the industry has changed. They said that Turkish labor is too expensive for what their foreign wholesale and retail customers are willing to pay, and they now import most of their carpets from Turkmenistan (Berke 2005).

3.4 Data collection: Ankara

In Ankara interviews were conducted with faculty from Ankara University as well as officials in various government ministries. The intention of these interviews was to determine the state of weaving in Turkey, and to locate weavers and cooperatives for key-informant interviews. Details of these interviews will be provided in Chapter 4.

3.4.1 University faculty

Two members of the Ankara University faculty in the Department of Traditional Small Handicrafts have conducted research with carpet weavers, as well people

involved in other types of traditional textile production, in various parts of the country. These professors shared what they had learned in their research, which was helpful in terms of problems encountered and results found. A professor from Agricultural Economics who conducted research in Aksaray and Afyon provinces on the effects of weaving on rural women's lives and bodies also provided valuable information. These contacts identified regions where weaving was taking place and provided contacts with weavers and government officials.

3.4.1 Government officials

The Agricultural Economics professor offered to help conduct interviews with government officials involved in craft production and administration. Government bodies visited were the Handicrafts Directorate (El Sanatlari Daire Baskanligi), the Industry and Commerce Ministry (Sanayi ve Ticaret Baskanligi), and the Southeastern Turkey (GAP) Regional Development Administration. A list of questions designed to determine where cooperatives exist, what the government is doing to promote weaving in Turkey, and how the government is promoting Turkish handicrafts abroad were asked through the translation of this professor.

The division director (sube muduru) of the Handicrafts Directorate identified seven education centers for handicrafts. She said that women are trained at these centers through government courses and then travel around the country giving lessons (Somer 2005). The division director also supplied a list of cooperatives that stated their location, founding date, and their specializations. These lists acted as a starting point for asking about carpet cooperatives, but proved to be unreliable upon speaking with people involved in the weaving industry.

The official at the Industry and Commerce Ministry said that attempts at promoting Turkish handicrafts at international fairs have been unsuccessful. The

ministry had not been able to present at fairs in the United States, though this was an important market for crafts. The Sumerhali carpet store in Ankara was recommended as a place to speak with a government expert who could give technical information about carpets (Coru 2005). The official also provided a list of cooperatives for various handicrafts in the Mugla region.

At the GAP Administration, the head of the CATOMs (multi-purpose community centers) Project discussed the 30 CATOMs in the GAP region (the poorest region of Turkey, to which much of the country's development funds are going at present). Four or five of these community centers produce flat-woven rugs, while none produce pile carpets. Another official said that they try to establish cooperatives, but these organizations only succeed for about a year. People can make money in the short-term through self-production, but in the long term there are marketing problems that make cooperative arrangements unfeasible (Fazioglu 2005).

Interviews with the professors and the officials at the GAP Administration were conducted in English. All other interviews were conducted with the aid of a translator.

3.5 Data collection: Konya Province

The city of Konya, with a population of 2,217,969 (State Institute for Statistics [SIS] 2000), is located in the province of Konya, about two hours South of Ankara (see Figure 3.1). Konya was visited in order to speak with the owners of two companies that produce carpets and the weavers in one cooperative.

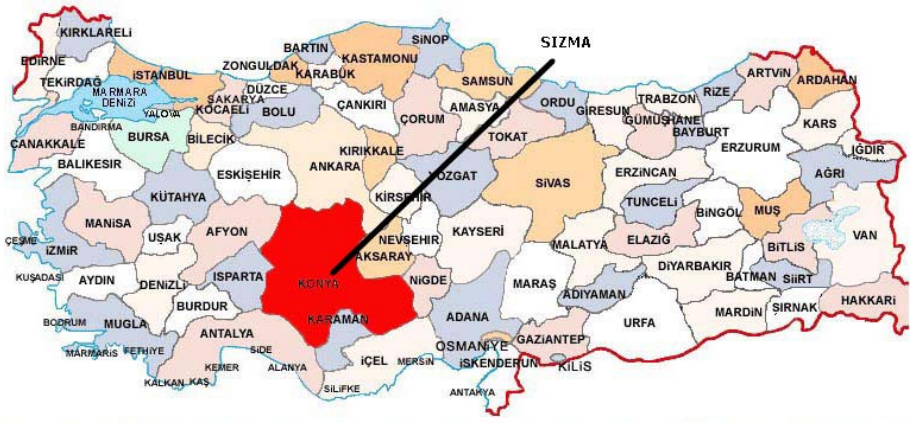

Figure 3.1 Map showing Konya Province (map by author)

3.5.1 Two companies in Konya

In the city of Konya, the owners of two companies that manufacture carpets, as well as the head of quality control for one of the companies, were interviewed in an attempt to understand the relationship of management to weavers and the ways in which companies interact with each other, through industry organizations, and with the government.

The first company visited has been in operation for twenty years and started with one old lady and a loom. The owners (one Turkish and one Western European) got involved with weaving out of a love for carpets and a desire to see the craft continue. They now employ four or five hundred weavers in six villages to produce high-end carpets (both traditional court-manufactory and contemporary – see Figure 3.2) for custom orders. These carpets are all exported. These women are paid a living wage, and given social security and health benefits. The company is also involved in development projects in the villages such as training midwives.

Figure 3.2 Carpets woven for first company visited in Konya Curvilinear style, a copy of a 17th century Usak carpet in silk (left) and a contemporary design, commissioned by a European designer (right) (photos by C. Jirousek)

Weavers are given cartoons of patterns, looms and materials, and work in workshops set up by the company in their village. As the company has recently separated itself from the direct management of weavers (the loom-master who was their employee is now in control of this portion of production as his own enterprise), weavers would not be available for interviews. The owners were concerned that direct contact with weavers at this time might disturb this new arrangement. Using the questionnaire that I had written for managers as a guide, a list of questions specific to these individuals was generated. These questions were geared towards an examination of the ways in which this company interacts with and supports weavers.

The foreign partner was interviewed concerning the structure of the business itself and the relationship of the business to weaving villages. He told me that they had considered making carpets in Azerbaijan or China because Turkey is the most expensive of the carpet-making countries, but that quality control would be difficult and too costly. They are also involved in the welfare of villages, and separated from the loom master in order to encourage local ownership. Weavers have input into developing new techniques for the designs presented to them, and also see photographs of their work in its final destination (e.g. homes, hotels, and museum exhibitions).

The American quality control manager was hired to work as an intermediary between Turkish employees and European and American customers in terms of deadlines and production standards. At the dye house the quality control manager spoke about the day-to-day running of the business, the changes it has gone through, and her opinion of the experiences of the weavers. She was able to tell me about the lives of the weavers (with whom she had a lot of contact until the recent restructuring). Weaving villages are found by word-of-mouth, and the weavers' labor is contracted through the village headman. Such an arrangement, of course, reflects traditional structures of village life that are seldom found in most contemporary cities or towns that depend on capitalist-type entrepreneurial contracts (Weber 1927). Weavers work in workshops, where looms, materials, and cartoons (patterns) are provided by the company. They prefer this to weaving in their homes because they do not have to interrupt their work to do chores and men are not allowed in the workshops, making it a more comfortable environment for the young women who do the weaving. It is possible that this affirms Gumen's prediction that weaving for sale would separate weaving from household responsibilities (Gumen 1989, 159).

A professor at Selcuk University in Konya arranged an interview with another carpet manufacturer. Again a list of questions for the manager was generated and followed in an attempt to find out how the company was run, how they located weavers and treated them as employees, and what had changed in the industry in the past 5-10 years. This interview was conducted through a translator at the company office in an industrial park on the outskirts of Konya where the dyeing of yarn and the finishing of carpets takes place.

The owner of this company, which had been in business for 30 years, had outsourced weaving to China because of labor costs. All materials and patterns (for high quality reproductions of Turkish and Persian court-manufactory carpets) were

sent from Turkey to China and the carpets returned to Konya to undergo finishing before sale (see Figure 3.3). These carpets were exported wholesale to retailers who make orders at industrial fairs in the U.S. and Germany. Business had been declining since the first Gulf War. Whereas ten years ago this company produced carpets of varying qualities and made a profit, now the company only manufactured high quality carpets (Aksoy 2005).

Figure 3.3 Curvilinear style carpet from second company visited in Konya (photo by C. Jirousek)

3.5.2 Sizma cooperative

Sizma is a town (kasaba) of 2,422 people (SIS 2000) 30 kilometers north of Konya that has recently upgraded its status from village (koy) – the population has grown, and thus more money is allotted to the town. There is a daily bus from Sizma to the city (see Figure 3.4). The Sizma weaving cooperative (see Figure 3.5) was established in 1974 as a means of generating cash income in an area where people do not weave for self-use. The carpets are commissioned and bought by the government-controlled Sumerhali (formerly part of Sumerbank). There are ten looms in the cooperative workshop, but only eight were in use at the time (see Figure 3.6). The cooperative's

manager is male, but all of the weavers are young women aged 16 - 25, mostly unmarried. There were 25 women were present in the village carpet-weaving cooperative. These women were interviewed as a focus group.

Figure 3.4 View of Sizma (photo by author)

Figure 3.5 Weavers in front of Sizma cooperative (photo by C. Jirousek)

Figure 3.6 Looms in Sizma cooperative (photo by C. Jirousek)

The manager was interviewed using the questionnaire intended for managers. Questions for weavers were then asked of the weavers as a group, following the interview schedule for weavers until it became apparent that these young women did not weave for themselves and did not receive any of the benefits identified in the questionnaire. The interview then shifted towards finding out more about their actual situation and responses were recorded as they were given. Video was also taken so that it would be easier to record multiple responses at one time.

These women learned to weave from their more experienced peers in the cooperative. Some women have left the cooperative to set up looms in their houses, but we did not have time to interview them. For these women, money from carpets (roughly 200 New Turkish Lira) goes to their fathers or husbands, a traditional arrangement also identified by Weber (1927), but in some instances the weaver is give 5 Lira for each carpet woven. Some of the women also said that the money they earn is going towards their dowry or to pay for their wedding. The weavers are given no benefits, and their pay is not high because money from the carpets first goes towards the operating expenses of the cooperative, and the remainder is divided between the weavers. Another reason that pay is low is because the weavers produce low-quality conventionalized court-manufactory carpets, which only get low prices on the market.

Some women leave the cooperative when they get married or have children, and some do not. Some of the weavers were the daughters of women who had previously woven for the cooperative. Weaving is hard on the back and the hands, and weavers work six days a week from 8 in the morning until 8 or 8:30 at night with a two hour break for lunch. One weaver said that everyone talks about quitting, but no one ever does. On the positive side, the weavers are friends and relatives, and get to choose who they weave with. The weavers also said that it is their choice whether or not they weave.

3.6 Data collection: Mugla Province

Key-informant interviews took place in three villages in the Mugla province in Western Turkey (see Figure 3.7). This province includes numerous seaside resort towns, some within sight of Greece. Bodrum is the most famous of these.

Figure 3.7 Map showing Mugla Province (map by author)

The villages visited – Comlekci, Feslegen, and Bozalan – all have economies based on agriculture. This is an area where many villages (including Comlekci, Feslegen , and Bozalan) were settled by formerly nomadic peoples, and carpet weaving was practiced for home use and dowry. These carpets are woven in a variation on the geometric style known as Milas. Data collection involving weavers consisted of a number of key-informant interviews as well as one focus-group interview. As rural women are usually involved in agricultural production, and summertime is taken up with agricultural tasks, in many instances it was difficult to locate more than one or two weavers able to give an interview in a village.

Other interviews were conducted with professors at Mugla University and a carpet dealer in the city of Milas. All interviews in Mugla were conducted through the aid of a translator.

3.6.1 Comlekci

The population of Comlekci was 685 at the time of the 2000 census (SIS 2000) and the village is an hour's drive from the city of Milas. A cooperative, started here in 1964 by Peace Corps volunteers, led to the resurgence of weaving in the area (Jirousek 1994, 229) and a fashion for Milas carpet designs throughout the country that has persisted to this day (see Figure 3.8). The cooperative supplied carpets for Sumerhali (then Sumerbank), but dissolved in 1975 when people were able to get better prices for their work outside of the cooperative (Jirousek 1994, 231).

Figure 3.8 Signs for now-defunct Comlekci cooperative (photos by author)

During the time of the cooperative, carpets were priced according to the number of knots per ten square centimeters. Now, with competition from Isparta (an urban area with carpet-weaving workshops) and Turkmenistan, carpets have to be priced by the piece in relation to the global market. The economy was based on tobacco and carpets in the 1970s, but better irrigation, brought about by means of profits earned from selling carpets, has led to a switch to greenhouse production of crops for the nearby coastal resorts that have emerged.

Professor Jirousek was one of the Peace Corps volunteers who started the weaving cooperative. Interviews were conducted with members of two families she

has kept in touch with. Weavers and others in their families were interviewed using a question list, and then more informally during follow-up interviews. As we were able to speak with people on more than one occasion, I was able to gather more information in this setting than in any other. In this village, as in the others in Mugla, interviews were rather informal and thus I felt that using an audio recorder was not appropriate. All interviews in Comlekci were conducted through a translator, so there was a lag time during which thorough notes could be taken.

In talking with these families it was determined that there are more carpets in dowries now than previously, though if a girl continues school beyond the required elementary level she is unlikely to weave herself as a young adult. This does not, however, mean that she would not have carpets in her dowry. Whereas every house had an active loom in the past, now only a few have active looms. In this village women learned to weave from their mothers. Weaving was something that was done to give value to "empty time" in the agricultural cycle. The man of the household sells the carpets and a father could sell a girl's carpet even if she did not want to sell it. Even so, at this point no one weaves to sell because greenhouse agriculture requires a lot of attention and provides good income. Carpets for self-use can easily be bought. Dowries consist mainly of purchased items (refrigerators and cars are popular).

3.6.2 Feslegen

Information given by a German man who commissioned a carpet after a visit to the village of Heraklia led to meeting the imam in Heraklia who brokered the deal. His wife weaves and he agreed to take us to her family's village, Feslegen, where the carpet was being woven, as well as to another nearby village where a cooperative had just been established.

Feslegen was a village of 498 in 2000 (SIS 2000). In this setting, a list of questions was used when interviewing a young weaver and an older weaver in their respective houses. This village is located in the mountains one hour from Milas on roads that have recently been graded (see Figure 3.9). It was difficult to locate weavers who were at home because most people were working in the fields. Feslegen has a bus to take children to school outside of the village and a minibus connection to neighboring communities and Milas. The village has had electricity for over ten years, but running water came only two years ago. There are no plans to bring water for agriculture anytime soon. People raise animals, grow olives and tobacco, and work in forestry. The soil is rocky and there are active looms in every house because women still sell carpets to bring cash into the household.

Figure 3.9 View of Feslegen (photo by author)

The younger woman interviewed was weaving carpets without the black outlines that traditionally surround some figures in the design. She also uses pastel colors because that is what she says customers want. At the time of the interview she was weaving a carpet to sell, and will show it to the dealers who come to the village. Sometimes men take carpets to the market in Milas, but usually they are sold to dealers from cities or other villages who routinely pass through. Weavers here work alone or with their sisters or neighbors and this woman said that her eight-year-old

daughter has started learning to weave. Dowries in her generation also have more carpets than the previous generation, and in this village, where cash is not readily available, dowries still contain a great deal of handwork.

The imam's mother-in-law shears her own sheep, spins the yarn, dyes it and weaves carpets using only traditional patterns (she says that she would never leave out the black outlines). Though this traditional mode of production is rare now, the younger weaver told us that she dyes her own yarn, using both natural and chemical dyes, and sticks to the natural dye palette. According to the mother-in-law, it was easier to sell carpets ten years ago, but she still sells to the same dealers that she sold to then.

3.6.3 Bozalan

The village of Bozalan, with a population of 443 in 2000 (SIS 2000), has a minibus that runs regularly to Milas (a two-hour ride). This community recently established a cooperative. This village is one hour from the resort town of Bodrum, and many Turks, most likely dealers, come here to buy handmade carpets – known for their natural dyes (especially a distinctive dark yellow dye) and high quality (see Figure 3.10). A sign outside the village announces that there are naturally dyed rugs sold there.

Figure 3.10 Detail of carpet in Bozalan with yellow dye (photo by C. Jirousek)

An interview, using the same list of questions designed for weavers as before, was conducted with a young woman who was weaving for her dowry in advance of her wedding. This young woman learned how to weave from her mother and will teach any daughters she may have if they are interested. She will definitely weave for their dowries. The average dowry at the moment has ten to fifteen carpets of varying sizes, woven with undyed yarn bought in Milas. Prices for carpets are based on size, and everyone sets their own prices. Large carpets sell for 800 or 900 Lira. Many people take orders for carpets, though this weaver does not like taking them. Instead, her family sells what they have when dealers come to the village. Most people weave local designs, though some will weave other designs if asked. Everyone dyes their own yarn with natural dyes.

As the cooperative was not yet fully active it was not possible to interview anyone who participates in it. The cooperative had only just gotten land and a building, but wiring still needed to be put in. The carpets were being stored in a room in the village headman's office above the coffee house. Even so, the cooperative had printed out color brochures from which carpets could be ordered and it has also set up a website (Kisetsuga 2006).

In all three villages in Mugla women were interviewed in their homes through the help of an interpreter. These interviews were of varying lengths, and only in Comlekci were follow-up interviews possible. So as not to make the women uncomfortable in the informal setting, audio recording devices were not used during the interviews. Photography was used to document weaving and the contexts in which it took place as well as the setting of each village.

3.6.4 Mugla University

Data in Mugla were also gathered through interviews with professors at Mugla University. These interviews were conducted through a translator in the office of one of the professors. Notes were taken but recording devices were not used.

The Milas branch of Mugla University has a two-year vocational course in weaving established in 2003. Students learn to weave and repair carpets by hand and the professors are interested in expanding into mechanized carpet production as well. These professors spoke of some villages in the area where there is weaving and one where people do not weave, but a company there repairs carpets (Etikan 2005). This information was useful because it could be compared to what Professor Jirousek knew of the area from her previous research.

3.6.5 Carpet shop in Milas

In Milas an interview was conducted with a carpet dealer who is the father of one of the professors at Mugla University. Questions were asked about where carpets sold in the store are woven, and how business and weaving in general has changed in the past 5-10 years. This dealer never commissions designs, but sells high-quality carpets bought from petty-commodity producers. This seems to be an unusual stance for a dealer to take, but makes sense in light of the fact that this dealer is concerned about the preservation of the craft of weaving and has written to newspapers and the government, urging the public sector to support carpet weaving (Buldan 2005).

3.7 Other data collected in Ankara

After conducting interviews with weavers and managers there was a need to find statistical information in order to further understand conditions in places visited. The State Institute for Statistics (SIS) was able to provide some information regarding

villages, and the Export Promotion Center (Ihracati Gelistirme Etud Merkezi - IGEME) of the Ministry for Foreign Trade was able to provide information regarding the weaving industry. Government agencies involved in carpet production and promotion were also contacted. Interviews at all of these locations were chronicled using an audio recorder, and all but the interview at IGEME were conducted through a translator.

3.7.1 Statistics

Upon returning to Ankara an attempt was made to locate statistical data about villages visited in order to compare such things as population, and average income. Much time was spent in the library of the State Institute for Statistics, and while the population of each village was listed in the census, no more specific data was to be found in this manner. Staff in the census office reported that they had some statistics about agriculture and community structure, but that financial data were not recorded.

At the recommendation of one of the professors at Ankara University the Export Promotion Center (Ihracati Gelistirme Etud Merkezi - IGEME) of the Ministry for Foreign Trade was contacted and an official involved with the carpet industry in the Sanayi Dairesi agreed to be interviewed. He reported that exports of Turkish carpets have decreased since 1998 due to competition with Iran, India and Pakistan, and a lack of effective promotion of Turkish carpets in Western countries. IGEME has organized meetings between government organizations, including Sumerhali (discussed below), and companies in the private sector in order to discuss producers' problems and to find more successful ways of promoting Turkish carpets abroad (Emek 2005).

3.7.2 DOSIM

DOSIM (Doner Sermaye Isletmeleri Merkez) is part of the Ministry of Culture under the General Directorate of Research and Development of Folk Cultures (Halk Kulturlerini Arastirma ve Gelistirme Genel Mudurlugu). This government agency began its life as the National Folklore Institute, established in 1966, and went through various guises before reaching its present form in 1991 (Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2006). Its mandate includes researching aspects of folk culture, publicizing the results of such research, and creating an archive of folk cultures (Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2006). DOSIM runs seventeen stores that sell products of artisans throughout the country, such as the carpets sold in the DOSIM store in front of Aya Sofia Cathedral in Istanbul. These stores are located in areas where tourism is common, and tourists are their main customers.

Every year a group of seven or eight professors and representatives from DOSIM meet with craftsmen who show their wares. These are checked for quality and adherence to tradition and then the group decides what to buy for the stores. DOSIM does not advertise. The goal of the organization has been to support craftspeople, not to make a profit – though DOSIM will become a for-profit organization soon (Akbulut 2005).

The Folklore Researcher interviewed related that carpets are bought through dealers, not from weavers. Originally DOSIM attempted to work with individual weavers, but quality control was a problem and their average order size (70-80 carpets at a time) was too large for individual weavers (Akbulut 2005). In ordering carpets, buyers use the five-volume carpet catalogue called *Turkish Handwoven Carpets* compiled by DOSIM's Turkish Handwoven Carpet Project (Turk El Halilari Projesi) in the 1980s. These catalogues show examples of carpets from different regions

following both geometric and curvilinear patterns (see Figure 3.11). The store in Istanbul sells the greatest number of carpets, mostly to tourists. Of these carpets the majority are small as they are easier to carry. Carpets are sold by the square meter, and prices are set to match the rate at local markets (Akbulut 2005).

Figure 3.11 Carpets in DOSIM store, Istanbul (photo by author)

A former head of DOSIM who now works for the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was also interviewed about his experiences with DOSIM, and the Turkish carpet weaving industry's current status and changes in the past 5-10 years. This interview was translated by a government interpreter, and taped, but due to background noise much of the recording is hard to understand. Even so, by this time note-taking technique had improved and thus much information was obtained from this interview.

This official noted that carpet production increases as tourism rises, but quality decreases. In addition to a drop in quality, production for the tourist market has led to a change in the size of carpets produced (hallway runners, for example, were not woven prior to production geared for the tourist market). Many countries now produce "Turkish" carpets, and the general public cannot tell the difference between carpets produced in Turkey and those produced elsewhere, even though, according to

this official, carpets produced in Turkey are of higher quality. Trade between different regions in Turkey led to the adoption of the patterns from one area in a different region. The official referred to this change as "degeneration." Weavers do not have access to social security benefits, so as economic development increases, women stop weaving. This official noted that there is no government policy regarding protection of carpet designs, but if Turkey joins the EU then Turkish carpets would be protected as a "strategic cultural product" (Kocakaya 2005). This would help curb the negative affect that competition with Chinese and Indian "Turkish" carpets has had on Turkey's carpet industry.

3.7.3 Sumerhali

The Turkish government, under the auspices of Sumerbank, undertook development programs in the 1970s and 1980s that focused on supporting the carpet industry. In 1988 Sumerhali was established as a means of maintaining the hand-woven carpet industry following the privatization of Sumerbank along with all other Turkish national banks. The main office is located in Ankara, but a production center in Isparta produces yarn, sends yarn and cartoons to manufacturers, and finishes the carpets. As they are government-owned, they do not advertise much but have a catalogue and two stores in Ankara. The carpets produced by Sumerhali are conventionalized versions of geometric and curvilinear carpets (see Figure 3.12).

Figure 3.12 Geometric carpets for sale in Sumerhali store, Ankara (photo by author)

This is the carpet organization that orders from the Sizma cooperative. The professor of agricultural economics assisted in interviews aimed at finding out how many villages Sumerhali works with, how their patterns are chosen, which are popular domestically, and what information they could give me regarding the Sizma cooperative. I also was able to ask questions about the Sizma cooperative. The professor took the question list and translated the answers as they were given, so that follow up questions could be asked as needed. Designs are chosen based on consumer demand. Pay for the weavers depends on the type of carpet – higher knot-count means more money. Sumerhali, like DOSIM, sets prices by surveying the market (Sumerhali 2005).

The company has 10,000 weavers, but is only working at 45% capacity because demand has decreased due to competition from China, Pakistan, Iran, India and Nepal. At the beginning of the weavers' season (when they are done working in the fields), Sumerhali puts in orders to all of the producers. Weaving takes place mostly in underdeveloped (and more traditionally-structured) regions of the country (Sumerhali 2005).

3.8 Conclusion

Conducting exploratory research is a learning process. It is helpful to be able to conduct a pilot study in order to discover problems with methods or research questions

prior to engaging in a full-on investigation, but limitations of time and resources precluded this as an option. For example, it was learned in the field that it is difficult to speak with weavers during the summer because they are working in the fields. It was also discovered that many of the questions prepared regarding wages and benefits did not apply because women do not generally have control over finances nor do they receive benefits, probably because they are workers in the informal economy, where health or social security benefits are uncommon and thus not expected. Also, the first weavers interviewed did not weave for themselves; questions about how weaving for sale changes weaving for self-use proved to be irrelevant in this situation.

In Mugla, where carpets are or have been woven for self-use, information could be gathered regarding how or if carpets are woven differently for the market. Information regarding the reasons women weave for themselves and the changes in weaving over the past fifteen years could also be collected.

The focus of this research, after an examination of the data, shifted because certain research questions proposed could not be answered. How the industry had changed in the past ten years and where it will go in the next ten turned out to be too broad for this thesis, though some comments on these points will be made in the conclusion. Thus the following chapter will seek to address the reasons why a woman would weave or not weave, ways in which weaving for self-use changes if a woman weaves for sale, and the government's position with regard to weavers and the weaving industry in general, with some concluding comments on the dynamics among these factors.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter certain key topics will be examined as case studies. The main themes to be discussed are: 1) the reasons women do or do not weave; 2) how weaving for sale affects design and practice of weaving for personal use; and 3) the nature of institutional efforts to support the weaving industry. Examples from the various settings visited will be compared in an attempt to form a picture of aspects of the current state of weaving in rural Turkey. These observations will then be used to predict, to a certain extent, possible future directions for the craft and industry of carpet weaving. As this is a pilot study only tentative conclusions and predictions may be drawn. Still, these may be useful in illuminating certain issues pertinent to weavers and other stakeholders in the weaving industry, as well as suggesting directions that could be taken in further research.

4.2 Case Study: Why do women weave or not weave? Why would a woman stop weaving carpets?

From various interviews, some of the main reasons women weave (or don't weave) have been discovered. These include the positive and negative aspects of the physical act of weaving, time available for weaving in a woman's life, the economic incentives associated with weaving, the geographic location of a village, and whether or not the village has a tradition of weaving for personal use.

4.2.1 Physical act of weaving

Anatolian carpet looms in the regions visited are upright frames with warp threads running vertically. The weaver sits on the floor or on a low bench in front of the warp in order to weave (see Figure 4.1). Looms vary in size, but are generally small enough to be set up in a house.

Figure 4.1 Vertical looms in Sizma - Konya Province (left) and Feslegen -Mugla Province (right) (photos by C. Jirousek)

The pattern in a carpet is created by tying knots in various colors to make a pile surface. Weft threads are inserted to hold the knots in place. The knots and weft are packed down tightly with a beater and the more knots per square inch, the finer (and sturdier) the carpet. Yarns forming the pile are tied between a selected pair of highly tensioned warp threads cut with a sharp knife, and when each row has been filled in it is cut to an even length with special scissors.

Tying the knots is easy enough for a small child to do, and indeed children in some households help their mothers weave. It is creating the pattern and cutting the pile evenly that takes skill and practice. These actions can be stopped and started by the weaver as necessary, and if the carpet is wide enough, many people can work on

different sections of a carpet at the same time. There are both benefits and negative aspects to weaving as a physical act, both in terms of the limits of the human body and the roles of women in the context of rural Turkey.

In terms of physical problems, the act of weaving hurts fingers and hands. Constant rubbing and pulling of tightly stretched yarn against the fingers leads to cuts and cracks in both the skin and nails. In Sizma, which is in the Province of Konya, weavers showed henna stains on their fingers used to toughen the skin and nails. The weavers of Mugla Province also knew of henna as a means of toughening skin. Two professors from Ankara University witnessed hand and finger deformations and arthritis during research conducted with weavers (Tagi 2005, Gulcubuk 2005).

Sitting low to the ground and hunching over the loom and the repetitive motion of weaving and beating the weft cause muscle and joint problems. Two weavers in Mugla spoke of back pain, a hazard of long hours spent in front of the loom also mentioned in previous research (Berik 1986, Incirioglu 1991, Landreau 1996). The daughter-in-law of the shopkeeper in Comlekci also listed leg pain as a reason not to weave.

Weaving is a strenuous activity. If given the choice, all but two women interviewed said that they would not weave. Even so, weaving is an activity that can take place in the home and be started and stopped as necessary to take care of other household duties such as cooking and childcare. Even workshop weaving does not take women far from their homes, as women weave in workshops located in their villages. These women do not come into contact with non-kin men, and participate in production of a good that may itself be linked, to a certain extent, to Turkish identity and rural women's traditional roles.

4.2.2 "Empty time"

As discussed in the review of previous studies, weaving developed as a means by which a family furnished the house, provided dowry goods for young women, and reaffirmed cultural ties through reciprocal labor. Both the shopkeeper, who was a founding member of the defunct cooperative in Comlekci, and a grandmother in another household who had woven for the cooperative during the 1960s stated that weaving was something done in the past to "give value to empty time." It was done during the winter, when there were no crops to tend and no harvest to collect.

Now that year-round greenhouse agriculture has replaced tobacco as the mainstay of the Comlekci economy, there is less "empty time" (and less need for extra income). The women of Comlekci generally do not weave for sale or self-use beyond dowries anymore. As girls traditionally learned to weave by watching and helping female relatives or neighbors, less "empty time" also means less time for the next generation of weavers to learn. Some of the women in Comlekci still make time to weave (and teach their daughters to weave) for dowry or because they enjoy weaving, but most do not. Even so, there are more carpets in the dowries of girls from Comlekci than there were in generations past. Women now weave as many as fifteen carpets (as can be seen in Figure 4.2), whereas thirty years ago a dowry might contain four or five. This is partly due to the fact that weavers do not need to spin and dye the yarn, but also indicates that Milas-style carpets have become a prestige article that is expected to be well represented in dowries in this area. The inclusion of so many carpets in dowries shows that hand-woven carpets are still valued, but the return on sales is not worth the time it takes to make them for the market anymore.

Figure 4.2 Dowry carpets in house in Comlekci – Mugla Province (photo by author)

This is not the case in Feslegen and Bozalan. These villages are smaller, poorer, and more remote than Comlekci. They do not have the irrigation necessary for greenhouse agriculture, and carpets are woven to generate cash as well as for self use. The main crop in Bozalan is olives. Olive trees need little tending beyond the harvest season in the fall. This would leave women in Bozalan with a lot of "empty time" in which to weave.

The main agricultural product of Feslegen is tobacco and olives. Tobacco is a crop that needs constant attention during the growing and harvesting season which lasts from spring until early fall. While the women of Comlekci work year-round in their families' greenhouses, the women of Feslegen have a long period of "empty time" in the winter when there are no crops to tend to.

According to the quality control manager of the company from Konya that commissions rugs woven in villages, some women stop weaving at marriage and some do not. It varies from village to village. This company sets up workshops in the villages where they employ weavers, and the manager said that the women prefer working in this environment. They get to be with their friends and listen to music while they work and there are no elder family members watching over them. They do

not have to interrupt their work for chores, and some women are able to keep bonuses given to them for superior work or for making samples of carpets used as patterns. These women were chosen as weavers because they lived in villages known for their skilled weavers. The managers said that some women still weave for dowry and some do not, but could not tell me what changes had occurred nor why.

Winters are harsh in the Konya province. The manager of the Sizma cooperative reported that the cooperative is full during the winter and less full during the summer months. Most likely this follows the agricultural cycles, with women who work on farms weaving only in the winter.

In areas with multiple employment options or year-round agriculture (and thus less "empty time") women are less likely to weave. As daughters were taught to weave during this "empty time" the skill is less likely to be passed down to the next generation in these areas as well. Areas still practicing seasonal agriculture have time during the non-agricultural season to weave and engage in other activities to "give value" to their time.

4.2.3 Economic gain from weaving

Weavers who sell their products do so out of a need to generate cash income. How much or little this income is, and how much her family needs this income affects whether a woman would weave or not. Weaving cooperatives were often set up in areas with subsistence economies as a means of bringing cash into the community. Now that other opportunities are available in many places, weaving is not as attractive. The cost of living in Turkey has risen in the past ten years, but there has not been a corresponding rise in the prices that customers are willing to pay for carpets. Indeed,

competition from countries with lower materials and labor costs has led consumers to expect low-priced carpets.

The manager of the cooperative in Sizma told us that one of the reasons weavers are paid so little is because operating costs of the cooperative have risen over the years, but carpet prices have not risen. He says that this is the reason the cooperative has been having trouble finding weavers in the past couple of years.

One of the men of Comlekci who was a carpet dealer and is now involved in preservation of the craft said that 10-15 years ago weavers got more value for their labor. The Imam from Heraklia agreed, stating that carpets could be bought and sold later at a profit, acting as an investment. Now, he said, women are lucky to make a profit of ten New Turkish Lira a day for the thirty days that it takes to weave a carpet. This is less than the fifteen New Turkish Lira that an unskilled soldier would make per day. Any cash income is better than none at all, but as other employment opportunities become available for women it is likely that the pay will be better, and thus might be more appealing than weaving.

In Feslegen, to the south of Comlekci, the Imam's mother-in-law said that it was easier to sell carpets 10 years ago, but that high quality carpets can still command good prices. Another weaver in Feslegen said that better prices were to be had three to four, years ago, before cheap carpets woven in carpet factories became so widely available on the market. The Imam says that these carpets copy Milas patterns. People do not understand why actual Milas carpets are more expensive, and therefore are not willing to pay for them. The former dealer from Comlekci confirmed that weaving is not as profitable now as it was ten years ago because carpets must now be priced to compete with those coming from Isparta and Turkmenistan.

The reason that the cooperative in Comlekci disbanded in the 1970s, according to the shopkeeper/former coop officer, is that weavers began to sell their carpets for

better prices outside of the cooperative, which had at that point signed a contract with Sumerbank. This is what some women in Sizma are trying to do now. Although it is not known how successful they are, the fact that all of the independent weavers interviewed spoke of the difficulty of selling carpets and the low prices, coupled with the low quality of the carpets woven in the Sizma cooperative, make it likely that these women are not generating much money through their efforts. A number of government and university sources stated poverty is the main reason that women weave for sale. Many of these sources said that if a woman's husband does not make enough money to support the family then the wife will continue to weave after marriage.

Weaving does not generate much income. As the cost of materials, and the cost of living in general, has gone up, the prices paid for carpets have stayed at about the same level. Thus, not as much profit is generated from weaving as was previously. This is due to competition from machine-woven carpets and hand-woven carpets made in countries like Turkmenistan that have lower labor costs. Most women who weave as a form of income generation come from poor households. If their economic status improves, through marriage or economic development in their community, they are unlikely to continue to weave. If they are able to find work that pays better, they are likely to take it. Women are often constrained to their villages and thus finding work conforming to this restriction that also allows them to undertake their other household duties is not easy for them.

4.2.4 Geographic location and weaving

Geographic location also plays a part in whether or not a woman would weave. Local traditions, the availability of alternate economic activities, the type of agriculture practiced, and the opportunities for women to continue their education beyond the

governmentally mandated eighth-grade level all affect a woman's likelihood to weave. These factors are in turn affected by the geographic location of a village.

In some places weaving is or has been an important source of cash income. This was true in Comlekci in the 1960s. With the money from weaving, they were able to bring water into the community, which has been used to switch the economy from carpets, olives and tobacco to greenhouse agriculture. The fact that Comlekci is located near what has become a major tourist area, coupled with the general growth of the Turkish economy in the last 20 years facilitated this switch. Women who formerly wove to generate income (and their daughters and daughters-in-law) now work year-round in greenhouses on their families' farms that sell produce to local hotels and at markets in nearby towns and cities.

Access to education is higher in Comlekci than in the other villages visited in Mugla Province. There are about five or six students in university, from the village of 685 people, at the moment. The family of the shopkeeper told us that his elder granddaughter, who is seventeen, weaves, but that her younger sister does not. The reason given was that the elder sister did not continue on to high school while the younger girl will. In another household a young girl was told that she will have to weave, though she said that she did not want to, because she does not get good grades and will not go to high school.

Feslegen is in the mountains along the south coast of Mugla, but there is a primary school in the village and a school bus to take children to the middle school in the neighboring village. The village is about one hour from the city of Milas over winding mountain roads. Feslegen has an economy based on tobacco, and carpets, but there are also olives, goats, sheep and lumber from the surrounding forests. Thus, there are other options if there is not a weaver in the household or if carpet prices go down. Carpets are commonly sold to visiting carpet dealers, or occasionally

commissioned by foreigners through the Imam living in Heraklia (a village to the north of Milas capitalizing on Byzantine ruins to attract tourism). The Imam's mother-in-law said that she has sold to the same dealers for ten years.

Bozalan is an hour from Bodrum. It is nearer the coast, although still in the mountains, and there is regular transportation (via minibus) to the city. There is only limited agriculture because there is not much water, so olives are the only reliable crop. Therefore, most families rely heavily on the proceeds from carpet production. Carpets from this village are sold at the market or to Turks, most likely carpet dealers, who come from the resort town of Bodrum. Bozalan is known as a place with high quality weaving and has recently raised the money to start a cooperative.

In two places that had no traditional weaving history (at least not in recent memory), weaving does not exist, and in one place that had no traditional weaving history it did. In Heraklia, where we met the Imam who took us to Feslegen and Bozalan, the only weaver is his wife, who grew up in Feslegen and learned to weave there from her mother. She continued to weave even though she now lived in a place where the other women did not weave. This village is trying to capitalize on the Byzantine ruins in the area as a tourist attraction and so there is the possibility of selling carpets to tourists.

While in Konya I visited a village that has been recently incorporated into the city. In a traditional village house that has been turned into a restaurant, the owner told us that she tried to start a weaving cooperative but that the women here were "too lazy." More likely than not the proximity to the city meant that there were enough other ways to generate income so that women did not need to weave and thus chose not to.

Sizma, to the northwest of Konya, has no carpet weaving tradition, but a cooperative was established in the village in 1974 as a means of generating cash

income. Carpets are bought by Sumerhali, and are of low quality. The town has a bus that runs daily to Konya. Many men work in factories there, but that may not be an option for most women. The manager of the Sizma cooperative said that women are taking more factory jobs. This statement was countered by the weavers themselves who said that men traveled to Konya to work in the factories, but that they could not. It is possible that some women work in factories but that the weavers came from more conservative families and thus were not able to take jobs outside of the village. These women completed the mandatory eighth-grade level education before starting to work long hours at the cooperative.

Access to a city may mean access to a market to sell carpets, but it also means access to other economic opportunities and further education. If a woman can work at another job, or continues her education beyond the eighth-grade level she is unlikely to weave. If there is year-round agriculture, there is not as much "empty time" to weave. An area that has a weaving tradition, where being a good weaver has been a sign of prestige, is more likely to be home to women who weave to sell carpets than an area with no such tradition.

4.2.5 Tradition

Some areas in Turkey have traditions of weaving carpets for dowry and personal use, others do not. This affects the prestige associated with weaving, and the opportunities to learn to weave, which in turn affect a woman's likelihood to weave.

Women interviewed in the Mugla region (which includes Feslegen, Comlekci, Bozalan and Hereklia) learned to weave from their mothers and generally reported that they either have woven or plan to weave for their daughters' dowries. Even so, two women said that their daughters would weave only if they wanted to, and the women

of Comlekci interviewed no longer weave for sale or self-use beyond dowry anymore. A group of women in Comlekci, when asked if they feel nostalgia for the days when everything was handmade (as one of the men in the household did), said definitely not – "everything was backward then; everything was harder."

In some areas tradition encourages weaving. It both endows skilled weavers with prestige, and allows them to express themselves creatively. While the Imam who lives in the village of Heraklia and acts as a go-between for foreign buyers and weavers from Feslegen said that women weave carpets for sale out of need, not love of weaving, his mother-in-law who lives in Feslegen said that weaving will continue in Feslegen no matter what happens. The village of Hereklia, on the other hand, has no weaving tradition and the only woman who weaves is the Imam's wife. She grew up in Feslegen and is the daughter of a woman who still raises sheep for wool and spins her own yarn. This is something very few people do these days as it is very time-consuming to spin enough yarn for a carpet and machine-spun yarn is readily available.

In the town of Sizma, which did not weave carpets prior to the founding of the Sumerhali cooperative in 1974, people do not weave for themselves. Embroidery, crochet, and needlework lace are included in dowries, but not hand-woven carpets, even though several women have left the cooperative to engage in home-based petty-commodity production of carpets. Most women leave the cooperative when they get married or have children, but four out of the 25 women interviewed are married and one has a small child.

Where being a good weaver is associated with prestige, such as Comlekci, women are more likely to weave. In areas where weaving is taught to girls as a household activity, and where many women (both relatives and neighbors) weave, there is more access to training and thus a greater likelihood that they will weave. In

areas where weaving is only a low-status means of generating income, women are more likely to stop weaving when economic circumstances permit them to.

4.2.6 Case Summary: Why women do or do not weave

In villages without a weaving tradition, having other economic options may mean that weaving is unlikely to be used as income generation. If there are no more attractive options (either because the jobs do not exist or because women are prevented from taking these jobs - due to family, proximity, responsibilities in the home, lack of higher education) - then weaving ventures might be instituted, or continue to exist, as a form of income generation. Even so, the health insurance and social security benefits that people would prefer from an employer are not generally provided by weaving operations.

Most likely family size and structure (as noted by previous researchers) play a part as well, as does economic basis and geographic location of a village. Geographic location influences access to markets for selling carpets, and also access to other employment opportunities and education. The type of agriculture practiced in a village, which affects the form of production most likely to be undertaken, is also affected by geographic location. Areas that are more remote are also less likely to benefit from the tourist trade and other forms of economic development. In villages with a weaving tradition, the most successful at selling their carpets are those with better access to market. Yet if there are no economic alternatives these villages will most likely continue weaving.

However, weaving is a physically strenuous activity on top of all of the other tasks that rural women need to complete to take care of the household. If the monetary gain is not commensurate with the physical price, then women will likely not choose to weave as income generation if other opportunities present themselves.

Disregarding the value of carpets as a commodity for a moment, let us consider one last reason women might weave. Carpets have been important as dowry goods in certain regions of Turkey for centuries. Even without "empty time," or without the need to "give value to empty time," some women still choose to weave. As economic development increases it is possible the way in which weaving displays wealth shifts, from skill in providing furnishings for a subsistence-level household to skill in generating income for a market-based household; displaying the amount of leisure time that a young woman and her family have to devote to non-essential, non-income-generating activities in some contemporary households . Women who enjoy weaving may choose to undertake it as a leisure activity that allows them to express themselves creatively. The prestige associated with craftsmanship in certain areas may encourage pride in local traditions.

The reasons women weave may include use value, as in the case of the women interviewed in the Mugla province, and financial need in the case of two of the villages in Mugla, and the village of Sizma in Konya province. Reasons women stop weaving include marriage, the birth of children, improved financial status and the availability of other employment options. Women living close to a city, continuing education beyond the primary level, living in a village with no tradition of weaving for dowry, and living in a village with other employment options are more likely not to weave in the first place.

4.3 Case Study: How do the global market and tourism influence carpet design and color?

The global market has an impact both on how carpets are woven for sale and how they are woven for self-use. This section will be devoted primarily to a discussion of petty-commodity production, under which the weavers themselves choose the patterns and

colors with which they weave. In the context of petty commodity production there is not a distinct separation between carpets woven for sale and those woven for use in the weaver's household. A carpet woven for self-use might be sold if a household is in need of money or a dealer offers to purchase it, or a carpet woven for sale might be used in the home if no buyer is found. Under this form of production the tastes of the weaver are more likely to play a part in the design than under workshop production, where the main goal is profit and the weaver uses a cartoon to execute a pattern produced elsewhere.

4.3.1 Motif

Choice of motif depends on the location of the weavers as well as the production structure under which weaving takes place. The main categories are geometric, curvilinear, and conventionalized.

Weavers in the places visited for the most part chose their own designs from, or were hired to weave the geometric designs familiar to them from their local tradition (see Figure 4.3), but these choices were not unaffected by market conditions. For example, a younger woman interviewed in Feslegen showed the carpet that she was weaving, which was lacking the black lines that traditionally surround certain figures in Milas carpet design(see Figure 4.4a). Dealers began cutting the black yarns of new carpets in the 1960s in an attempt to make carpets look old (as the tin used as a mordant in the black dyes causes the black yarns to wear away faster) (see Figure 4.4b). Now dealers do not try to market these carpets as antiques, but black yarns are often still cut back. This weaver said that "if they are going to cut the black yarns, why bother weaving them?" She said that some women in the village weave this way for sale only, and others weave this way for themselves as well. Another, older,

woman who still shears her own sheep and spins her own yarn in this village said that she would never leave out the black lines on carpets for herself or for sale.

Figure 4.3 Geometric carpets woven in Bozalan (photo by C. Jirousek)

Figure 4.4a Close-up of Milas carpet with black borders (left) and without black borders (right) (photos by C. Jirousek)

Figure 4.4b Carpet with cut-back black borders (photo by C. Jirousek)

Milas-style village carpets are popular, thus it makes sense economically for weavers in the Milas region to weave Milas carpets. One researcher from Ankara

University found that weavers in the Simav region in central Anatolia also weave Milas carpets, in addition to designs from other regions. Other sources also noted that designs from one region are woven in different regions if they are seen on the market. For example, a Kars-style carpet woven in Comlekci was seen during a visit to the Comlekci mosque (see Figure 4.5). These cross-region designs are generally woven for sale and not for dowry, and became more prevalent after the distribution of DOSIM's *Turkish Handwoven Carpets* catalogues. From these catalogues full sized graph paper patterns for any of the designs could be ordered from DOSIM, and most likely facilitated the production of designs deemed popular (and thus marketable) in regions other than those in which they were traditional.

Handwoven and machine woven carpets seen for sale in carpet stores and markets confirm Breu and Marchese's finding (1991) that designs are becoming simpler. Many carpets were seen with some traditional motifs but a plain center field or a simplified border area, which traditionally would contain stylized plant or geometric forms (see Figure 4.6a). These simplifications are also generally seen on carpets intended for the domestic retail or tourist market, as opposed to dowry carpets. Based on dowry weaving seen, dowry, as a display of a woman's skills at weaving, seems to require more sophisticated carpets than the tourist or low-end market (see Figure 4.6b). Even so, competition from businesses that operate in countries with lower labor and materials expenses than Turkey means that low quality carpets cannot be priced competitively. Thus this low-end production might not be able to withstand the 2005 removal of the textile tariffs despite Turkey's proximity to markets in the EU.

Figure 4.5 Kars-style carpet woven in Comlekci - a Milas carpet village (photo by C. Jirousek)

Figure 4.6a Traditional (left) and simplified (right) Milas carpets in store in Ankara (photo by author)

Figure 4.6b Dowry carpet being woven in Comlekci (photo by author)

Workshop production is somewhat different than petty-commodity production. Carpets woven in Sizma were designed by the Sumerhali research department in Isparta, which based its orders on market demand. In this case women have no say in the design and, since these women do not weave for themselves, no information was collected regarding the implications of weaving in a workshop on carpet design for self-use. The carpets seen in this situation were conventionalized designs that had standardized curvilinear patterns derived from more sophisticated court-manufactory patterns and with the somewhat lower knot-count associated with conventionalized carpets (see Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7 Carpet being woven from cartoon in Sizma cooperative (photo by author)

High quality carpets can be woven with no regard for local designs (as in the case of the company in Konya that still employs Turkish weavers). Whether or not they impact local weaving traditions is unknown as the weavers were not available to be interviewed and the managers did not know how many weavers also wove for personal use. Possibly this mode of production will be able to stand up to competition from countries farther east because, as one dealer said "there is always a market for quality." On the other hand, one professor and two government officials did not see

this production as supporting local traditions because the physical act of weaving is the same, but the women are not designing carpets themselves or learning local motifs (Gulcubuk 2005, Kocakaya 2005, Kapucu 2005).

Previous research has shown that designs have always changed in response to the market. This study affirms the suggestion by other researchers that patterns may be simplified, allowing carpets to be woven in less time. It also shows how the finishing practices of dealers might affect design. This can change not only how women weave for sale, but also in some instances how they weave for dowry and household use. What is on the market and/or what sells may affect the tastes of producers as well as those of consumers by setting standards for what is expected of a "traditional" Turkish carpet.

4.3.2 Color

Our data confirms findings from previous research (Jirousek 1994) that carpets have gotten lighter in color. Indeed, some carpets seen were mainly cream and beige. This was true of both handwoven and machine-made carpets seen in markets as well as being woven in homes (see figure 4.8a). This is not to say that all weavers were choosing lighter colors. An older woman who will not leave out the black lines still uses natural dyes in the colors that she learned to weave with as a child. Also the weaver in Bozalan, professors at Mugla University, and a dealer in Milas confirmed that weavers in Bozalan still use natural dyes and darker colors (especially a vibrant yellow) that their village is known for (see Figure 4.8b). If the cooperative does bring more customers to Bozalan, it will be interesting to see what changes are made to the colors.

Figure 4.8a Handwoven carpets, probably imported (left) and traditional carpet (right) for sale at markets in Mugla Province (photos by C. Jirousek)

Figure 4.8b Dowry carpets woven in Bozalan (photo by C. Jirousek)

Using natural dyes is a time-consuming process involving collecting dye materials and making dye baths. Most weavers no longer use natural dyes as the natural dye palette can be reproduced by using synthetic dyes, and synthetic dyes have better color fastness to light and washing than natural dyes. In addition to using synthetic colorants to dye yarn themselves, weavers can also buy pre-dyed yarn. When people buy pre-dyed yarns their color palette may be limited by what is on the market, whereas in times past it would have been limited by the dye-producing plants growing in the area. Businesses that sell yarn likely look at the carpets on the market and, seeing light colors there provide them in their shops(see Figure 4.9). Weavers

may supplement pre-dyed yarn with yarn that they have dyed themselves, but might look to the markets for ideas of what colors sell well.

Figure 4.9 Naturally-dyed red and brown yarn with lighter, chemically-dyed yarn bought at shop in Milas (photo by author)

4.3.3 Case Summary: Changes in color and design

One of the professors at Ankara University, two carpet dealers in Mugla, the head of the Social Solidarity Fund, and the former head of DOSIM all described changes in carpet design as "degeneration" or "deterioration". Where weaving was established as a means of income generation in areas with no recent history of home production, design of the carpets was more likely to be geared towards market tastes. If quick profit is emphasized over quality, this might lead to simplification of designs, and colors being chosen mainly based on what is on the market, whether or not other designs or colors would also appeal to consumers.

In areas with a weaving tradition, market tastes may intersect with personal taste in the creation of carpets. Under petty commodity production carpets were often woven with an eye towards selling them, but also for self-use until a dealer buys the carpet or in case no dealer is interested in purchasing it. Thus a single carpet may be woven with a dual purpose in mind. One dealer and one professor mentioned western

ideas of interior design influencing contemporary Turkish aesthetics (Berke 2005, Erdogan 2005).

Dowry carpets, however, were more likely to maintain traditional standards of design, construction, and color in areas with a weaving tradition (Erdogan 2005). Maybe this is because carpets were still being woven for personal use in the poorer and more traditional areas of the country, or because skill in weaving was judged by local standards that may have been formed based on past traditions. This may be the case in Feslegen and Bozalan. Feslegen is very isolated, and Bozalan has only just established a cooperative in the hopes of increasing carpet sales. When weaving was more prevalent dealers did not need to travel to these locations in order to purchase carpets. Because there was not much contact with the market until recently, the colors and patterns of carpets were not as much affected by the market as in other places.

The tourist and export markets may affect design and color, and through design and color the conceptions (on the part of both producers and consumers) of what a "traditional" Turkish carpet is. While some may see changes as "degeneration," if women are changing the way that they weave for themselves, then these new forms become "tradition."

4.4 In what ways is the Turkish government involved in the carpet- weaving industry?

Numerous government agencies are involved in the weaving industry, from oversight of the official status of cooperatives, to university programs in weaving or management of weaving and development, to institutions regulating the international trade in Turkish carpets. This segment includes a discussion of the government

agencies visited during a study of limited time. It is therefore not comprehensive, but outlines the efforts of certain institutional bodies and their possible impacts.

4.4.1 Cooperatives

Cooperatives may be established through the government or by villages themselves. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Trade and Industry are responsible for oversight of cooperatives. The Ministry of National Education provides courses and materials, according to an official from the Export Promotion Office. Several government ministries have lists of cooperatives (both those that weave carpets and those that manufacture other products). For example, when these lists were shown to professors and dealers in Mugla, we found that many cooperatives listed did not exist. The village of Kapikiri, was listed as having a weaving cooperative, but no one spoken to in Mugla had heard of it. Karaova, also listed as having a cooperative, is home to a business that repairs carpets but not to any that produce them. Home weaving in Karaova is now rare, whereas twenty years ago every house had a loom.

Government and university sources as well as carpet dealers were pessimistic about the survival rate of cooperatives and thus their ability to sustain the craft of handweaving. One government official and two professors listed lack of education as a factor in the low success rate (Emek 2005, Gulcubuk 2005, Tagi 2005). The heads of cooperatives may have trouble coordinating the tasks necessary for the cooperative to function, as well as finding buyers for the carpets and negotiating advantageous contracts. Lack of marketing skills and a tendency towards thinking of short-term profit over long-term gain were also mentioned. Many cooperatives dissolve when weavers are contacted by dealers to sell their carpets outside of the cooperative. These

dealers offer better prices in order to lure weavers away from the cooperative and then cut their prices after the cooperative has disappeared.

Another reason for cooperative failure, mentioned by one of the professors from Ankara University, is a lack of trust on the part of weavers in the cooperative and others involved in it. This lack of confidence can lead to jealousy and disputes about leadership, causing the cooperative to break up (Gulcubuk 2005). The fact that the DOBAG cooperatives were established along clan lines (Anderson 1998, 8) most likely accounts for their success and longevity. Jirousek (1994, 232) points out in her article on the Comlekci cooperative that inter-clan disputes can cause cooperatives to disband.

It is possible that government records are out of date, or that some cooperatives listed as producing carpets actually produce something else. Since so many cooperatives fail, it is likely hard to keep track of how many are in operation at a given time. It is possible that some form of training in management and marketing could help cooperatives be more successful. It is not hard to learn to weave, but learning how to make a profit from weaving is much more complicated.

4.4.2 Training

A number of universities in areas with weaving traditions have two-year vocational courses in weaving. We visited one that was established two years ago at Mugla University in Milas. During the second year, the program had 25 students. This is double the number enrolled in its inaugural year. Mugla University is looking into offering marketing classes as some of the other universities do.

Students trained in the Traditional Small Handicrafts Department of Ankara University go on to become professors at Ankara University or other universities with similar departments. These professors conduct research to document the work of

weavers and other traditional craft workers, but at the moment there is no outreach aspect to their work, or extension program to connect these researchers with government officials or those in the weaving industry.

The head of the Handicrafts Directorate spoke of seven education centers for handicrafts throughout the country, where women are trained as weavers and then were sent out to travel and teach. The number of women receiving patterns and looms at a discount rate after attending these courses has fluctuated between 1991 and 1998 (see Table 4.1), and in 1999 the Handicrafts Directorate transferred the operation of these programs to the Silifke Ataturk Cooperative and Education Administration.

Table 4.1 Looms and patterns distributed by the Handicrafts Directorate

(Turkish Directorate of Handicrafts 2005)

Year	Looms	Patterns
1991	266	1374
1992	130	994
1993	118	3200
1994	96	865
1995	450	570
1996	252	585
1997	114	413
1998	14	8

The government-run Sumerhali trains a head weaver when it establishes a cooperative workshop. This weaver trains other weavers and from then on the more experienced weavers teach new weavers. Since Sumerhali classifies carpets bought from cooperatives into three levels depending on the knot count (density of knots in a

given area). The higher the skill of the weavers the more money they get for each carpet. The skill level of the weavers in Sizma low and thus they could not generate much income from the carpets that they wove

In order to generate income from weaving, weavers need access to markets. Part of this is learning how to advertise their wares. Skill level is also a factor. While the physical act of weaving is not difficult, weaving densely-packed knots in even rows, and cutting the pile evenly is.

4.4.3 Economic development

Sumerhali was established in 1988 by Sumerbank as an agency of economic development (Sumerhali 2005, 3). One of the professors at Ankara University said that Sumerhali has a lot of workshops, but does not have good control over them and thus their products are not of a very high quality (see Figure 4.10). Teachers go to workshops and workshops find teachers according to demand. Sumerhali does not advertise very much, though they have a catalogue. Decisions about materials and design orders are made in the research and development unit in Isparta.

Figure 4.10 Map showing Sumerhali's major production centers (Sumerhali 2005)

DOSIM was established in 1966 by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as a means of preserving and promoting folklore and cultural heritage (Ministry of Culture

and Tourism 2006). It is interesting to note that this agency was not set up primarily to generate income, but to catalogue and safeguard Turkish folk culture. Even so, income generation has become more of a priority in recent years, and DOSIM will be come for-profit soon (Akbulut 2005). In terms of carpets, they make orders through dealers using a catalogue of traditional designs created by their Handwoven Carpet Project, through which full-sized graph-paper patterns for the carpets could be ordered (Yilmazkaya and Unal 1992). Though this project was intended to preserve traditional carpet patterns, and recorded over 5,000 different motifs, the distribution of the catalogues and graph-paper patterns likely led to designs from one region being produced in other regions.

DOSIM does not now order directly from weavers because the quantity of each order (70-80 carpets) is too large for any weaver or small group of weavers to deal with. Designs from a certain region are ordered from weavers in that region. DOSIM's retail stores are located in areas where tourism is high. This means that many of the carpets they commission are small because tourists look for items that are portable. The organization is currently not-for-profit, but next year it is becoming for-profit and thus the ways in which it interacts with artisans and markets its carpets is likely to change. Whereas DOSIM used to pay weavers premium rates and thus charged high prices for their carpets (Yilmazkaya and Unal 1992), the representative interviewed stated that carpets are currently priced by surveying the market and then setting the prices below this (Akbulut 2005). As in the situation of Sumerhali, weavers thus cannot be paid very much. When DOSIM becomes for-profit this will not likely get better.

The status of weavers in relation to the Social Security system does not seem to have changed much since Gunseli Berik conducted her research in the 1980s (Berik 1986). Weavers are still under-represented in the official statistics, and they are still

unlikely to be receiving Social Security benefits (Emek 2004). The company in Konya that employs weavers in Turkey extends Social Security benefits to its weavers, but most employers do not. In preparation for entry into the EU the Ministry of Labor and Social Security is trying to extend Social Security benefits to workers in the informal economy, but these policies are still in the development phase at the moment.

4.4.5 Promotion of carpets via government agencies

Establishing cooperatives and training weavers is all well and good, but without a means of selling carpets weaving is not an effective means of income generation. This section is devoted to an exploration of the efforts of the government to market carpets in Turkey and abroad.

An official at the Ministry of Industry and Commerce said that the government exhibits Turkish handicrafts at international fairs, but marketing is a problem. They have not shown crafts at fairs in the U.S. even though they see this as an important market. There are three major fairs in Turkey each year where carpets are shown (Emek 2004). The Export Promotion Center of the Ministry for Foreign Trade tries to help businesses by advising them on export transactions and coordinating meetings between various stakeholders in the carpet industry in order to discuss problems facing the industry. An official interviewed also stated the need for a connection between researchers at universities and people working in the weaving industry. Researchers and companies could collaborate to find answers to the problems that the weaving industry has been having.

Table 4.2 Hand-woven carpet exports (Emek 2004)

Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
US$	103,073,898	98,740,647	97,957,441	77,812,175	71,083,471	99,599,218

Since Sumerhali and DOSIM sell their carpets for low prices, they cannot pay weavers much. Sumerhali provides jobs in areas where women might not otherwise have employment, but as an agent of development they are limited in the benefits they are able to offer weavers. DOSIM claims to support artisans and traditional folk culture, but by working through dealers (who take a cut of the profits) and ordering carpets using a catalogue does not encourage women to develop and expand upon local weaving traditions. On the one hand Turkish carpets have a certain cachet with wealthy foreigners, so possibly employment related to the high-end market will be able to provide good wages for women. On the other hand, this is a limited market. Government incentives have already shifted focus from supporting small and medium size businesses to large-scale enterprises (Seidman 1997, 11). With all of the negatives associated with weaving as an industry it may be that other ways of generating income for women will become more important in government planning than setting up carpet workshops.

4.4.6 Summary: Government interaction with weavers and weaving industries

There seems to be a lack of communication both between weavers and the government and between different branches of the government involved with the weaving industry. Since weaving is for the most part contained within the informal economy, especially in home-based petty commodity production, there appear to be no exact figures on how many women weave and how much they make. Since the status of cooperatives shifts rapidly there are no figures on this type of production either. Given the shift of government planning away from this sort of small enterprise development, it is likely that budgets for collecting this kind of data are getting smaller, not larger.

The wide variety of places across the country where women weave, their relative poverty, lack of education, and status, for the most part, as unpaid household labor, and the difficulty of arranging coordination between branches of government in a bureaucracy may all contribute to a dearth of representation when it comes to governmental plans and policies, even in agencies that focus on the weaving industry itself. It is likely that the government is looking into other opportunities for low-income women and is thus becoming less involved in promoting or supporting weavers.

4.5 Conclusion

It has become harder in recent years for weavers to make a profit from their craft due to the availability of machine-woven carpets in the domestic market and cheaper carpets from other areas of the world. If weaving does not become a more attractive form of employment, it is likely that only the poorest of women who have no other means by which to generate income will continue to weave for the market. It is possible that some women who are financially stable otherwise will continue to weave because they enjoy it, as there are people who engage in craft production as a hobby in many places in the world. Even so, this type of production is severely limited in terms of poverty reduction, economic impacts, or cultural preservation.

Carpet designs, which have always changed as women saw new ways of doing things and came into contact with new people and designs, will likely continue to shift. It is possible that the more simple designs might fall away in the face of competition from China, India, and Nepal, and the cachet of genuine Turkish carpets will be able to sustain a high-end market for a while. This remains to be seen.

Government efforts to work with the industry from a management and marketing point of view might help. That said, if there are no women weaving then

these companies cannot produce carpets. Maybe this is not a bad thing as in an effort the keep costs low very few companies pay their workers well or extend social security and health benefits to them. The company in Konya, which does pay their weavers well and extend benefits to them, as well as a number of carpet dealers mentioned that they have had difficulties finding weavers to fill orders. This may be due to the increase in education and economic status that has been experienced across most of the country in the past twenty years, which has allowed women to work in other more lucrative and less strenuous areas or remain out of the workforce altogether.

For weavers to be able to generate income from carpet weaving they need to have access to markets, and they need to be able to compete, either in price or in quality, with carpets being produced both locally and globally. It is possible that an improvement in infrastructure, both physical and political, as well as increased education in promotion of carpets could impact the carpet-weaving industry positively, but to impact the highly vulnerable hand-woven carpet industry most likely requires much more and better-coordinated support than is now available.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will summarize the main aspects of the research undertaken and the research process itself. There will follow a discussion of conclusions drawn from the research and directions for further research.

5.2 Summary of findings

Data collected in this research shed light on a number of questions. The three questions that are the focus of this thesis are: 1) Why do rural Turkish women weave carpets? 2) What are the influences of the global market on carpet design? 3) In what ways is the government involved in the weaving industry?

5.2.1 Why do rural Turkish women weave carpets? Why do they stop weaving?

There appear to be a number of reasons why women weave carpets. There are also a number of apparent reasons why they stop weaving, or do not weave in the first place.

Women in rural Turkey generally weave carpets out of need for cash or the need for dowry goods. Historically women also wove as a means to furnish the household after dowry carpets had worn out. Now that machine-made carpets are available to most households this is no longer as common. Women weave because it is an activity that can be done in the house or in workshops in the community, thus allowing them to work without coming into contact with non-kin men. Weaving in the house also allows women to interrupt this task in order to perform other tasks necessary for the running of the household. Because of these interruptions, the quality

control manager of the company in Konya that employs weavers in Turkey reported that young women to prefer weaving in workshops. They are able to work with friends and in some situations women are given some of the cash generated from weaving to do with as they please. This might lead to the increased independence that Berik (1986) predicted could be an outcome of weaving.

Women might stop weaving if their financial situation improves, if they have children, if they engage in year-round agriculture, or if other income-generating activities become available. Negative aspects of weaving were found to be the physical strain and low financial remuneration associated with the labor.

Women might not weave to begin with if they have other employment opportunities, or if they continue their education beyond the eighth-grade level. Women in areas where there is no tradition of weaving carpets are less likely to weave as an income-generating activity. In addition to tradition, geographic location also plays a part. Women in areas that are less remote have better access to job opportunities or markets for agricultural products. They also have better access to education. Women from areas involved in greenhouse agriculture are also less likely to weave than those in areas with distinct agricultural and non-agricultural seasons.

5.2.2 What is the influence of the global market on carpet design?

The export and tourist markets influence color and pattern of carpets as well as size. They influence how women weave carpets for sale and also, in some instances, how they weave for themselves as well.

It has been found through interviews that women weaving under petty-commodity production in the Mugla region have been choosing lighter colors with which to weave as they see lighter colors in the carpets for sale in markets. This

continued lightening affirms findings by Jirousek (1994). Some women in Mugla also leave out the black lines traditionally surrounding figures in carpet patterns – showing another instance of how the "aging" of carpets in the 1960s (Breu and Marchese 1999, Jirousek 1994) has influenced current carpet design.

Women who weave in workshops do not choose the patterns or colors of the carpets they weave, but these carpets are also affected by demand in the global markets. Companies that commission carpets generally base orders on market research, though special orders by clients may also be woven. Through observation of carpet stores and markets it was noted that a large number of carpets are being woven in tones of beige and tan - the white-on-white carpets predicted by Jirousek (1994) may be a reality in coming years. Many of these carpets are also much simpler than carpets seen in dowries. This also affirms Breu and Marchese's observations (1999), and may reflect Landreau's comment that foreign aesthetics play a part in carpet design (1996).

Government officials and professors reported that carpets are woven in sizes that suit Western tastes and the tastes of the tourist market, particularly the desire of tourists for small items that are easily transported to their home countries.

Researchers, carpet dealers, and government officials have called these changes "degeneration," but as they become incorporated into local weaving traditions, they form the "authentic." Since alterations in pattern and color are influenced by market demand, perceived market demand, and the taste and choices of weavers themselves, many forces come into play in the creation and ratification of the "authentic" Turkish carpet. Thus, the weavers, dealers, and end-users all impact the way carpets look and what is considered to be "authentic."

Some weavers might change their designs to suit the market; others might not. Both of these choices may exhibit what Dickie and Frank refer to as "economic and

cultural expression" in the face of changing modes of production and changing social structures (1996). Weavers under petty-commodity production have more control over what they weave, but these weavers may be more at the mercy of the market. Since the carpets are not commissioned, and thus do not have ready buyers, weaving may not prove to be a reliable source of income unless a weaver is able to produce what dealers want to buy. The carpets they weave reflect their values as well as their social and economic position.

Some dealers might commission carpets to be woven; others may buy whatever women are weaving. Both commissioned carpets and carpets produced under petty-commodity production may exhibit a stereotypical or homogenized version of a product in order to appeal to a foreign clientele in the manner that Stephen (1993) found during her research in Mexico. With Turkish carpets this may mean borrowing designs from other regions, or using a Western color palette to weave a traditional motif.

Some consumers might buy what they find in stores, whether the patterns have anything to do with local traditions or not; others may attempt to become educated about local traditions before making a purchase. For some "authentic" may be a romanticized, "unchanging" pastoral lifestyle; for others authenticity might derive from the function carpet weaving serves in actual village life today. "Authenticity," therefore, may have more to do with the standards and opinions of the person beholding the object, than with the actual object itself. These conceptions, however, might have ramifications for those involved in the weaving industry. To successfully market carpets it may be necessary to understand the position of the target consumers if authenticity is to be used as a selling point.

5.2.3 In what ways is the Turkish government involved in the weaving industry?

Governmental bodies are involved in trade and industrial policy, production and distribution of carpets, and economic development through weaving programs and the establishment of cooperatives.

Policy involves international trade and also domestic labor policies in anticipation of accession to the European Union. Turkey has already entered a customs union with the EU, which means that there are no tariffs on Turkish goods sold in Europe. Entering the EU could mean no other country could sell carpets in Europe labeled "Turkish." The labor laws would mean that worked in the informal economy (such as weaver) would have to be insured by the social security network. This would raise labor costs, but could also make employment as weavers more attractive to rural women. The fact that so few weavers seem to be covered by the social security network at the moment confirms findings (from approximately 20 years ago) by Berik (1986) and Gumen (1989).

The Export Promotion Center (Ihracati Gelistirme Etud Merkezi - IGEME) has been organizing meetings between various industrial organizations in an attempt to find solutions to the problems facing the weaving industry. These include dealing with increasing labor and materials costs, and the fact that a strong Lira inhibits exports. Increased competition from China, India, Pakistan and Central Asia after the removal of the textile tariffs in 2005 is also a major concern (Emek 2005).

The Ministry of Industry and Commerce has been trying to promote Turkish carpets and other crafts and international fairs, but reportedly without much success. The Doner Sermaye Isletmeleri Merkez (DOSIM) is also involved in the promotion of Turkish crafts and folk culture. In respect to carpets this entails contacting carpet dealers to place orders using the catalogues from the Handwoven Carpet Project.

Sumerhali has established or made contracts with cooperatives throughout the country. Their carpets are priced below market-value, though, so weavers are not paid very much for their efforts. Officials in the Ministry of Handicrafts spoke of training programs for weavers, but the number of weavers trained by this program has not been very high since 1991, and the program itself has been shifted from the ministry to another agency (Somer 2005). Some universities also have programs in weaving production and traditional handcrafts, but graduates of these programs who conduct research with weavers do not seem to be involved in extension work or outreach with government officials or others involved in the weaving industry.

The different goals of these organizations is evidenced though their different approaches. IGEME appears to be concerned with the industry from the standpoint of the manufacturers. Industrial organizations and export policy seem to be its main concern. DOSIM is involved in documenting and preserving folk culture. Thus, this organization recorded carpet patterns from all over the country and produced a catalogue. The irony is that this may have led to the production of carpets from one region in any other region, as opposed to preserving local traditions. DOSIM will shift in the near future to a for-profit orientation. This will most likely impact its ability to focus mainly on preservation and documentation of traditions. Sumerhali's main goal, on the other hand, is economic development. Since the carpets woven for this organization only generate a small amount of cash, the cooperatives may only succeed in this goal in areas where economic opportunities for women are severely limited.

All of these organizations depend, to a certain extent, on the labor of weavers. In order to retain laborers the industry may have to find ways of keeping up with the rising standards of living in rural areas. The Turkish government may or may not be interested in facilitating this change since there has been a shift in policy from

supporting micro- to macro-enterprise as a means of economic development (Seidman 1997, 11).

5.3 Summary of research procedure

The main method used to collect data in this study was interviews in different contexts. Data were also gathered through visual observation and examination of governmental statistics.

Interviews with professors in Ankara and Mugla provided a context for understanding the state of weaving in Turkey and the different venues in which it takes place. Interviews with weavers provided insights into their lives and the reasons that they weave. Government officials spoke about the ways in which government agencies are involved in the weaving industry and problems that they had encountered. The owners of two companies that produce carpets were also contacted in order to determine problems facing the industry at the management level; problems that could have a bearing on those encountered by weavers. For this reason it was also important to speak with carpet dealers, who are the main customers of many of the weavers interviewed in this study.

Visual observation was carried out in the homes and workplaces of weavers, and also in the carpet shops, markets, and museums visited in order to ascertain the state of carpet design today in the context of design history. While it was helpful to see what was being sold in markets and what had been woven historically, in situations where the weaver was present questions could be asked about working and living conditions, as well as design choices.

There are a number of things that would have made the data collection process run smoother. First of all, it would have been easier to locate and interview weavers in the non-agricultural season, when they have are not in the fields. Also, a more

thorough understanding of different offices within the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) would have led to greater access to appropriate statistical material, and the knowledge that it is easier to collect financial information in villages or the provinces in which they are located would have led to accumulation of more figures with which to contextualize data gathered through field research. The difficulty of locating statistics pertaining directly to weavers may reflect Berik's observation that, as laborers in the informal economy, many weavers go unrecorded in official statistics (1986).

5.4 Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the data gathered during this study. These conclusions could form the basis for further research concerning the carpet weaving industry and the position of rural women in the context of Turkish society.

Whereas previously weaving was traditionally undertaken to furnish the household, increase bride wealth, and "add value to empty time" (both during the non-agricultural season and in between household chores) as life has moved from the traditional (i.e. subsistence) modes and goods may no longer need to be self-produced. As education and work-outside-the-home have become available to augment dowries, the traditional reason for weaving appears to have become superannuated. As women have been able to engage in other forms of paid labor, especially those that award social security benefits, weaving as a form of income generation might become less attractive. As women have enough money to engage in leisure activities the circumstances in which weaving developed as a necessary part of daily life shift to the point at which weaving may someday become a leisure activity in and of itself.

Due to Turkish carpets' cachet with wealthy European and North American consumers, weaving might be a way to bring cash to impoverished communities if actual Turkish carpets can be protected from "Turkish" carpets produced in countries

farther east with lower labor and materials costs. As this market is not very large and the quality required is very high it is unlikely that a very large number of weavers could be employed in this industry. The competition between Turkish carpets produced in Turkey and those woven elsewhere will probably continue into at least the near future.

Further, as time progresses it seems that women are able to control some of their income. Even if women are not given control over the income generated by weaving, a rise in the financial wellbeing of the household will most likely have a positive effect on them as well. In addition to raising their standard of living, women who are unmarried may also be adding to their dowries, and thus further improving their lives by being able to find better husbands.

The continued lightening of carpets shows that market forces can influence petty-commodity producers. The fact that women are opting to leave out certain design elements such as the black lines shows that women may be interested in maximizing their labor time, and do not want to tie knots that are going to be cut down during the finishing process. This demonstrates that they have some amount of agency in terms of design choices even though work as an artisan is often posited as exploitative.

Government offices in Ankara concerned with weavers and the weaving industry seem to have little contact with weavers themselves. It is possible that research that could connect these offices with women who weave might increase understanding of the needs female artisans and women in poorer rural communities in general, as these are the women most likely to weave.

Government support of macro- over micro-enterprise also has ramifications for the carpet industry. Agencies that promote carpets, such as DOSIM and Sumerhali, may not receive as much assistance. This may be reflected in the fact that DOSIM is

going to become a for-profit organization in the near future. The fact that the Directorate of Handicrafts is no longer in charge of training weavers may also indicate a withdrawal of support. As women stop weaving for themselves and thus stop passing the skill down to their younger relatives, women might not weave if there are not programs to teach weaving to those who want to make carpets. Judging from what has happened to the training program run by the Directorate of Handicrafts, maybe women do not want to learn to weave carpets. If marketing and promotion of carpets does not improve, then weaving might not generate enough income for it to be a sustainable industry.

For Turkish carpets to be woven, women have to learn to weave. If women are going to learn to weave, they need the time and the impetus to do so. Part of this impetus seems to be economic. Turkish carpets need to compete in the market with carpets produced on machines or in other countries with lower labor costs. They also need to compete in terms of the income they generate as rural areas develop and other economic opportunities become available. For Turkish carpets to generate enough revenue to do this it is possible that marketing them or designing them in a different way may help, or that educating consumers about the high quality (and thus high price) or certain carpets may help.

Further research could investigate ways in which carpets are marketed by companies, dealers, and weavers in an attempt to determine what marketing strategies are successful, and how these entities interact and negotiate with each other. Perceptions of authenticity may well play into this. Any improvement in the promotion of carpets could improve the position of the women who weave them.

It was found in this study that women do not generally control the income generated through weaving. Further research could address the factors that contribute to women's control of financial resources and how this impacts their lives. Research

could also investigate whether weaving for the high-end market impact women's lives in a different manner from weaving for the low-end market.

Research could address the effects of government policy and international trade regulations on weaver's lives. Topics on this theme could include ways by which weavers could be integrated into the social security system, further study of the effects of the removal of textile trade tariffs, or an investigation of the impacts of industrial organizations.

While it seems that the low-end market is falling away, it is possible that the high-end market may be a sustainable means of preserving weaving traditions and increasing the standard of living of rural women in Turkey. This market provides higher profits which may be passed on to the weavers in the form of higher wages and social security benefits. The skill-level needed may also inspire pride in artisanship and the cachet associated with Turkish carpets is more likely to be important to the clientele of this market.

APPENDIX A

Interview Schedules

1. Interview Schedule For Weavers

What is your age/birthplace?

(If you were born somewhere else, why/how did you move here?)

What level of schooling have you attended?

How long have you been working at your current job?

How did you start working there?

Why would you stop working at your current job?

Would you recommend this job to someone else?

(Would you want your daughter to work there?)

Do you like your current job?

(Why/why not?)

How is this type of weaving similar to/different from village weaving?

Do you/have you woven at home?

(If yes, how does weaving at work differ?)

How did you learn to weave?

(How old were you?)

Have you learned new skills/techniques since starting your current job?

(If so, how/from whom?)

Have you taught anyone to weave?

What benefits do you get at your current job?

What benefits would you like?

How much are you paid?

(Do you feel that this is a fair wage?)

Are your wages saved or spent?

Who decides what your wages are spent on?

2. Interview Schedule For Managers

What is your age/birthplace?

What level of schooling have you attended?

How long have you been involved in the weaving industry?

How did you get involved in the weaving industry?

How many weavers are employed by your company?

How long do weavers keep their positions?

Why do they leave the company?

How are the weavers trained?

Are they taught new skills while working with this company?

How is this type of weaving similar to/different from village weaving?

How much are the weavers paid?

Do you think that this is a fair wage?

How is work as a weaver different from work in a factory?

What benefits are offered to weavers at this company?

What are the benefits of your position?

What benefits would you like?

How much are you paid?

(Do you think that this is a fair wage?)

What are your wages spent on?

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