

IS JEWELRY STILL A CRAFT?
THE ROLE OF TRUST AND WORK ETHIC IN JEWELRY SECTOR
THE CASE OF ISTANBUL GRAND BAZAAR

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ABSTRACT

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In this master study, the sustainability of local craftsmanship as affected by trust and work ethic will be discussed in the specific case of the jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar. The case study is presented relying on interviews. The research theme is evaluated in sub-categories which contain socio-demographic structure, work ethic of masters and apprentices, Grand Bazaar and the jewelry sector. The effects of trust, work ethic, and obedience on craftsmanship are discussed. Basically, informal relations form the foundation for the work and trade relations especially in craft based jewelry sector. The Grand Bazaar in Istanbul was chosen because it is the most important place for the craft-based jewelry sector in Turkey. This study first poses a general question by asking whether or not the jewelry sector in Istanbul (the Grand Bazaar) is still a craft. The analysis of the concepts of trust, work ethic, obedience, and social networks are operationalized and provide the frame for the main examination. The investigation of this topic will give clues about the organizational structure, working conditions of sector members and the production process of the sector.

In the first part of this study, the concept of craftsmanship is described. This is done by giving special reference to the concepts of artisanal knowledge and work ethic. The discussion is settled in a short analysis of globalization processes. The

past and future of the jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar and guild system is discussed. In the second part, the case study is presented, relying on interviews with craftsmen in the jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar.

Key Words: Craftsmanship, Work Ethic, Trust, Jewelry Sector, Istanbul's Grand Bazaar

ÖZ

KUYUMCULUK HALA ZANAAT MI? GÜVEN VE İŞ AHLAKININ KUYUMCULUK SEKTÖRÜNDEKİ ROLÜ

İSTANBUL KAPALIÇARŞI ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışmada, İstanbul Kapalıçarşı kuyumculuk sektörü örneğinde, güven ve iş ahlakı konuları ile bağlantılı olarak yerel zanaatkarlığın sürdürülebilirliği tartışılmıştır. Örneklem alanı dahilinde yapılan mülakatlar, usta ve çırakların sosyo ekonomik yapıları, iş ahlakları ile Kapalıçarşı ve kuyumculuk sektörü üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu kapsamda zanaatkarlıkta özellikle güven, iş ahlakı, itaat gibi kavramların etkisi tartışılmıştır. Zanaat tabanlı kuyumculuk sektöründe ticaret ve üretim süreçlerinde enformal ilişkiler ön plandadır. Türkiye'de, İstanbul Kapalıçarşı' nın halen zanaat yoğunluklu üretimin gerçekleştiği önemli bir üretim mekanı olduğu düşünülmektedir. Buradan yola çıkarak çalışmada İstanbul Kapalıçarşı'da kuyumculuk sektörünün hala zanaat olup olmadığını sorgulamaktadır. Araştırmanın ana çerçevesini güven, iş ahlakı, itaat ve sosyal ağların sektördeki önemi oluşturmaktadır. Araştırma, sektörün organizasyon yapısı, sektör aktörlerinin çalışma koşulları ile üretim süreçleri konularında ipuçları vermekte ve bazı politika önerileri sunmaktadır.

Bu kapsamda, bu tez çalışmasının birinci kısmında zanaatkarlık bilgi ve iş ahlakı tanımları, küreselleşme süreci ve bu sürecin işçilere olan etkisi, kuyumculuk

sektörünün dünü ve bugünü tartışılmış ve Kapalıçarşı'da kuyumculuk sektörü teorik bir çerçevede ele alınmıştır. Tezin ikinci bölümünde ise örneklem alanı olarak seçilen Kapalıçarşı'da kuyumculuk sektöründe faaliyet gösteren zanaatkarlar ile mülakat yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zanaatkarlık, İş Ahlakı, Güven, Kuyumculuk Sektörü, İstanbul Kapalıçarşı

To My Parents...

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1. Approaching the Issue and Problem Definition

This master study attempts to clarify the role of trust and work ethic in the jewelry sector. As an example, the jewelry sector in Istanbul's Grand Bazaar is chosen. The roles of trust and work ethic, obedience, and ethnic and religious kinship (social networks) are crucial to better understand the structure of the jewelry sector.

The research theme is evaluated in sub-categories. These sub-categories are topics related to the socio demographic structure of masters and apprentices, work ethic and out-of-work activities, and the Grand Bazaar and the jewelry sector (production, workshop information, security information, jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar, jewelry sector of Turkey, and ownership information). Some questions about craftsmanship, knowledge, work ethic, and the Grand Bazaar were also asked based on these sub-categories, in order to understand the structure, the process, and the future of the sector.

This master study will help to understand the relationship between masters, apprentices, and members of bigger firms.

It will help to gain an understanding of the working conditions of sector actors. The jewelry sector is little examined in the literature. It is a convenient sector for investigating craftsmanship according to its rooted background. Investigation of craftsmanship will facilitate the creating of an understanding about the topic according to the people-centered structure of the production, marketing process, and social networks that shape the sector.

Such a study will help to understand the effects of mass production on the traditional production, craftsmanship, and work ethic of sector membe

1.2. Formulation of Research Question, Main Hypothesis, and the Objectives of the Study

The main research question of this master study is: What is the role of trust, obedience, and work ethic on the sustainability of the jewelry sector as a craft? This question will be at the center of the entire study.

The changes in the mode of production and division of labor have caused economic and social changes and transformations in the social relationships of craftsmen who engage in the jewelry sector in Istanbul's Grand Bazaar.

To develop a new understanding about the concept of craftsmanship, it was necessary to divide the main question into sub-questions. The literature related to these sub-questions was reviewed and some findings were obtained. The literature formed the theoretical basis for the case study of the Grand Bazaar. The following questions emerged:

Working Conditions

- What are the working conditions?
- Local craftsmanship is sustained in some places like the Grand Bazaar in the globalization process by the help of social rules.

Knowledge

- How does knowledge transfer happen in craftsmanship?
- Is specialization based on working in one occupation and having knowledge and skill of this occupation, similar to Webster's description of *Beruf*?
- What about the potential for recruiting new apprentices as future craftsmen?

Social Network

- How do social networks affect the jewelry sector?

- Are knowledge and economic actions embedded in changing networks of social relations?

Technology

- What are the effects of standardization on craftsmanship?
- Can machines be considered as a threat for handmade production?

The sustainability of local craftsmanship as affected by trust and work ethic will be discussed in the specific case of the jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar. Among different qualitative research designs, case study methods will be used to investigate and answer the research questions. The field work was based on an investigation of the sector and the social and economic components of the Grand Bazaar. This helped to gain an understanding of the complexities of the sector. The detailed explanation of the methodology will be put forward below.

In this study, the qualitative research method is preferred in order to describe the world of human experience and the phenomena that have already been identified. The method includes observations and interviews. The interviews were held with 3 different interest groups. These are:

- Masters
- Apprentices
- Owners of Big Firms
-

The completion of the interviews took about a week. To reach the interviewees, the snowball method was used. All in all, 10 masters and 5 apprentices were interviewed. Furthermore, 3 interviews were held with representatives of “bigger” jewelry firms.

This study first gives a short overview of the economic and social transformations in craftsmanship after the Industrial Revolution. The literature reviewed in this thesis is limited to the investigation of craftsmanship in the jewelry sector. The

presented case of the Grand Bazaar is not considered as a representative study of the jewelry sector in Turkey, but nevertheless, the in-depth study of Istanbul's Grand Bazaar provides important insights for a better understanding of working conditions and changes in the craft of jewelry.

CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Craftsmanship

Referring and discussing craftsmanship it seems necessary to clarify some concepts, like craft, culture, heritage, work ethic, trust, communication and knowledge in order to better understand the jewelry sector, guilds and transference of knowledge.

Handicraft is processing materials by hand with hand tools which give opportunity to produce useful items or decorative items. The material used in the production process can be natural, recycled or industrially processed. The models of the products can be traditional or modern. Some traditional models give ideas of modern processes and handicraft products can also renew traditions by keeping them alive in daily life (www.craftopolis.net). Crafts are not only materially produced objects but also they are bound up with values, structure, history and identity of communities (Parliamentary Assembly, 2008: 5). Therefore, crafts play an important role in the identity of various groups, whether regional, national, or also religious/ethnic. Crafts are connected to a way of life, which determines both the products needed and the materials available. It is also connected to the social relations among these specific craftsmen (Parliamentary Assembly, 2008: 5). We can say here the guilds¹ were important examples of craft societies in which some rules and applications took place in order to control the production system. They also formed and introduced the rules for social relations among specific craftsmen in a specific sector.

¹Guilds were organizations which have characteristics of having various purposes like economic, administrative and social functions (Baer, 1970: 28). The hierarchical relationship between master-journeyman and apprentice reflect to every part of the guild system. There were no guilds in Turkey until the Fifteenth Century. In Anatolia, with the beginning of Sixteenth Century, there was a transition from free futuuvet association to a professional guild system and production activities continued by the control of this guild system (The guild system will be detailed in the part of Grand Bazaar and Work Ethic)

Craftsman always defined himself as someone who is a gifted person (with his skill by God) while creating crafts. Through their productions, they try to give message about their sincerity. Unesco Report about cultural heritage define craftsmen as living human treasures who use a high degree of knowledge and skill for their performance while creating (UNESCO, 2003: 3). Craftsmen, also called artisans, have technical knowledge of materials and work methods and they are also skilled workers who generally use manual skills (Ihatsu, 1998). Through the automation of production, the position of craftsman has also changed. The craftsman becomes not only the producer of things but also a creator who uses aesthetic values while creating (Whitaker, 1967: 10). Handicraft is deeply rooted in society and they also protect and transfer traditions. In the production process, craftsman transfer their knowledge and social and cultural heritage with forms, work methods, lifestyles and self-images (Sennett, 2008: 66).

As we talked about the manual skill, it is realized that skills are not enough to be an expert on something. Practice was the other important component to become a craftsman. The meaning of skill changed to a trained practice (Sennett, 2008: 37).

Skill, as a part of a hierarchy in the division of labor² process began to be learned and practiced in the modern world. Besides this, the craft production process has changed due to the economic, political, global market factors.

People's identities and statuses are subject to change because the status of craft product changes due to commercialization (Kay, 1999). On the other hand, through mechanization and automation, the value of originality also rises so the meaning of craftsman again began to change. Craftsmen play a role in the transfer of originality as a social label.

²The specialization of the labor force, essentially the breaking down of large jobs into many tiny components. Under this regime each worker becomes an expert in one isolated area of production, thus increasing his efficiency (Smith, 1776).

2.1.1. Knowledge and Craftsmanship

“This is a master-apprenticeship matter. Further is unnecessary. How can education be theoretic? Teacher comes to workshop, makes some corrections and says 'does this, cut this'. The real and effective education can be achieved by 'watching' and can be achieved by 'showing'. I have preferred this kind of training in sculpture education. I have preferred making the sculpture in front of the students and I prefer solving problems with them” (Engin, 2009: 93).

Famous sculptor Mehmet Aksoy explains the importance of master-apprenticeship relationship in his vocation in the sentences cited above. Master apprenticeship relationship is very important also in the transfer of craftsmanship. This relationship and the knowledge transfer from master to apprentices is also valuable for transferring the knowledge by “spiritual ways” and learning by doing in order to create unique products.

Knowledge transfer is difficult because of the limits of transformation. Cellini says that "the secrets of his art would die" with him. Sennett gives the example of Stradivari and Guarneri violin workshops whose secrets were known by few persons and hidden from the many and thoughtlessly lost (Sennett, 2008: 74).

2.1.1.1. Tacit Knowledge

Knowledge transfer is most important in craftsmanship. There are two kinds of knowledge. One of them is explicit knowledge and the other is tacit knowledge. Explicit knowledge is a kind of knowledge that has been articulated. It is often in the form of a text and words and illustrations. Explicit knowledge is always formal and systematic (Nonaka et al., 1995). Western societies generally thought it as 'knowledge' (Nonaka et al., 2000). Explicit knowledge can be defined as using numbers, words and scientific formulas. It can be transferred to others by using different types of communication channels (Nonaka & Konno, 1998: 50). While explicit knowledge can be transmittable formally, tacit knowledge has a personal value which is not allowed to formalize for transmission (Nonaka, 1994: 135).

The term of tacit knowledge defined by Michael Polanyi who had been a chemical engineer turned to be a science philosopher. He means by tacit knowledge a kind of knowledge which is not possessed by language, numbers or symbols. Because of this, we can only see its effect through its actions. The actor knows what he has but cannot describe what he knows in this kind of knowledge and can only describe it to others with his own performance: “the aim of a skillful performance is achieved by the observance of a set of rules which are not known as such to the person following them” (Polanyi, 1962).

The person’s own performances that cannot be defined but carried out are also the experiences of a person. Knowledge can be accumulated through experience. A phrase that describes it as not really knowing what is done but as hands that simply do the work (Nercki-Saarinen, 2006). According to Polanyi a person knows more than he or she can think. People learn also by observing behaviors and actions. He thinks all knowledge is either tacit or rooted in tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1966: 7).

Craftsmen's main tools are the know-how of materials, tacit knowledge, manual skills and work methods (Ihatsu, 1998). In craftsmanship, tacit knowledge is valuable because crafts involve tacit knowledge and it also involves practical know-how which allows people to do things different from talking or writing about them (Parliamentary Assembly, 2008: 7). An art can only be passed on by example from master to apprentice. An apprentice follows his master in order to catch details. By watching the master and imitating his work and effort, the apprentice unconsciously picks up the rules of the art, including those that are not explicitly known to the master himself (Polanyi, 1962: 53 in Özdemir, 2007: 553). Experience can be formed by this way.

The spoken word seems more effective than written instructions in master-apprentice relationship. When you don’t understand or it becomes difficult, you can immediately ask someone, take ideas, discuss it. It is impossible in written

instruction to ask and discuss difficulties; you only can discuss them with yourself from printed pages without getting feedback. The master's actions become the guide so showing is more valued in workshops (Sennett, 2008: 180). In a workshop, tacit knowledge dominates because of the master's own knowledge. Once the master dies, there's no way to ask him or her and all the clues, thoughts and experiences would die with him (Sennett, 2008: 74). The limits of language can be overcome by practice. So learning by doing is highlighted for a progressive education process in the craftsman's workshop (Sennett, 2008: 74). It is why crafts can not be taught in schools where the education is mostly given theoretically and some internship.

As said, learning by doing is based on practice; practicing culture is never a matter of following rules only. The philosopher Wittgenstein emphasized the practice of speaking exceeds the rules of grammar; The Chinese sage Zhuangzi stated the same about carpenters. When a master carpenter says something, without practice the apprentice couldn't possibly know what they mean (Sennett and Calhoun, 2007: 7).

The place where craftsman make practice is also important. The place called workshop, which can be a home, an office and generally can be a production place for craftsman, forms the location for the social interaction between master and apprentice. Craftsmen always need to work together or need to work close to other craftsmen in order to share knowledge, skill and also materials.

In theory, the well-run workshop should balance tacit and explicit knowledge and also should balance practice and theory. Masters should be pestered to explain themselves, to dredge out the assemblage of clues and moves they have absorbed in silence within- if only they could, and if only they would. Much of their very authority derives from seeing what others don't see, knowing what they don't know; their authority is made manifest in their silence (Sennett, 2008: 78).

In craftsmanship, there must be a commander who puts standards and who trains. In workshop there are no rules which are set down on paper but there are some rules about face to face issues that are valued. Originality is hard to write down in a rulebook so craftsman should keep rules in their minds. Generally craftsmen are seen as a resisting innovation, their craftwork changes slowly as the result of collective effort (Sennett, 2008: 54). Traditions, tastes and styles change in time according especially to collective efforts, craftsmanship and its products also change and the transmission of knowledge again gains value.

Independent professionalism is important and it is always progressive but it also minimizes the benefits that guilds obtained from the knowledge which are gained from the common experience (Wolek, 1999: 401). From this, the importance of experiences that are appropriated in the community during the production process is to be mentioned.

Besides these, while there is an appropriate place for the development of craftsmanship in workshops, the working conditions are always hard for apprentices. Generally, work starts early in the morning and finishes late in the evening. Because of the traditional structure of craftsmanship, the apprentice is willing to be volunteer and being enthusiastic about work. So, especially by the decomposition of guild societies, which will be detailed in the second part of the study, the rights of apprentices were always disregard and every craft sector followed rules of its own which are learned from elders . Because the production process which needs face to face relations, it needs patience in the production process. Practice and observation is so important because of the oral transfer and the rules which can not be explained on paper. Relationship among the community is also important. Craftsman needs a suitable workshop. It is an important to examine where craftsmanship is continuing, under which kind of conditions craftsmanship is encouraged or not. Accordingly the jewelry sector of

Grand Bazaar appears as a niche³ and local area where master- apprenticeship relationship continues to be lived.

2.1.1.2. Culture and Heritage

Raymond Williams (1961) shows three important ways of thinking about culture. The first one was the ideal one and refers to perfect and universal values which allow a limited analysis according to the lives of artists and writers or their works. The second one is seen as a documentary in which human thought is recorded. Lastly, culture is understood as social, expressing the feelings of a social group as a way of life (in:Smith, 2000).

Edward B. Tylor defines culture as "That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (www.truman.edu).

Craft has two definitions according to some authors. It is seen as a culture and as an industry by authors. Authors ask about handicrafts in order to analyze them and in order to make arguments about why crafts matter. In the perspective of craft as an industry, authors discuss about the similarities and differences from other kinds of industrial production. The assessment measured by the scale and volume of handicraft production at some time in the past, the social organizations and occupational categories of members (Kay, 1999). In the perspective of craft as culture, it is highlighted that people create crafts but crafts also create people. Craft production is an identity matter and it shapes the process which is linked to ethnic and gender categories, social class distinctions and status ranking (Kay, 1999).

³Niche defines a specific area where there is a specialization on product of something. The place is highlighted with its production styles, production quality and the demographics that are intended to impact.

Heritage is another important concept for craftsmanship. Heritage is recreated during the transmission from generation to generation and it is also recreated by communities and groups due to their environments, their interactions with nature and history. Heritage provides communities identity and continuity so it also provides human creativity and cultural diversity which is a promotion of uniqueness and plurality of different groups and societies (Kuruk, 2004: 119).

Tangible and intangible heritages are components of heritage which are a synchronized relationship involving society, norms and values. Symbols and objects are tangible evidence of underlying norms and values. The intangible heritage is a larger framework that tangible heritage takes on shape (Bouchenaki, 2003: 2). Intangible heritage are always social practices, oral traditions, ceremonies, traditional knowledge, daily needs that have great value about history or art and products which have local characteristics (Rafamatanantsoa, 2004: 306, Lupo, 2007: 16). According to the UNESCO report about Convention for the Safeguarding of the intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), Intangible cultural heritage is defined as a living heritage which contains knowledge, skills and values associated with practices and expressions and communities recognized it as part of their cultural heritage. “Intangible cultural heritage” also contains traditional craftsmanship besides the other domains that are described above (Unesco, 200: 4). Intangible heritage is related to its creators as it depends in most cases on oral transmission (Bouchenaki, 2003: 2).

Especially in the jewelry sector craftsmanship, face to face education is preferred because of the oral characteristics of the transfer of skill. So the change in intangible heritage of jewelry sector is inevitable.

In the process of change, the important point is providing to create appropriate conditions for knowledge transfer of individuals and also providing knowledge development. Craftsmanship and master-apprenticeship concepts are highlighted in the transmission of knowledge. The transfer always happens between father and

son, older with younger and between generations. Direct experience and practice is most common during oral transfer. At this point due to the oral and intangible features of craft and craftsmanship, it needs some applications in order to transfer knowledge to generation to generation which needs face to face contact and needs social relations.

2.1.1.3. Communication

Culture refers primarily to knowledge which is meaningful in the community. Knowledge can only develop in a community by sharing others knowing (Kronenfeld, 2008: 112). We human beings have immediate knowledge of our own (Tönnies, 1957: 41).

Tönnies (1957) described three types of community. First one is kinship, second one is neighborhood and the third one is friendship as definite and meaningful invention of these categories. Here people are under a protecting roof where they can share their pleasures, common fear, common honor and common activities (Tönnies, 1957: 42). Friendship is formed from similarity of work and intellectual attitudes contrast to neighborhood and kinship. So it is more independent. It comes most easily into existence when crafts are of similar nature (Tönnies, 1957: 43). When a friendship is based on common craft, authority expresses itself as the authority of master towards his disciples. Because of the handicrafts and art's character of being religiously mystic and dogma, it can be most easily preserved within the family, handed down to the sons and shared by brothers (Tönnies, 1957: 43).

Marchand also highlighted the importance of sharing knowledge. Because of this, he remarks the question of communication (Marchand, 2008: 267). Fieldwork with craftsmen strengthens the idea that the body is a prime site for establishing an education. Individuals are responsible agents of their communities about

practice (Marchand, 2008: 267). Skills and knowledge are handed down to others, father to son, generation to generation, clan to clan and culture to culture.

Transmission of knowledge from generation to generation aimed to make them sustainable (Sennett, 2008: 57). To attend to practice also needs attending to the social organizations which is embedded in social organizations (Sennett and Calhoun, 2007: 8).

Craftsmanship is often seen as an education of secrets of craft. These secrets only passed by the dimensions of training (Coy, 1989). As craftsmanship is an agreement between a skilled person and an unskilled person. Master's social relations become a necessity in the apprentice's education. Apprentices are most important opportunities for sustaining craft and also they are the most serious threat to the control of specialized knowledge by craft (Coy Aronson, Jacobson 1982: in Coy, 1989).

Consequently, craftsman has a crucial role in the collective work-knowledge. Skill transmission and communication are the basic elements of these transmission matters.

As communication structures, guilds existed at the beginning of this millennium and remain influential today in many crafts and cultures. For example Paris in 1300 shows the strength of guilds in this period. There were 6.000 artisans in 448 different guilds. In order of size, the larger craft guilds were weavers, skimmers, goldsmiths, tailors, bakers, masons, carpenters and butchers (Pounds, 1974 from Volec, 1999). Parisian guilds served both their members and society so they were strong (Hickson and Thompson, 1991 from Volec, 1999). Their functions were security matters and also guaranteeing the social status of their members (Wolec, 1999: 403).

It was important to be a member of a guild and in Italy, local jewelers also were aware of the importance of sharing advice and knowledge within informal networks of relations (Gaggio, 2007: 218). In the jewelry towns personal and informal relations that contributed the backbone of local social life was important. Informations about the styles and fashion was not routinized by formal institutions but it spread by informal occasions. Transmission of knowledge happened among personal relations and also with family ties (Gaggio, 2007: 207,217).

In Turkey, like most of the craft, jewelers also has created social networks for a better communication, it was called firstly 'gedik' and then guilds. In these guilds, every trade had its own guild in order to share knowledge and skill systematically among each other according to its own rules. Guilds were also important for the sustainability of trades and served as control mechanisms.

2.1.2. Work Ethic

Max Weber noted professionalization and bureaucracy as important aspects of the rationalization of a society. He saw professionalization as a part of rationalization process (Ritzer, 2004).

The German word for a vocation, Beruf, has two meanings. First one is the accumulation of knowledge and skills and the second one is doing one particular thing in one's life (Sennett, 2008: 253). By the effect of globalization, the meaning of doing one particular job in one's life has changed. Apprenticeship and craftsmanship are 'vocations' which contain knowledge-skill and practice which has also changed but new vocations are born by the differentiation of work processes. Division of work is the basic step in order to create new vocations and professions.

Together with Fordism and specialization, the institutional structure also changed and the modern era began to be described with short-term, contracted and episodic

labor (Sennett, 1998: 22). "No long term" is become a principle which gives harm to trust, loyalty and mutual responsibilities (Sennett, 1998: 24).

A serious problem in a master - apprentice relations in any craft is the transfer of knowledge through a scheme which does not necessarily attract young persons. A scheme which is relying on a strong hierarchical structure, with rigid codes, asking the apprentice to accept the authority of his master (Maguire, 1999).

This scheme demands a high level of loyalty. Also the ability to concentrate on the work for long hours is difficult and this can be only achieved when a person can be adapted to work emotionally and intellectually. The ability to concentrate on something has rules and is based on how people can learn practice and how they learn from repetition. The organization of repetition is important in order to achieve a development of skills. The capacity to sustain repetition increases and skill spreads (Sennett, 2008: 28). In order to develop skill, imitation always comes first. The master shows trainees what to do and say watch this! (Marchand, 2008: 263).

In crafts the level of alienation from the product is limited. Marx argues that alienation is the result of new social relations which occurred after the beginning of modern production activities. Alienation began because of the wage-labour system and having no control over production activities. Shortly, Marx thinks that the worker's alienation is the direct result of capitalist relations of production (Education Bulletin, N° 2 [1979]). On the contrary, before the capitalist era apprentices could develop strong relationships with their product because of the process of learning by doing.

With changes in production process and production structure, the concept of work ethic has also changed in the meaning of perception and application. The old work ethic was valued as self-imposed and voluntary practice which needs self-disciplined use of one's time rather than routine (Sennett, 1998: 99). The modern

work ethic focuses on team work which requires some soft skills such as being cooperative and being a good listener. Team adaptability is highlighted in team work activities (Sennett, 1998: 99).

Apprentices in the jewelry sector follow a similar path, direct learning through practical work. The learning process that starts by watching continues with completing master's work and then doing his own work. Work starts in the early morning, continues to the late evening hours and sometimes might even go on throughout night. There are no strict working hours. Although discipline is a rule, most important seems the personal affiliation to the jewelry sector which is actually described as an art and not a simply craft. While self discipline is mentioned as of greatest importance in art-jewelry, team discipline is more stressed in the manufactory production of the jewelry sector.

Social networks matter much in the jewelry sector. People are connected to each other through a series of networks. The networks are based on commonly shared social values and norms. Social capital is governed by a high degree of trust (Field, 2003: 62). Trust is an important component of social capital (Swedberg 1996).

Social networks can be considered as social capital, eventually also economic capital. At the centre of social capital theory is a relational approach, focusing on interaction of individuals or groups. People are able to work together by making connections and by developing relationships in their face –to-face relations (Field, 2003: 44).

According to Putnam, social capital refers to features of social organization. Putnam argues that trust can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam, 1993: 113).

Trust is also valued in the relationship between master and apprentices because of the transfer of knowledge. Especially in the jewelry sector, the meaning of trust is of great importance because of the high prices of the “raw” materials used to produce jewelry. Trust is important also because of the social relationships.

Usually deeper experiences of trust are more informal. Modern institutions always limit the maturing of informal trust (Sennett, 1998: 24). The sociologist Mark Granovetter says that modern institutional networks are marked by “the strength of weak ties” which means that temporary associations are more useful to people than long-term connections. Granovetter wanted to stress the fact that intimate and strong social ties, often referred to be more typical for family ties, are actually less effective in “modern” societies. The greater the number of social ties/networks an individual is embedded in, the greater are the the number of opportunities to establish instrumental social or economic relations.

Teamwork is crucial for the production process, a team moves from task to task. During the process team members also may change but social ties are embodied in teamwork not in a single person (Sennett, 1998: 24).

In sectors such as jewelry there were traditional work relations and work ethic are still of importance social networks play a crucial role in transferring knowledge and skills which will describe in second part.

2.2. The Impact of Globalization

The globalization process is also important according to the changing dynamics in work ethic and transferring knowledge. It is determined that, there was a period of a great economic change at the turn of the eighteen century into the nineteenth century and there was a growing an anxiety about social relationships. The role of apprenticeship in the training of skills started to be questioned. Unpaid training, which lasts long periods, was seen as disadvantageous in the competitive

economic area and also was seen as unnecessary. Waged day labour in some sectors was preferred to unpaid service. This system started to substitute the place of traditional apprenticeship (Levene, 2008: 187).

At the beginning of industrial capitalism, routine was an important concept and it determined the meaning of production. As Sennett expressed that Diderot believed in routine in work and he thought routine could be a route to learning and a necessary teacher, on the contrary Smith believed that routine deadened the mind. Sennett actually supported Smith (Sennett, 1998: 32).

Adam Smith and also Marx discussed that routine become a common phenomenon typical for Fordism (Sennett, 1998:39). The production system started to change with the mass production, which has caused standardization. Fordism⁴ means the division of labor in which each worker does a specific task in a specific time (Sennett, 2008:39).

The industrial psychologist Frederick W. Taylor believed that machinery and industrial design could be immensely complicated in a great enterprise. There was no necessity for workers who can understand the complex style of production in fact it is better if they didn't understand the design of the whole. They should understand only their own jobs in order to be more efficient (Sennett, 1998:40).

Industrial production standardizes its products and also the work done. In order to make workers interchangeable, skills are standardized. As early sociologists from Marx to Durkheim noted, production in a factory required a break into pieces of the process so that workers can produce their own piece of the whole. As a result

⁴Fordism began with The Ford Company. The company was generally noted as an example of technologically based division of labor. Before Ford Company, the automobile industry was craft based where many complex jobs had been done by highly skilled workers. The production process was industrialized and employment has changed as specialist workers began to work over skilled craftsmen (Sennett, 1998, 39). Henry Ford argued that strictly machine-built autos were of better quality than those cars that were in this time assembled in small workshops. By the absolute measure of quality in the thing itself, the machine became a better craftsman than a person (Sennett, 2008:39).

of this, products became cheaper and available for the market because of mass-production and standardization (Eriksen, 2007: 53). Besides standardization, Smith says in "The Wealth of Nations", the effects of the division of labour caused specialization in tasks. He sees routine as a performance in one function (Smith, 1776: 353).

Mass-produced objects and worker's skills are interchangeable. Different from the industrial production, craftsmanship production was individually made and it was also unique (Eriksen, 2007: 54). Crafts take its roots in age-old traditions which are renewed by each generation. Cultural diversity is important at this point. While traditions are transferred from generation to generation, interactions among different people and free expressions from individuals are also valued. Traditional crafts had value because they showed the culture and creativity of craftsman which are cultural expressions of craftsmen's individuality.

Against the accurate perfection of machine, the craftsman became the symbol of human originality and individuality (Sennett, 2008:32). Adam Smith determines a character which modern people already know. A routine doesn't permit sustainability of personal history. In order to develop one's character, one has to get rid of routine (Sennett, 1998: 38). As we said, craftwork is valuable due to the originality and role in protecting personal history, it has also have a role in protecting material reality. Sennett thinks that physical making is a necessary part of being human. He said that "We need craft work as a way to keep ourselves rooted in material reality, providing a steadying balance in a world which overrates mental facility." He rooted these ideas back to 18th-century Enlightenment perceptions. Diderot's Encyclopedia presents lives of artisan craftsmen in order to show work as a source of human happiness compared with marital relations as opposed to the thrills of an affair (<http://www.guardian.co.uk>).

After fordism, the changes occurred in capitalism as from mass production to flexible production and accumulation or from fordism to post fordism which

expresses a shift from stable and large enterprises with assembly lines and mechanized production of standardized goods and large quantities (Eriksen, 2007: 55).

Flexibility is the adaptation to changing circumstances. Today, society is trying to find ways to destroy the routine with creating more flexible institutions (Sennett, 1998: 46). Sennett determines flexibility in *The Corrosion of Character*, with three elements: discontinuous reinvention of institutions; flexible specialization of production; and concentration without centralization of power.

In the flexible specialization of production, it is valuable to offer more varied goods to market more quickly (Sennett, 1998: 51). The system was also expanded with a more flexible system of production because of the more adaptable structure to the market trends (Eriksen, 2007: 56).

Flexible specialization is opposite to the system of fordist way of production. Flexible specialization needs high technology, computer systems and industrial machines (Sennett, 1998: 51, 52). Flexible production becomes too rigid by the effect of rapid technological changes and different demands of the world market.

Castells, among others, writes about companies especially about the network enterprises which he determined as loosely organized, having little job security, having assets in several places and having complex relationships to other businesses. Castells described another trend too (1996). It was the 'crisis of the large organization' which determines job creation and innovation coming from middle-sized and small enterprises in a larger network (Eriksen, 2007: 56).

Communication, consumption and jobs began quickly to cross borders. By the 1990s, automation becomes a reality in manual and bureaucratic labor. Investing in machines started to preferred more than to pay people to work (Sennett, 2006: 7). There was a dilemma about the machine. "Is it a friendly tool or an enemy replacing work of human hand?" (Sennett, 2008: 81). In the nineteenth century craftsman became ever less a mediator and ever more an enemy of the machine

with the expansion of machine culture. Another effect of globalization has been experienced on the products themselves. Products are produced by standardization.

As we can see, according to the industrial revolution, the machines have threatened the work of artisan- craftsmen. The interest of young people is also declining (UNESCO, 2004: 2). Industrial machines are never “tired” or “bored” and also do the same work with same standard (Sennett, 2008: 39). Due to all of this, the economics of globalization can be eventually considered as eliminating the master craftsman, substituting them by technical experts, high tech technologies and machines.

2.2.1. Labour Rights

After the globalization period, the description and rights of labour has also changed according to the structural changes of companies and firms.

As it is talked above, the nineteenth century was the century of industrialism, and work which is based on industrial cultures. Work in industrial society holds a central place in the life of the individual and waged work became the predominant form of labour. Work becomes part of a network of exchanges, in which persons are measured against each other. It requires obligations and duties. It also confers rights in the marketplace.

Traditions and handicrafts are destroyed by the development of steam engine. It was free of the constraint of time and place and it led to the building of large, complex machines (Borgman 1987: 116). The most important element is the use of knowledge and experience. Machines started to do the work of human.

Machines can relieve people from bad conditions of work and they do not get sick, take vacations, organize unions, ask for higher wages etc (O'Toole 1975: 29-75).

By the Bismarck's reforms, social insurance system is created in 1880s. He introduced sickness insurance, industrial compensation, old age and sickness pensions. Capitalist states introduced similar legislations (Perry, 2000: 11-15).

Power was highlighted in the modernization period. While the individual is given a set of rights and responsibilities by the state, rights, responsibilities, and power in modern society extend to organization. Size give organizations an enormous amount of power within the state. There are associations, organizations, labour unions, the government at the centre of power concept in the modern world (Hall 1994: 319-20).

According to these developments some applications are hold. Childhood exclusion, was formalised through the prohibition of child labour. Modern economic definitions exclude children and labour force defined as the 15-65 years population (Perry, 2000: 11-15).

The twentieth century was a century of severe activity and striving. Modern men and women do not passively reflect upon a God-given world, but rather organize, administer, plan and regulate their social order. Economics is at the center of the modern world as humans work to attain continuity.

The post-1945 Keynesian welfare consensus promoted state regulation of the labour market and economy to an extent it had never done before (Perry, 2000: 11-15).

New questions and applications had raised according to the changes in organization of work and labour around the 21st century. The global scale of economy not only affect the occupations and skills but also affect the organizational forms. Other transformations arise from processes of commodification and decommodification and blurring of the boundary between public and private sectors of the formal economy (Edgell, 2006: 6).

In an era of transnational corporations, footlose organizations, short-term economic choices and flexible working, for many the idea of standard employment or a job for life has fallen by the wayside. Paid work is now dominated by flexibility and insecurity (Edgell, 2006: 6). As it is shown in the 'impact of globalization' part, Castells also highlighted the new organization structure of firms as loosely organized, having little security and having complex relationships to other firms.

Sennett(1998) suggest that new capitalism is destructive of the individuals caught up in it, who become isolated, untrusting and rootless.

Jewelry sector is remarked in this process. Although there is a great flexibility and unsecurity, there are trade unions and regulatory laws for other sectors. A labour intensive jewelry sector which based on trust concept will be affected from this process. The sector need to protect its traditional structure and also has to create new organizational structures for the sector and employees.

2.3. Jewelry Sector

2.3.1. The General Structure of Jewelry Sector

Jewelry appeared in human life thousands of years ago, sometimes as a charm, sometimes as a witness of fine days, and sometimes as a symbol to show social status. Whatever the reason for buying or using jewelry, it is valuable because of the material, and also because of the specific techniques employed and its artisanal creativity (www.mahreksanatevi.com).

In a general description, jewelry includes objects of compounds and precious metal like gold-silver or gemstones, processed into plate or string. The product is called jewel (BAP, 2008: 20). In this sector natural materials like bone, shell, coral and other materials like wood, leather, textile materials, bead, feather, chain, semi-precious and precious stones and gold, silver are used (Bilgin, 2006:3).

The human need of “dolling up” and decoration make jewelry continually evolve. The unchanging factor is the value of the sector. Jewelry is not only a prestige object for people, showing their wealth, but also a source for savings.

The sensitive structure of the human being orients him to self-defense, and historically, humans tried to avoid threats by using feathers, horns, and paws captured by hunting. In time, human beings imposed meaning upon natural movements, symbolizing it and trying to carry it in jewels for luck. Religious leaders have used jewels made up of precious stones and metals in order to become exceptional from others. Nature has been connected to values like reproduction, prolificacy, luck, and protection from threats and supernatural things. Figures that symbolize these values have been used either for fortune or to get rid of misfortune.

For example, for Egyptians, the dung beetle was used against barrenness and painful births, because of its likeness to the reproductive organ. For thousands of years, it was a tradition to use a jewel to feel safer, to avoid threats. It is now common to use amulets, charms, or mascots to avoid threats. Due to technological improvements, growing population rates, and environmental pollution, people are taking shelter in mystical belief systems and trying to find peace of mind and reliance by using jewelry (MEGEP, 2008: 6).

For centuries, gold and silver had been extricated from the earth by thousands of people, and many of them died in mines. Stone stocks were formed because of the obstinacy for acquiring precious stones and metals. But why are these items valuable, if not for vanity? In short, someone was needed to process and to present these precious stones and metals, and so jewelry, as a sector, evolved (Özgentürk, 2001).

As said before, gold and silver are the most important portion of jewelry (BAP, 2008: 31). Human beings discovered the processing of gold long ago, and it became the most important material when creating jewels. Gold jewelry has

shown a concrete sign of its abstract value in society beyond religious goals and the effort to seem more beautiful (Kaya, 2006: 31).

Jewelry represents not only a material value, but is also used as a status symbol. The production process of the jewelry sector requires specialization. Because of the different production potentials, there are different production processes. Different experts are needed in different stages of production (BAP, 2008: 14). The production process can be identified in three stages. First, precious gems are cut and polished. Second, precious and semi-precious gems are placed by molding or casting. Third, precious stones, which have already been processed, are put in their places and then they are shown (Scott, 2000c in BAP, 2008: 41).

These stages can be again divided into other production processes. These three basic stages are related to each other by vertical and horizontal integrations and separations. According to the work that occurs during these stages, subcontracted manufacturing is common in the sector. Besides this, the sector is also supported by services like couriers, security systems, machine repair, and loan administration (Scott, 2000c in BAP, 2008: 42).

Standard objects can be either mass produced or originally designed. Generally, the sector comprises many small firms with few employees. Smaller firms are supplemented with bigger firms. Employees in the sector vary from highly skilled to unskilled. It can be said that the sector uses traditional technologies and is based on a manual labor force (BAP, 2008: 42).

The jewelry sector can be characterized as production intensive. There is a need to create links among firms, and also between individual producers and firms (Scott, 2000c in BAP, 2008: 42). These links are necessary because of the structure of the joint working process, and also for security and reliability matters.

2.3.2. The Development the Jewelry Sector in the World

In jewelry, generally gold is used as a building block. The beginning of production of gold goes back to 4000 BC. Gold was especially important in Egyptian civilization (Erdenen, 1965; Karbeyaz, 2005: 33).

In Anatolia, the processing of gold goes back to 3000 BC. According to the archaeological excavations at Alacahöyük, a jewelry workshop and jewelry production existed 5000 years ago. In the Aegean region, the first refinery and royal mine was established by King Karun in 630 BC in order to add value to gold mines (Erdenen, 1965; Karbeyaz, 2005: 33).

Gold jewelry was preferred in the daily life of noblemen in the Hellenistic Era, and gold jewelry production developed in the Roman and Byzantine empires (Bilgin, 2006: 3). Gold is a valuable and important resource because of its economic, social, political, cultural, and artistic meaning in world history.

Investigations of Greek mythology show that the supernal and cosmologic characteristics of gold are not limited in its own world. Philosophers who tried to define the disposition of the world, like Plato and Aristotle, studied gold. In this philosophical argument, the relationship between the stars, gods, and heroes and gold is highlighted. The heat and light of the sun are compared with gold in symbology (Gold News 1, 2003: 89).

Gold was easily manipulated and shaped because of its softer structure. Because of the characteristic of being easily manipulated, it is still a favorite in the precious metal sector nowadays (Kaya, 2006: 14).

2.3.3. The Jewelry Sector in Anatolia and in Turkey

2.3.3.1. The Social and Cultural Value of Jewelry in Anatolia

People have used precious metal and jewels in every part of their lives, before arriving in Anatolia and after settling in Anatolia (Karbeyaz, 2005: 33).

People's interest in precious rocks and metals was not only for jewelry but also for decorating, calligraphy, shields, cradles, and so on. This tendency can be seen in and around Ottoman palaces (Karbeyaz, 2005: 33).

During the Ottoman Empire, jewelry was used by sultans and their families in order to show the Empire's power, influenced by Byzantine, Indian, Russian, and European cultures (Bilgin, 2006: 3).

As was frequently seen in Ottoman times, an amulet prepared with precious metals and stones and used as a protection from diseases, the evil eye, and charms was a popular item of jewelery (Bilgin, 2006: 4).

In Turkey, gold is used as jewelry and as a way of saving (Soğancı, 2009). Social and psychological factors affect its use. Social factors include weddings, ceremonies, and feasts. Besides this, wars and political problems are other social factors that affect the use of gold. Use of gold begins with birth in Turkish culture. It is a cultural practice to give gold as a gift to a newborn baby and to the mother (Karbeyaz, 2005: 33). It is also a saving practice, done on so-called gold days, where women come together in someone's house and every woman gives a gold coin to the host. This happens every month on a rotating basis, and in this way, women can save money. Gold is also still a common present for weddings.

As said before, jewels, especially gold jewels, are not only an ornament but also a guarantee for the future (Bilgin, 2006: 6). In Turkey, the most comprehensive survey on social and economic conditions is the "Turkish Family Structure"

investigation, which is conducted by the State Planning Organization. In this investigation, results show that 8.6% of Turkish families hold their savings in gold jewels (Kırlioğlu, 2006: 45).

Besides this, jewelry has moral meanings. Jewelry is not only an ornament, but also a property with a function. For example, ankle rings are not used by elders in Diyarbakır. They are only used by children and young girls. Every child's anklet has its own sound. Every mother and father can recognize his or her child by this sound and can thus know where the child is. On the other hand, young girls can save themselves from some venomous insects and animals with ankle rings (MEGEP, 2008: 7).

It is common to use gold as a bride price in Anatolia, giving money or precious things to the bride's family as confirmation of the wedding (Canoruç, 2005: 245). Gold is in the virginity belt, representing self-possession. There is always some gold in this belt, as final pocket money (Tuna, 2006: 155; MEGEP, 2008: 7). In most settlements in Anatolia, women begin to wear scarves after marriage. Besides this, another common belief is the use of different colors of precious stones in order to save the user from the evil eye (MEGEP, 2008: 7).

Gold has a crucial role in wedding ceremonies, too. The engagement ring is the symbol of promise that couples give to each other.

The engagement ring is not only an ordinary ring; it also has an intangible meaning that symbolizes the connection between couples. There is a belief that the ring's thickness increases, the love and commitment of the couple will increase, too. If the marriage is destroyed and the couple returns the rings to the artisans, the artisans try to save the rings; the last choice is to melt them to reuse them (The Grand Bazaar Magazine, 2001).

Jewelry given during wedding ceremonies is a way to say “welcome” to the bride and can be saved to be used in hard times (MEGEP, 2008: 7).

2.3.3.2. The Development Period of the Jewelry Sector in Turkey

Around 3200 BC, in the Early Bronze Age, the first gold jewelry items were made in Mesopotamia. In the third millennium BC, this practice moved into Anatolia. After that, it moved to the Hittites, Sumerians, Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Seljuks, Ottomans, and the many other civilizations that have lived in Anatolia. In the sixth century BC, the Lydian Kingdom took gold from the alluvial river deposits at Sardis and succeeded in obtaining pure gold in the first gold refinery in Anatolia (Akman, 2009: 10).

Jewelry producing has come to life, solving the problem of processing metal, and it gained value by the time of the settling of Armenians in Istanbul after the conquest of Istanbul by Fatih Sultan Mehmet. At that time, Fatih Sultan Mehmet coined ‘sultani,’ the first gold money, and the ‘bimetallist’ period started (Tabakoğlu, 1998: 266).

In Ottoman times, gold jewelry production started in 1467 in the surroundings of the world’s first covered bazaar, the Grand Bazaar. There was a tradition of struggling with a trade among the sultans. Yıldırım Beyazıt and Kanuni Sultan Süleyman were interested in jewelry. Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, who was remembered as Süleyman the Great, was an apprentice under control of a Greek master, Konstantin, in Trabzon while he was a prince (Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, 1969).

After the founding of the Turkish Republic, the center of jewelry was the Grand Bazaar again, as in the Ottoman Empire.

In recent times, the jewelry sector does not have a large ratio in Turkey’s economy, but it is a dynamic and growing sector (BAP, 2008: 39). The Grand

Bazaar, where the jewelry sector is clustered, hosts many manufacturers and merchants. Over time, some of the markets in the Grand Bazaar have been restructured and some of them disappeared because of the loss of commercial value. Nonetheless, the jewelry sector is always dynamic and developing (Karbeyaz, 2005: 34).

2.3.3.3. The Jewelry Sector in Different Regions

In Turkey, there is an important jewelry culture, which is constituted by different cultures from different regions. Turkish jewelry culture has varied characteristics because of the geographical and social structures of Turkey. Trabzon matting and Mardin *telkari* (filigreeing) are different examples of Turkish jewelry culture. In Anatolia, especially, *telkari*⁵ has developed (MEGEP, 2008: 8).

Telkari production began as a Syrian tradition in Mardin and Midyat, and it constitutes the district's most important economic activity. Midyat is the central place of *telkari*, where it developed. Although there are few masters there, they try to maintain their occupation in Midyat (<http://www.hafif.org>).

Beypazarı, Turkey, which is a district of Ankara, is another important place where *telkari* art is maintained outside of Mardin and Midyat (<http://www.hafif.org>).

Telkari art was developed in Beypazarı by the culture of Akhism. Citizens of Beypazarı developed this art over time and they created many ornaments and jewels (<http://www.msxlabs.org>). Production in Beypazarı is done in small workshops. There are 30 masters with 400 employees and almost 40 workshops in Beypazarı who are producing *telkari* (<http://www.msxlabs.org>).

⁵Also widespread in Turkey is knitting gold or silver, or processing gold or silver and pushing something onto it to create jewels. According to some sources, the origin of *telkari* belongs to Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt, and then it spread out to the Far East and Anatolia. It spread out again to Europe from Anatolia (<http://www.hafif.org>).

Trabzon is also an important city that is famous for *telkari* and bracelet production. Jewelry production is continued with *telkari*, *hasır*,⁶ and *kazzaziye*⁷ art. *Hasır* art can only be done manually. Gold and silver material is used in production; there are 35 *hasır* workshop using gold and 40 *hasır* workshops using silver, with 3000 female employees. These women also produce jewelry in their homes as a hobby. The products are always ornaments and accessories. There are also 10 *kazzaziye* workshop in the city and 120 workshops with 100 journeymen and 50 apprentices from 230 firms in total (<http://yerel.gozlemgazetesi.com.tr>).

Erzurum is another city famous for embroidery of jet. This art has been widespread for about 200 years. The art is maintained by knowledge transfer from father to son (Doğanay, 1985: 15; Özav, 1996). The craft is sustained on Taşhan and Cumhuriyet streets, but changes in the sector affect Erzurum, as well.

Beyond these places, 90% of Turkish silver is used by the Grand Bazaar. Approximately 200 workshops send silver to the Bazaar from different parts of Turkey, like Trabzon, Beypazarı, Mardin, Midyat, and Erzurum (Kaplan, 2004: 49).

2.4. Grand Bazaar

“Bazaar” in Turkish culture means more than a production or a shopping place. It is valued for its artisans, who are the protagonists in the city culture, and it is hard to separate cultural and economic factors from each other before and after capitalism (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 84). Artisans and merchants are always clustered in these bazaars. The Ottomans systematized bazaars, which were also

⁶Also widespread in Turkey is knitting gold or silver, or processing gold or silver and pushing something onto it to create jewels. According to some sources, the origin of *telkari* goes back to Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt, and then it spread out to the Far East and Anatolia. It spread out again to Europe from Anatolia (<http://www.hafif.org>).

⁷Kazzaziye is a craft in which silver and silk wires are processed together.

common in Seljuk times, with rules for opening and closing of shops. The shop numbers, artisan profession numbers, working, and living were made into rules (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 85).

The Grand Bazaar in Istanbul has been a major economic and social center for centuries, with characteristics as mentioned for other bazaars. After the conquest of Istanbul by Fatih Sultan Mehmet, the Empire needed new institutions. It especially needed a new description of 'product' in a wider perspective. Besides this, it needed to protect its productions, so the Grand Bazaar's covered structure was created in order to protect the economy. The Grand Bazaar was arranged as a large mechanism in order to keep product identity and economy alive. It gained value as an important economic project of the state. It was a symbol of power of the Empire (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 13).



Figure 1: The Location of the Grand Bazaar

The Grand Bazaar is also a central place of the jewelry sector and other crafts. The development of jewelry in Istanbul was determined with the establishment of Grand Bazaar, where production connections took shape.

2.4.1. Development Periods of the Grand Bazaar

The Grand Bazaar is a host for different sectors, and also a stock market with its own methods and rules. Every day, an average of 250 thousand people visit the Grand Bazaar, where more than 3 thousand stores exist with 25 thousand employees. The stores are mostly specialized for textiles, accessories, rugs, carpets, and presents. But among all of this, the main feature is the Bazaar being the city's largest jewelry store (<http://www.Istanbul.com>). It is located in the heart of the city, and it can be defined as one of the world's oldest and largest jewelry agglomerations, having been the center of craft and trade activity for more than five centuries.

The evolution of the Grand Bazaar has been handled over two stages. The first phase was the establishment period, from establishment to the beginning of the 20th century. The second phase is modernization and deterioration, up to the 2000s.

2.4.1.1. The Establishment Period of the Grand Bazaar

Between 1560 and 1730, Istanbul was the largest metropolis in the world (Murphey, 1990: 115). In the mid-seventeenth century, the vast majority of the population were craftsmen, who were active in generally one sector. Carpenters, tailors, weavers, masons, spinners, shoemakers, tanners, blacksmiths, and bakers filled the towns and cities (Yıldırım, 2006: 6). Among the number of places of interest in Istanbul, the Grand Bazaar comes in at the top of the list with its covered streets. On more than fifty streets, there are 4400 shops, with two particular markets, one called the Old Bedestan and the other the Sandal Bedestan (Kapalıçarşı, 1972).

At the beginning, the Bazaar did not have today's complex structure. The Bazaar was founded by Fatih Sultan Mehmet and improved by Süleyman the Great (Sönmez, 1993: 4; Erdenen, 1965: 6).

The Grand Bazaar is also valuable as a host for jewelry production. The work of goldsmiths and jewelers developed after the Turkish conquest of the city. At that time, Fatih Sultan Mehmet brought Armenians to settle in Istanbul who were famous in these crafts (Köroğlu, Ecerel, Uğurlar, 2009: 384).

The complex structure of the Grand Bazaar evolved over the centuries and reached its contemporary plan in 1701 with its market of 64 covered streets (Sönmez, 1993: 4; Erdenen, 1965: 6). First, there were two Bedestens forming the nucleus of the Bazaar: Inner Bedesten and Sandal Bedestan (Gülersoy, 1972: 5).

The Old Bedestan: Inner Bedestan: Jewelry Bedestan

The Old Bedestan is situated at a place that can be called the mid-center of the Grand Bazaar. It is a building covered by fifteen domes. The building has shops along the streets from one end to another. It has 4 entrances, which lead to the purse-makers', the cap-makers', the booksellers', and the jewel-makers' streets of the Bazaar (Kapalıçarşı, 1972: 7).

The jewelers in the Grand Bazaar were Inner Bedestan merchants. Inner Bedestan was a safe-keeping institution for the valuables of the rich. It was a basic kind of a modern banking system (Gülersoy, 1979). People would give their savings for custody in return for shares to the jewel merchants, all of whom were dependable and famous rich men. People would also keep their valuables and their jewels in chests, which they would rent in the cellars of the Bazaar (Kapalıçarşı, 1972: 8).

Sandal Bedestan

This building, too, was built by Fatih Sultan Mehmet after he had had the Old Bedestan constructed. It is situated to the east side of the Grand Bazaar. This Bedestan is covered with twenty domes. At present, it is being used as the municipal auction room of the Istanbul Municipality. In old days, it was a market

in which very precious materials were sold. In fact, it got its name from a very fancy and precious kind of fabric called “sandal” (Kapalıçarşı, 1972: 9).

2.4.1.1.1. Organization of Grand the Bazaar

According to the theory of Lapidus the historian, four social organizational structures in Islamic society appeared in Anatolia during the Ottoman Empire.

They were:

1. The organization of empire or state,
2. Religious sect or denomination,
3. Guilds, and
4. Neighborhood units (Aktöre, 1978: 7).

Guilds, the third organizational structure, protected and improved the Bazaar. According to Baer (1970), guilds have characteristics of various purposes, like economic, administrative, and social functions. From this, their rules were effective from the first period to the last period of the Bazaar (Baer, 1970: 28).

The Ottoman economic system, which took its shape from the basic rules of Islamic economy, was more of a lifestyle than a model. It took its shape by complex and comprehensive interaction. It benefited from former Islamic state experiences to create and institutionalize a mentality. Futuuvvet, Akhism, and trade unions were institutions that also arranged the economy (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 136).

During the Fatih Period, the Ottomans completed their political unity and become a “big state.” In this period, the mentality of tribe changed and a gathering of democracy began. In this way, being a large state and setting up a united state were both on the agenda. The new economic model was a supply economy, which meant no standardization and mechanization in production with enough time for production (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 136).

Traditional industrial structure was based on “gedik” organizations in the Ottoman Empire (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 159). In the social life of the era, “gedik” organizations were established in order to arrange businesses or crafts by using rules about opening a shop or going into manufacturing (Kapalıçarşı, 1972: 14). It was intended to protect the members of craft guilds against unguilded individuals (Yıldırım, 2006: 8). In this way, manufacturing figures and the number of craftsmen could be calculated and noted. In the Ottoman Empire, the general thought was first about adequate necessities (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 168).

Members of all trades and crafts founded societies called Tarik-i Fütüvvet (benevolent society) or Tarik-i Hirfet (society of artisans) until the end of the 17th century (Kapalıçarşı, 1972: 16). After the “gedik” society, the new meeting place of the artisans was called “lonca.” The word is a borrowing from the Italian word “loggia,” which means “cell room.” Muslims and non-Muslims needed to come together somewhere in order to solve or discuss the problems they had both experienced. This caused the establishment of market centers like khans, which contained the artisans of particular trades (Kapalıçarşı, 1972: 15).

Lonca societies were replaced by artisan guilds at the beginning of the century. The people who set up these guilds were the licensed masters of every trade (Kapalıçarşı, 1972: 15).

If the license of one guild died, he provided for his son to run the shop. In the event that the son of the master did not want to sustain the same trade, or if the master did not have any male descendent, then the guild would be sustained by a journeyman (Kapalıçarşı, 1972: 16). This system of work received great attention. As a result of this, the traditional master, journeyman, and apprentice relationship was protected carefully (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 159, 160).

The hierarchical relationship between master-journeyman and apprentice reflected itself in every part of the guild system. Every master from the trade sections chose

a chamberlain in order to carry out the guild's rules. Besides this, there was a sheikh, who was head of a group of dervishes, in the guilds. His assignment was representation of religious matters, and another mission was the administration of guilds. There was a master chamberlain in the city in order to control each chamberlain of guilds. He represented the city and employees of the city against the state. The *yiğitbaşı* coordinated internal affairs of the guild and was below the chamberlain in the hierarchical order. He provided raw materials that were needed in the guild and were distributed to the masters. He also controlled the standards of materials (Kapalıçarşı, 1972: 14).

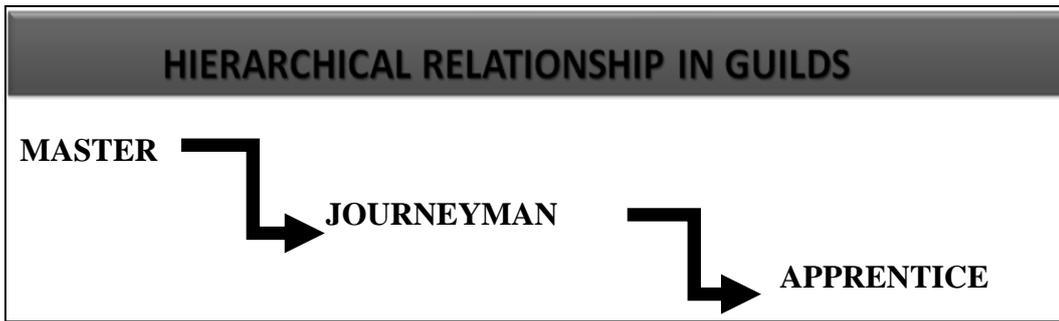


Figure 2: Hierarchical Relationship in Guilds, Figure prepared by author

There were *teavun sandığı*, a fund for mutual help in every Turkish guild. It was coordinated by the chamberlain, *yiğitbaşı*, and *ihtiyarlar*.⁸ The income consisted of voluntary contributions. Regular contributions by guild members were collected weekly or monthly. There were also special payments, which were made by masters on the occasion of the promotion of their apprentices to the rank of journeyman or of their journeymen to the rank of master. Until the beginning of the 20th century, a master who was a member of a guild in Istanbul contributed 50 kuruş when an apprentice became a journeyman and 300 kuruş when a journeyman became a master (Baer, 1970: 44).

⁹ Handicrafts

In addition, income from the guilds' funds was used for religious purposes. For example, during the month of Ramadan, one of the activities was the recitation of the Qur'an in the mosque of Eyüb (Baer, 1970: 45).

Guilds were also an administrative link. They used intermediate units and established institutions for direct relations between government and individuals while the state was weak in administration. Their most important function throughout the centuries was the link between government and the urban population (Baer, 1970: 33).



Figure 3: Different Characteristics of Guilds, Figure prepared by author

The guild was usually required to be a guarantee for the good character of each member. It was an indirect control system over each individual in the urban population (Baer, 1970: 34).

It was also a control system of prices, quality, weights, and measures (Baer, 1970: 36). From the providing of raw material to the selling of the product, all was standardized by guilds (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 159,160). The actual prices of goods were also fixed by the government, and those who sold at higher prices were punished by the authorities (Baer, 1970: 38).

The guild's basic aim was not only to protect its members from threats of competition, but also to protect its members from competition among the guilds (Pamuk, 1999: 57). There were many guilds belonging to the same vocation in the Bazaar. Specialization and division of labor were growing like cities, and according to this, the numbers of guilds were increasing (Pamuk, 1999: 58).

In guilds, artisans involved with the same trade generally worked either in the same han or in a definite section of a large market place. For example, in Istanbul, the Saddlers Han, Linen-weavers Han, Braided Cloth Makers, Metal Workers, Spice Market, Furriers, Oil Market, Honey Market, Weavers, Gold, and Silver Threadmakers Hans are all examples of cluster economies that belonged to various guilds.

Foreign travelers thought that the system of grouping the trades and crafts according to the products they produced and services they offered was a very rational system for supplying the needs of artisans. It was also useful for simplifying the shopping traffic and was useful for price uniformity and control as a consequence of the guild system (Gülersoy, 1979). It was a street fashion. Every street being reserved for a certain trade, an artisan who had a bench on one street could not start another one on another street and could not enter another trade (Gülersoy, 1979).

Apart from this, the most delicate part of the matter was learned in the guilds. The basic relationship in the guild was the master-apprentice relationship. An apprentice, who started work at an early age, learned the details of the occupation from the master's supervision and strict discipline. Only the management board of the guild could decide the promotion of an apprentice. Supervision could only take hold by face-to-face relations. "Art" in the guild system was not a thing that everybody could do, but it was thought to be a skill that could only be learned from masters (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 153).

In addition to their administrative and economic functions, the Turkish guilds constituted social units. The members of each guild had their particular dresses. They wore them according to their promotion from apprentice to journeyman (Baer, 1970: 46).

According to their social structure, for reinforcing solidarity, they planned excursions to the countryside (Baer, 1970: 47). Each guild assembled once a year outside the town for a picnic that contained amusements, prayers, and meals and lasted for one day (Baer, 1970: 47).

The pilgrimage, or hajj, was also an important occasion for the social activity of the guilds in the early period of Turkish guild history (Baer, 1970: 47).

Among the particular ceremonies of specific guilds, the most famous one was the goldsmiths'. It was held every 20 or 40 years for 10 or 20 days and nights in the meadow of Kağıthane. During this ceremony, goldsmiths from all over the Empire assembled, met the Sultan, and performed the various arts done or sold by them. The saddlers also met at the same place every 20 years (Evliya & Nuri from Baer, 1970: 48).

2.4.1.1.2. Work Ethic

Work ethic becomes an important issue in craftsmanship because of the social network that craftsmanship is based on. The trust concept is also important in this system.

For example, in the past, when artisan numbers were limited, there were verbal agreements instead of checks or vouchers (Bakoğlu in Koçel, 2004, 286-298). The most important proof of this is the guild system that came from Akhism thought and was applied in the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires.

Akhism was a vocational morale school that was established in order to develop people. It was a science and also an art (Ahilik Arastırma ve Kùltür Vakfı Bùlteni, 1984: 1). Futuvvetname was a guide for social ethics, not only in Anatolia, but also in continents like Asia, Europe, and Africa, which had cultures influenced by the Seljuks and Ottomans. Accordingly, countries' productivity increased and the states were generally welfare states (Öztürk, 2003). According to Fütüvvetname, the members of guilds should have some characteristics like accuracy, safety, generosity, humility, realism, and selflessness.

It is said that guilds encouraged honesty and sobriety with their affirmations with the Tariqah, which were the social functions of the corporations enhanced by their religious affiliation by great religious orders (Baer, 1970: 48).

There were social rules instead of written ones among Grand Bazaar artisans, too. First, it is known that everyone in the Grand Bazaar had strict relationships and everyone trusted each other. Not being jealous and being modest were social rules in the Grand Bazaar. For example, the artisans would send over their second customer if their neighbor had not had any customer yet that day, and they fixed the price (Istanbul, 2000: 130).

Another important feature was a relationship that is called "ehl-i hiref community," which was founded between the Grand Bazaar and Topkapı Palace. When looking to the Grand Bazaar, one can see this system's characteristic. "Ehl-i Hiref Community" was established in order to achieve standardization, control of the product's price and quality, and work as a "management of product and production strategy" (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 153-154).

This community, which is defined as an "art master" in the archives, had a special statute. Its duty was like a research and development institution. The community was a special group that was made up of masters of each occupation. Because of this, they prepared production prototypes to present to the Sultan. They were completely independent (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 119).

The majority of people that were selected carefully were from the Grand Bazaar. They created products much like people called “trendsetters” today. They took approval and assistance from the state and carried out their creations among the Grand Bazaar’s products (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 119).

The importance of the Ehl-i Hıref Community is clear. It is hard to create and produce jewelry, so it is important to have some rules in the work community (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 140).

2.4.1.1.3. The Collapse of the Guild System and the Process of Orientation to Industrial Revolution

There were no guilds in Turkey until the fifteenth century. In Anatolia, with the beginning of sixteenth century, there was a transition from free futuuvvet association to a professional guild system, and production activities continued by the control of this guild system (Baer, 1970: 28).

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was advantaged centuries for Ottoman craftsmen according to the organizational structure, compared to European craftsmen (Akyüz, 2000). On the other hand, this organizational structure restricted entrepreneurship. The guild system showed the state power over production. This system also showed the cause of problems spawning the Industrial Revolution that started in Europe (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 164).

The Industrial Revolution first converted the English economy, and afterward Western Europe’s economies produced larger amounts of manufactured goods with lower costs. After the second quarter of the nineteenth century, European countries tried to find new markets for their manufactured goods, new sources of raw materials, and cheaper foodstuffs (Pamuk, 2007: 193).

Thus, after the Industrial Revolution, world trade developed and its hierarchical structure also got stronger. While industrialized European countries and America

were at the top of this hierarchy, countries whose economies were based on agriculture were at the bottom of the order (Pamuk, 2007: 193).

With the invention of the steam engine, the transition of process happened from manual production to mass production. The improvements in the steel industry caused improvement in the railway and sea lane systems (Talas, 1997: 59). Henry Ford also had a great role in the development of Western capitalism with the invention of mass automobile production.

Human beings form their own history by production activities. So, any transformation and changes in production activities affect life styles and cultures (Erdoğan, 2004: 12).

From this, the industrial revolution caused radical changes in production and consumption activities with the effect of improvements caused by revolution. The transformation caused by changing production activities hinted at the assets of the Ottoman economy and social life.

During the 19th century, traditional priorities determined the attitude of the state against guilds in the Ottoman Empire. Before the nineteenth century, the state needed guilds in order to control the army, palace, and cities. The state controlled and encouraged guilds at the same time. But according to the increasing rates in importation of manufactured goods, guilds lost their importance of sustenance. The protection of the guild system against foreign competition areas was not an important priority for the state anymore (Pamuk, 2007: 202). Also, the employees who got used to the system of a traditional production system could not accommodate themselves to new production conditions, not only computational features, but also qualitative features (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 202).

From the 1820s to the First World War, manufactured goods that were imported from western European countries increased. Accordingly, the production activities

belong to craftsmanship could resist in only some parts, and collapsed in others (Pamuk, 2007: 224).

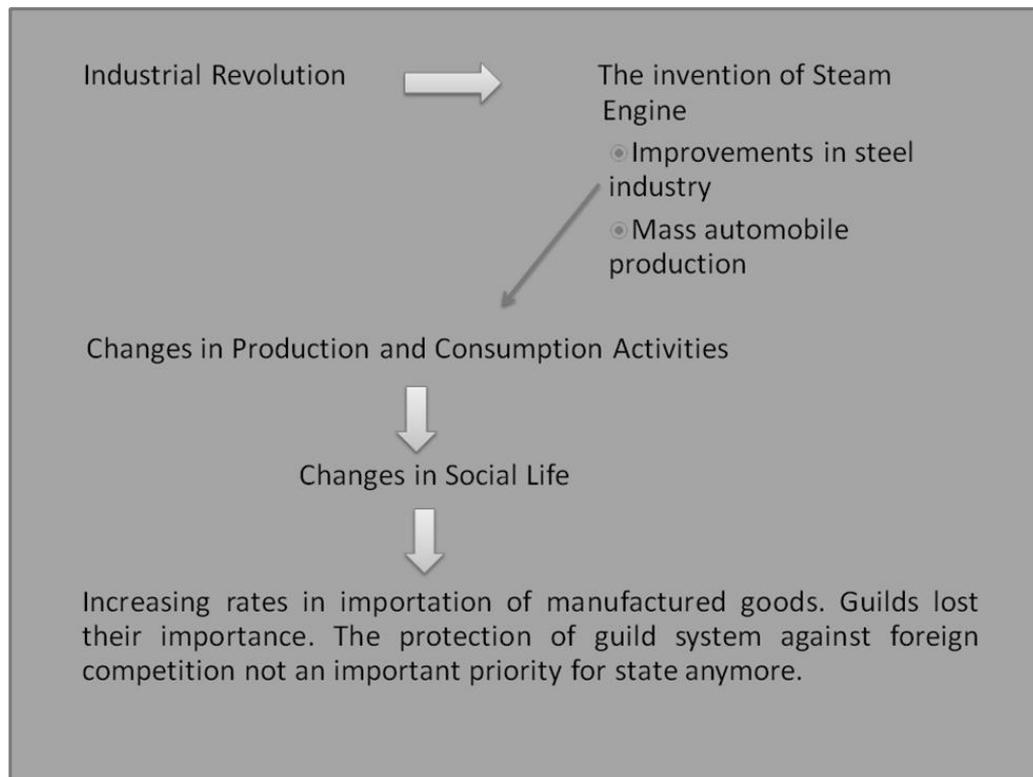


Figure 4: The Process After Industrial Revolution I, Figure prepared by author

Beginning with Selim III, qualified engineers and qualified employees were brought from foreign countries to be employed in modern factories. After a period, industrial schools were established for educating qualified employees. But in this regard, the most radical enterprise was the idea begun with the name of the “Istanbul Industry School,” which was established in 1897. The reason for the establishment of the school was to provide for the need for qualified employees (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 202).

In the Ottoman Empire, and also in Istanbul, '*Hirfet*'⁹ and art had been weakened for a while, and the basic needs of society could not be supplied because of the loss of crafts and arts. The Ottomans decided to open an industry school to teach crafts. Interior and external department rules, like the number of students and circumstances, defined the establishment goal of the school (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 202). For example, children under 13 were generally accepted for the interior department, and apprentices under 30 were accepted for the external department. This department was for the education of apprentices and improvers. On the other hand, a small daily payment was given to students and a half of the other part of their money was given as a salary after some deductions for daily expenditures. The other half of the money was accumulated in safety boxes, and the money, as capital for new establishments, could be given to the student later (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 202).

Another arrangement, according to the Tanzimat Reforms,¹⁰ was putting the *gedik* system away in order to provide liberality in trade and industry. But it was hard to accept a new system instead of the traditional one, because of the conventions of craftsmanship (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 203).

Besides a lot of innovation in different sectors, some changes had also begun with the replacement of military and civil clothing. According to the changes in the textile sector, the meaning and value of other sectors like jewelry also changed. Use of buttons, silver threads, and metallic ornaments began after the establishment of *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*¹¹ army clothing. This new clothing required a lot of new materials, like buttons, which seems simple, but required a new production system and was produced in the Grand Bazaar using silver and gold (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 177). But in the Grand Bazaar,

⁹ Handicrafts

¹⁰Reorganizations for modernization and innovation that were accepted in 1839.

¹¹A new army that was established after the removal of the Janissary corps.

traditional production was common, and new materials like buttons were cheaper in European cities like London and Paris because of the mass production system (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 177).

It is hard to say that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, crafts, which were partly members of guilds in production around the small factories in Anatolian cities, were not in a dynamic development process or were not in a capitalist evolution process. But importation rates were seen to be limited when compared with consumption proportions (Pamuk, 2007: 224).

By the administrative reforms (1839), guild monopolistic structures came to an end with the expiry of the officially fixed price system and *gedik* application. Crafts, which were especially produced in the textile sector, deteriorated constantly according to the competition with imported goods. Only the central state guilds were encouraged. Thus, guilds could maintain their activities through the twentieth century but were thereafter extinguished (Pamuk, 2007: 202).

Generally, it can be said that the competition against imported goods and crafts brought about the specialization in the labor-intensive sectors and processes.

From all of this, the connection between manufacturer and merchant was damaged. Grand Bazaar artisans could not compete with imported products and, accordingly, many had to leave their vocations (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 2003).

These developments, which started in the nineteenth century, were the harbinger of specialization patterns in third world countries in the twentieth century (Pamuk, 2007: 225).



Figure 5: Changes in Ottoman Empire, Figure prepared by author

2.4.1.2. The Modernization and the Deteriation Period

2.4.1.2.1. The General Economic Structure of Turkey and Grand Bazaar

The modernization period of the Grand Bazaar could be characterized by the transformation from the guild type of production organization to the capitalist type of production organization. Especially after the guild system's abolishment, the rules also vanished, so producers tried to find a way to adapt to the capitalist system (Gülersoy, 1979: 51; Sönmez, 1993: 16). In this period, there were some important political and economic events. The Wealth Tax¹² in 1942, the

¹²A law that was designed in order to transfer big acquisitions to the state made from the war period's inflation rates. The way of application showed that the aim was discouraging non-Muslim merchants in Izmir and in Istanbul and encouraging Muslim-Turkish merchants, especially in foreign trading. During the application, different criteria were carried out for Greek, Armenian, and Jewish citizens of the Turkish Republic. After this taxation system, most of the non-Muslims had to sell their possessions. As a result of this application, a big change occurred in the ethnic structure of Istanbul's population that operated in trade and industry (Tezel, 2002: 262).

immigration of non-Muslim communities from Turkey and Istanbul with the 6-7 September events¹³ in 1955 and the immigration of Greeks with the Cyprus events¹⁴ in 1963-1964 decreased the population of Turkey and also Istanbul. After this time, Turks' numbers increased in trade zones, and manufacturing became the basic sector (Istanbul, 2000: 35).

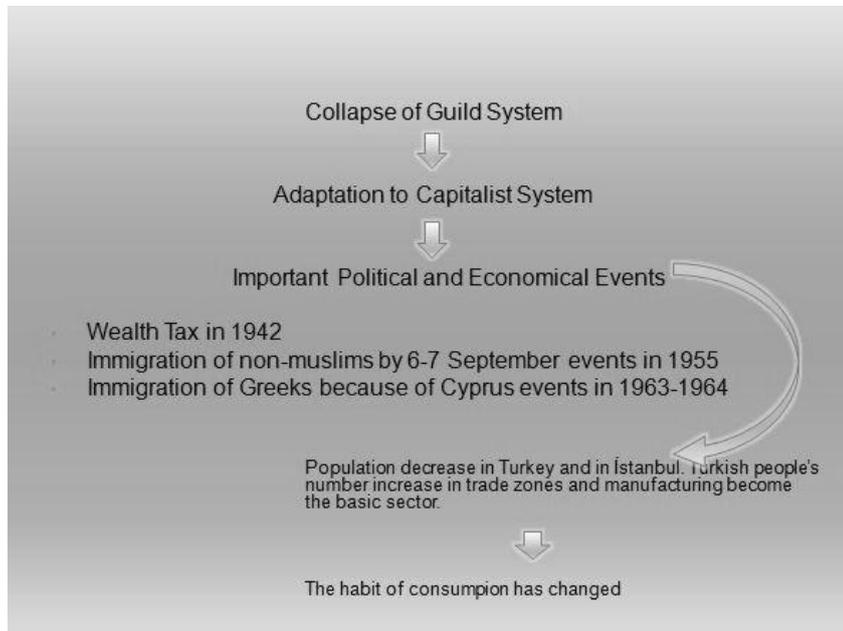


Figure 6: The Collapse of Guild System, Figure prepared by author

The transformation was maintained during this time all over the world. The habit of consumption had changed, especially after World War II (Orçan, 2004: 27). Forty years following the end of the Second World War, reinforcement of commercialization of agricultural production and transformation of village

¹³Experiences of 6-7 September 1955, which were later called the 6-7 September Events, had dissolved the cosmopolitan and multicultural structure of Istanbul and also Turkey (Çavdar, 2000). It is said that these events were activities in order to provide unity for Turkey (Güven, 2006: 130).

¹⁴The Cyprus Republic had been established in 1960 by an alliance that was signed by Turkey, Greece, England, and Cyprus. This alliance could not solve the problems, and on 23 December 1963, a slaughter known as Bloody Noel happened. In the conference held on 13 January 1964, the alliance was abolished. After the continuing of slaughter, the Turkish Republic consulted the United Nation's Security Council. The problems could not be solved in this council and the Turkish Government took authority in order to interfere in Cyprus. A peace establishment was founded in 1964. In the statement that was constituted by the negotiation of Turkish and American officials, it was highlighted that all the alliances were in operation (Tosun, 2001).

households into differentiated commodity producers were increased by agricultural credits (Akşit, 1993: 5).

After the 1950s, according to the changes in population, socioeconomic structure, spatial structure, marketing places, and mode of production were also changed. According to the growing transportation networks, the regional markets became more and more integrated (Akşit, 1988b; Mardin, 1989 in Akşit, 1993: 5).

The capitalist class, which was formed in the Republic period, had more power in the 1950s and 1960s. In this era, industrialization and mechanization increased and the priority of production became a provision of the market's needs (Işık & Erol, 2002: 75-78).

According to the industrial production that replaced the agricultural production, modernization in agriculture and limited lands as a result of the decreasing death rates caused migration from rural to urban areas and became heterogeneous for the cities along the following lines of being from the same village, town, city, or province, and living in the squatter housing versus zoned and planned urban housing (Akşit, 1993: 4). Massive rural-to-urban migrations during the second half of the 1950s and 1960s were sure evidence of depeasantization (Akşit, 1993: 9).

The 1960s were a period in which the foreign trading trend was taking hold by stable exchange rates and quotas. This political system caused the corruption of the state's mechanisms against bigger profits (Boratav, 2007: 127).

While the service sector's average rate was 46% in national income between 1960 and 1961, it rose to 51.7% between 1975 and 1976. Thus, the unproductive part of the economy extended faster than industry. According to all of this, industrialization could not create enough employment, and urbanization materialized before industrialization (Boratav, 2007: 131). Unemployment caused

by the inadequate industrial activities was prevented by the service sector and also the marginal sectors.



Figure 7: The Processes After 1950s, Figure prepared by author

During the 1960s, the Grand Bazaar was the central market of Istanbul with the characteristics of keeping the service sector and the production activities of various crafts together. It was a common thing to get all needs, from household goods to wedding dresses and jewelry, from the Grand Bazaar (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 268).

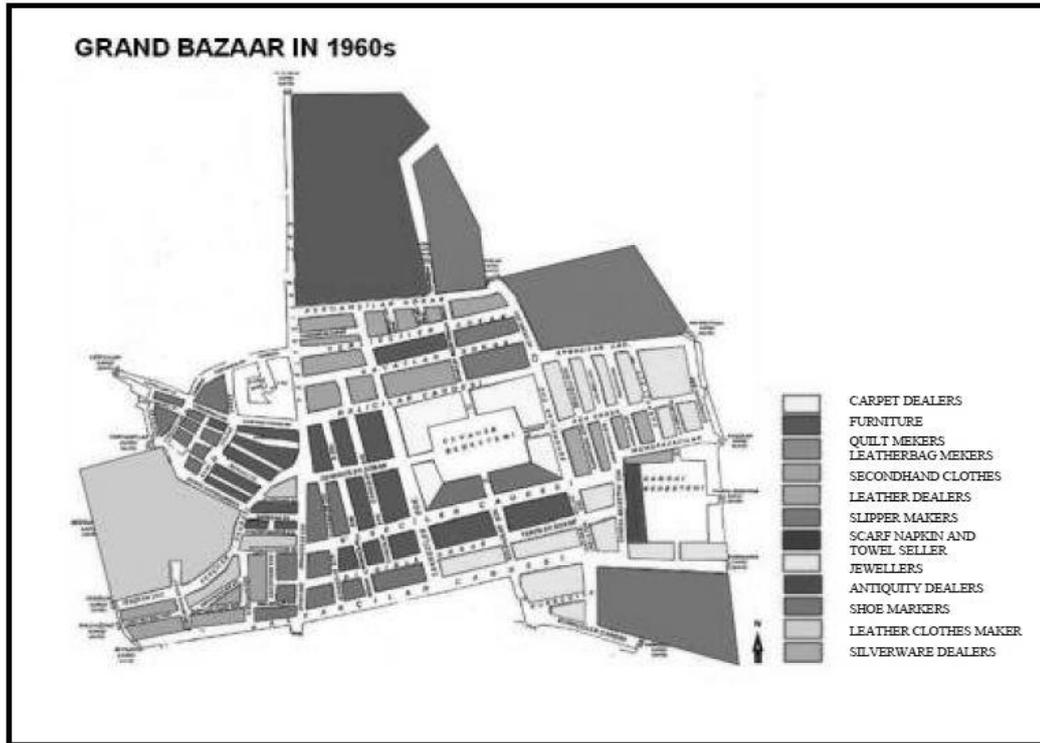


Figure 8: Grand Bazaar in 1960s , Köroğlu, Eceral, Uğurlar (2009)

Especially with the development of touristic activities, touristic businesses developed in the Grand Bazaar at the end of the 1960s. With the various characteristics of customers, the Grand Bazaar's variety was also differentiated. Thus, the Bazaar carried on reflecting the social and economic structure of its time.

After the 1960s, jewelry and diamond masters became more dominant in the Grand Bazaar (BAP, 2008: 27). Jewelers were the most crowded and historic craftsmen in the Grand Bazaar. Popular love and desire for jewelry made the jewelers a favorite, and also with the interests of tourists, the number of jewelers increased. There were 279 jewelers in 1960 and this number increased to 364 by 1972 (Sönmez, 1993). With this increase in jewelers, new masters and apprentices were joining the sector.

After 1974, in parallel with the oil prices, Turkey tried to cope with economic stagnation by short-term loans. Thus, the economic crisis, which could have been over by 1974-75 with some precautions, got bigger in 1977 (Boratav, 2007: 140).

After 1977, the devaluation that was applied as an exceptional operation became an ordinary adjustment (Boratav, 2007: 129).

In this period, it can be said that there were higher growth rates in the national product than in the previous period. The industry sector contributed to the national product more than agriculture. Besides this, the most spectacular change in this period was the service sector's extreme inflation (Boratav, 2007: 130).

In 1978 and 1979, stagnation in importation rates and national product and the beginning of an increased tendency in exportations occurred (Boratav, 2007: 142). The largest capital owners began to want safer investment environments (Acar, 2004: 96).



Figure 9: The Processes After 1960s, Figure prepared by author

In 1980s, country was not only in an economic chaos but also in politic crisis (Boratav, 2007: 148).

In 1980, Prime Minister Ecevit resigned and Demirel set up a new government. He gave the assignment of preparing a stability program to Turgut Özal, who was

the counselor of the Prime Minister's office (Boratav, 2007: 146). In these times, the industry did not have competitive capacity, so the new government stated a liberalization program on 24 January 1980, which aimed to restructure the economy (Acar, 2004: 96).

The basic goal of this program was creating market prices as a characteristic component in the process of national economic accumulation and distribution mechanizations of sources, and also expansion, which continued with the assistance of the state in order to prevent corruption (Yeldan, 2006: 39). Increased price control, providing deregulation in and out of the country, the strengthening of capital against labor, and the creating of a new structure to oppose labor with the help of the political transformation of the era were the basic elements of this neoliberal program (Boratav, 2007: 148).

With the effects of these applications, a globalization phase started after the 1980s and was completed in 1989-1990. In this term, the commodity market was opened to foreign markets and importation policies were liberalized (Yeldan, 2006: 40).

After the 1980s, bigger capital groups tried to persuade public authorities. At this time, the assistance of the state mostly supported these large capital groups. The capital groups tried to solidify and impress other groups. Because of this, medium-sized enterprises could not develop. After 1980, the new government generally carried out arrangements for big enterprises (Istanbul, 2000: 35). The exchange rate was more flexible than before and industries were directed to exportation with some assistance. With these policies, the current deficit grew, causing external borrowings (Yeldan, 2006: 46).

In 1984, foreign exchange rates were liberalized, and in 1989, government control of transactions involving foreign currency was abrogated so that the capital movements went freely in and out of the state. The Capital Markets Board was established in 1986, oriented to the market of national finance, and the Istanbul

Stock Exchange was established again. Besides this, the Central Bank started open market operations in 1987. At the end of this process, the dependence of the national economy on exterior sources had increased, the production structure was undulating, and all of this caused negative change in the income distribution (Yeldan, 2006: 55-60).

There were two reactions of the nation to the opposition of labor policies from 1980 to 1988. First were the SEKA and Zonguldak strikes, and the other was ANAP's defeat in the local elections (Boratav, 2007: 176). The proletariat of Turkey turned the situation of ten years' of negative conditions to their side in 1989. On the other hand, in the years after 1989, severance and nonunionization become common in the private sector, and there was an extension in employment structures, which were always far away, carrying out work laws (Boratav, 2007: 177).

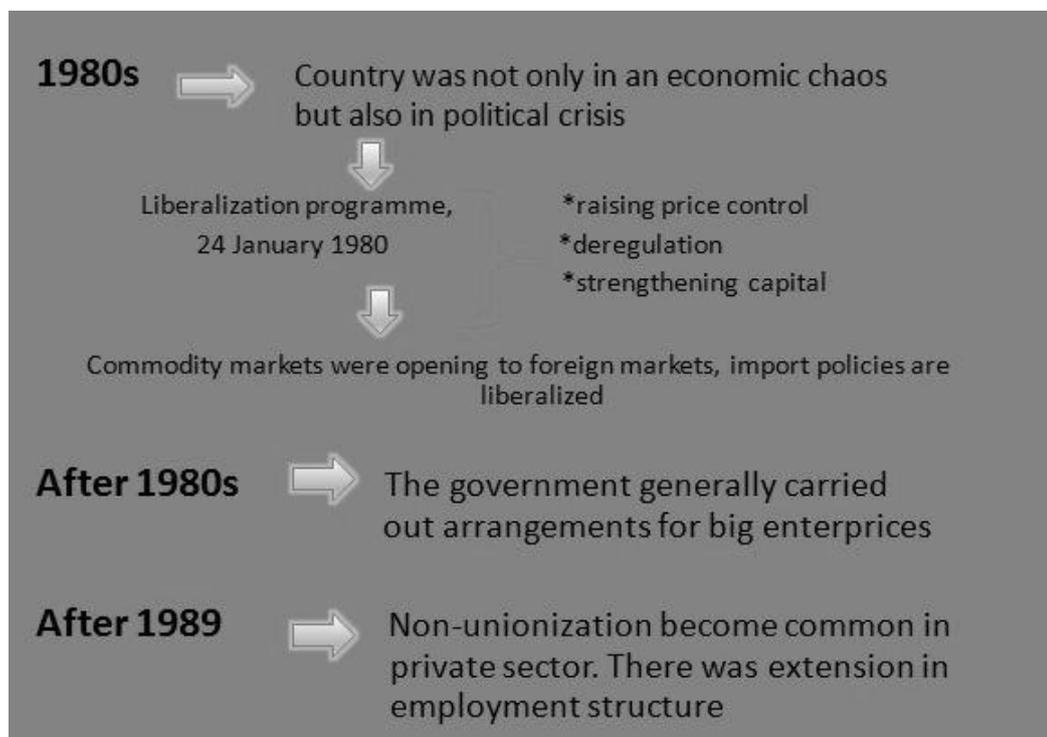


Figure 10: The Processes After 1980s, Figure prepared by author

Liberal economical policies of 1980-1990 changed marketing places in qualitative and quantitative ways with the reduction in taxation, permission for imported

products, development of textile industry, development of the welfare state, and increasing interest in consumption as a lifestyle as a result of globalization (Istanbul, 2000: 35).

Reflecting these times to the Grand Bazaar, there was an emergence of a gold market and a currency market in the Bazaar. Thus, silver and gold labor became an important trade and production function. Especially after 1983, gold amounts increased in jewelry shop windows with the effects of liberalization (BAP, 2008: 28).

There was a one-to-one connection between economic liberalization and the gold market. For success in the Turkish gold market, it was necessary to stimulate potential by liberalization. One of the potential economic areas was the gold sector. There were important potentials in jewelry production and jewelry exportation. This potential was not realized in the liberalization program at first, but appeared during the liberalization program implementations.

The jewelry sector became the third biggest sector with state assistance, after the textile and automotive sectors, in the Özal period. Yearly exportations were 180-200 tons, with 6-7 factories out of 30-40 total factories engaging in particularly large scale manufacturing.

All of the jewelers were from or connected to the Grand Bazaar. Jewelers' production portion belonging to the Grand Bazaar reached half of the total production, and 9 were from the Grand Bazaar out of the first 10 (Kapalıçarşı, 2007: 264). Gold and silver crafts became an important production source and trade function, and in this period, the gold market was born in the Bazaar. In 1972, there were 22 professional groups in the Grand Bazaar. In 1993, it was 13 (Sönmez, 1993: 18). Between 1972 and 1993, jeweler numbers increased by 49% and their number reached 538 (Sönmez, 1993: 18).

Nonetheless, with the deterioration of the Bazaar, the handcraftsmanship and the effect of local culture in the production process had decreased dramatically. The

trade and production activities changed and handmade craftsmanship and traditional structures started to change the manufactured goods (Köroğlu, Eceral, Uğurlar, 2009: 386).

In the 1980s, national economic crises, the result of stagnation in local and national markets, crises, and a tendency to integration to foreign markets, affected the Bazaar. In this context, the number of exchange offices increased in the Bazaar with the growing foreign currency usage of the last 10-15 years (Köroğlu, Eceral, Uğurlar, 2009: 386).

After 1990, in Turkey, economic growth was only based on external capital, which caused economic crises (1980, 1994, 1999). The uncontrolled liberalization that began in the 1990s created the basic source of economic unsteadiness. Thus, the 2000s began with unstable macroeconomics and a confused income distribution structure (Yeldan, 2006: 79-88).

By the 1990s, the Grand Bazaar had come to a turning point with the effects of the Gulf War. The most important client groups from the US and Japan were separated from Turkey. They were warned not to go to Turkey due to security problems. Accordingly, Istanbul had become a 3-day, 250-euro tourism center, an achievement that still lasts today (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007: 269). Hence, the traditional craftsmanship and craft productions left. The names of the streets no longer reflect the production groups in the Bazaar. They are only names of history. Unrelated businesses have taken the place of traditional craftsmanship. This also materialized in the jewelry sector because manufactured goods started to take the place of handmade products (Köroğlu, Eceral, Uğurlar, 2009: 384).

Hence, with the increasing role of the manufacturing process in jewelry, production within the center of the city became a problem. The chemicals that were used in the jewelry process caused pollution in and around the Bazaar (Köroğlu, Eceral, Uğurlar, 2009: 386).

According to this, some of jewelers had to move to another place, out of the Grand Bazaar. Some of the craftsmen had to close down their workshops because of the economic crises, and some of them changed their production structure from traditional to mechanic.

CHAPTER III

CASE STUDY: GRAND BAZAAR – ISTANBUL

3.1. Data Collection

In the present study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 18 participants (10 of them masters, 5 of them apprentices, and 3 of them representatives of bigger firms in Kuyumcukent or those who used to work in the Grand Bazaar). Before the implementation, interview questions were discussed with scholars who had studied similar subjects.

The interviews were held in a friendly climate. Most of the participants were eager to show and present their work. The intimacy of the conversations was very helpful in learning about the work processes, social interactions, and work ethic in this sector.

Qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews in the study. The transcripts of the interviews were analyzed according to the qualitative analysis procedures. Marshall and Rossman (1999) state that the analysis of data includes ordering, structuring, and interpreting the mass of collected data. The six steps for analyzing data were followed, as suggested by them:

- Organizing the data
- Generating categories and themes
- Coding the data
- Testing the emergent understanding, considering masters' and apprentices' individual differences
- Searching for alternative explanations
- Writing the report

Likewise, Herrington and Oliver (2000) provide the process of coding the data for qualitative analysis. Interviews were also analyzed according to this process as:

- Coding
- Ordering and display
- Conclusion drawing
- Verifying

During the data analysis in this study, the steps are followed carefully. After doing the interviews, a general overview of the data was made and the actual coding process was started. After the coding was complete, all of the interviews were rescanned and ordered. With the help of the coding, main categories were extracted from the transcripts. Four main categories were finally identified to form the basis for the final analysis. These were the sociodemographic structure, the craftsmanship and knowledge, the work ethic, and the Grand Bazaar and the jewelry sector. In the last three steps, a common topic was the social networks of craftsmen. The final step involved making an interpretation and providing an overall portrait of masters' and apprenticeships' views.

Joppe (2000) explains the validity in qualitative research:

Validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. In other words, does the research instrument allow you to hit "the bull's eye" of your research object? Researchers generally determine validity by asking a series of questions, and will often look for the answers in the research of others (p. 1).

Validity in qualitative research is the consistency of a participant's manner in different situations, saying similar things (Hoffman, 1996: 89).

In this study, to guaranty the validity, a literature review was made carefully. Newspapers and magazines that contained jewelry masters' life stories and interviews were also collected and studied.

In this study, a standard interview form was used in order to protect validity. During the interviews, a recording device or visual recording method was not used. The entire conversation was recorded by taking notes with another person's

help. In this process, the participants' answers were recorded carefully. Then, the two sets of notes were combined. The interviews took from 45 minutes to two hours for each participant. The interview time depended on the communicativeness of the participants and their characteristics and personality, such as their talkativeness and readiness for sharing ideas.

Joppe (2000) defines reliability as:

The extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study is referred to as reliability and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable (p. 1).

In qualitative research, studies should provide effective information about the date and the experiences, and also should provide the participants appropriateness for the date and place with his or her experiences (Lummis, 1998: 273).

In order to guarantee reliability in this study, as said above, first a literature review was done. Libraries like Bilkent, METU, and the National Library were investigated and sources about craftsmanship, the jewelry sector, and the Grand Bazaar were collected and studied. Other sources about the topic, like magazines, memoirs, and novels, were also incorporated into the analysis.

The method of developing interviews was effective in order to guarantee the reliability of interviews. To provide reliability of the content, a first interview was conducted with an Armenian master whom I had previously met in an earlier investigation about the jewelry sector. He directed me to other masters who were experts in their occupation. Thus, following a snowball technique, I reached the interviewees. Sometimes group interviews were also conducted in order to support the reliability.

3.2. Sample and Methodology

The field research, i.e. the conduction of the interviews, lasted about a week.¹⁵ Experience from a project in which I worked in this sector was also useful for collecting observations of the field.

During these face-to-face semi-structured interviews with the masters and apprentices, intensive and close relations were established. The snowball technique seemed most appropriate to reach the interviewees. In this method, the researcher starts the investigation with a person who can illuminate the topic, and during the research, participant numbers increase like a snowball.

Thus, as described above, a first interview was conducted with an Armenian master, who was referenced before. After that, every master directed me to other masters, and finally interviews were carried out with 10 masters in all. The criteria in order to be chosen as an interview partner were: working in the sector and considering oneself as an artisan craftsman. The interviews were carried out with 4 Armenian, 2 Greek, 1 Syrian, and 3 Turkish masters.

Interviews with apprentices were also held by the same method and five (two of them were masters' apprentices) interviews were done in total.

3.3. Limitations of the study

The jewelry sector is little studied from the social science perspective. It is possible to investigate traditional and older knowledge and new knowledge all together in the Grand Bazaar, but this kind of study requires a qualitative research method.

¹⁵That was carried out for a TÜBİTAK project named "Metropolitan Alanlarda Sanayi Kümeleri, Üretim İlişkileri: İstanbul'da Kuyumculuk Sektörünün Mekansal Kümelenmesi" about jewelry

In this study, the suitable research method seemed to be interviews because of the lack of written sources about work ethics and lifestyles of craftsmen. The validity of this study is limited to the reliability of the instruments used. Therefore, the instruments in the study and the interviewed participants were chosen carefully.

Local organizations like the Grand Bazaar Association of Artisans and Jeweler Unions cannot supply a written list about the number of craftsmen. Therefore, reaching the craftsmen took time. Besides this, the number of apprentices finally interviewed was limited, a result of the fact that the number of apprentices in this sector is extremely small. The masters were close to apprentices during the interviews and this situation also created limitations in the answers.

3.4. Analysis of the Interviews with the Masters and Apprentices

Interviews were carried out in workshops in and around the Grand Bazaar and also in workshops in khans. The interview questions are in the appendix.

Khans can be defined as buildings with a rectangle plan and an inner court that is surrounded by a porch. They always have one entrance, because of security problems. There is no window on the ground floor. Craftsmen from different religions and different ethnicities can be members of the same khan. Khans are only for men; there are no women working in them. With these characteristics, it can be said that khans are connection places with a semi-private character (Küçükerman & Mortan, 2007).

When we look at the workshops, we can form an idea about not only their physical structure, but also the economic conditions of the masters. Some of the workshops have waiting rooms for guests. In one of workshop's waiting room, there were oil paintings on the walls and antiques on the tables. There was also a

clusters, in which I was a project assistant, prepared by Bilge Armatlı Koroğlu, Çiğdem Varol, Nihan Özdemir Sönmez, Tanyel Özelçi Ecerel, and Aysu Uğurlar.

big bookcase, which contained books about history and art. In the same workshop, there was a private place for education.

Most workshops have showcases for their products. Especially *sadekar*¹⁶ masters have showcases in their workshops. The products are categorized. Rings, necklaces, and earrings are all presented in different sections. The more valuable ones are not shown in the showcases. They are always shown when the customer is interested in other models. If the master thinks the customer is interested in the jewels, he will show the most valuable ones. This system is not valid in bigger firms, which usually produce more than one of each product and try to show all of the jewels that they are producing.

Notwithstanding that most waiting rooms and showcases are designed well, the production place is always behind the waiting room or showcase of the workshop and is generally a small, messy, and dark place. They seem “unorganized,” but there is an order and they are designed in accordance with the production process. There is always a stall in the production place. It is a working table designed privately for the jewelers. The table’s edges are carved (to the inside) in order to put the master closer to the product. There is one person for each carving. Generally, there are two to five people in the workshops. Stalls are designed for the number of employees. For example, if there are four people, there is a square table with four carvings. If there are six people, one side of the table will have two carvings. There is always a mechanism on the top of the table, situated in the center. With this mechanism, the master-journeyman and apprentice can look at a product at the same time. The production place’s dimensions only allow it to be put in the stall.

¹⁶They are craftsmen who first create sketches with precious metals. They are masters who can produce every kind of product with small hand tools.

There is no window, or there are smaller ones in production places. The furniture is always old. In one of the workshops, which has an expertise in *mihlama*,¹⁷ a chemistry laboratory is found, because of the materials they are using. The stalls are their dinner tables, too. Most of them eat their meals in the stall. When lunch time comes, the materials in stalls are removed for a short time.

Another characteristic activity in the workshops is drinking tea. It is important to offer tea to each other and customers. A master uses a gold tea glass and tea spoon that he has created when offering tea to his guests.

The concentration on the product is very important in the workshops, so master and apprentices try not to talk while working. There are always only machine noises and eventually music. Masters generally like Turkish classical music and mystical music.

There is no handle on the door inside the workshop. If you want to get out of the workshop, you must tell the master or apprentice, and they will press a button in order to open the door. This is considered an important security measure.

Besides the smaller workshops, there are bigger firms in the sector with important differences. They look like jewelry factories. Generally, high walls surround the firms. The most important thing about the firms is the institutionalization and specialization. Each person in the firm does a part of the job. There is a high division of labor in these firms. Firms generally have modern security systems. There are rooms for administrators with expensive furniture. Besides this, there are also R & D, laboratories, design studios, and meeting rooms in the firms.

¹⁷Masters who carve gold, gold products and place precious stones there.

3.4.1. Interview Results

In this chapter, results of the study in regard to the research questions are presented. In the following part, the interviews of masters and apprentices and the interviews of owners of bigger firms¹⁸ active in and around Kuyumcukent¹⁹ will be analyzed in order to show and make a comparison about the characteristics of the sector. At the end of the chapter, the findings of the study are summarized.

The interview results provide insights into the perceptions of masters and apprentices about their occupations, and also show and propose some ideas about the eventual future of the sector.

Under the research theme, data from investigation of the master and apprenticeship relationship and the sustainability of the craftsmanship of the Grand Bazaar jewelry sector are evaluated in sub-categories. These sub-categories are the topics that relate to the socio-demographic structure of masters and apprentices, work ethic and out-of-work activities (working hours, etc.), and the Grand Bazaar and the jewelry sector (production, workshop information, security information, jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar and Turkey, and ownership information). These sub-categories are presented respectively.

3.4.1.1. Masters

3.4.1.1.1. Socio-demographic Structure

Interviews were given to 10 masters, 4 of them Armenian, 2 of them Greek, 1 of them Syrian, and 3 of them Turkish. Their scopes of occupation also varied like their ethnicities. Four of them were *sadekar* masters, two of them were *mihlayıcı*,

¹⁸That was carried out for a TÜBİTAK project named “Metropolitan Alanlarda Sanayi Kümeleri, Üretim İlişkileri: İstanbul'da Kuyumculuk Sektörünün Mekansal Kümelenmesi” about jewelry clusters, in which I was a project assistant, prepared by Bilge Armatlı Köroğlu, Çığdem Varol, Nihan Özdemir Sönmez, Tanyel Özelçi Eceral and Aysu Uğurlar.

¹⁹A modern cluster of jewelry producers with a systematized infrastructure, two kilometers from Atatürk Airport.

one of them was a *montur*²⁰ master, one was a *cilaci*²¹ master, and two were working in gold production, like rings and bracelets. All of them were male.²²

As seen in Table 1, the masters were generally born in Istanbul. All of them are male and all of them are married, except M6. Only two of them have children working in the jewelry sector (M7 and M8). Most of their children are young, generally students in pre- and high schools. From this information, masters were asked if they want their children to sustain their occupation and if they encourage their children to continue working in this sector. For example, one of the masters said:

“They have to study their lessons. I don't want to teach anything about my occupation” (M2).

One of the other masters added:

“My son had worked in the jewelry sector for about 15 years and then he quit because of the economic problems in the sector. Now he is working in another sector” (M9).

Some of them said that their children's ideas are important in shaping their future, and some of them said that they are against the idea of their children following their occupations because of economic reasons.

²⁰The way of placing precious materials in jewels.

²¹Master who shines products. It is the last stage of the production process.

²²See also “Women in the Jewelry Sector.

Table.1: Sociodemographic Structures of Masters

Masters	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10
Year Of Birth	1965	1972	1972	1967	1950	1972	1944	1952	1937	1972
Place Of Birth	Istanbul	Ankara	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	Malatya	Istanbul
Family Hometown	Istanbul	Ankara	Istanbul	Istanbul	Istanbul	Sivas	Istanbul	Istanbul	Malatya	Sivas
Ethnicity	Armenian	Syrian	Greek	Armenian	Armenian	Turkish	Armenian	Greek	Turkish	Turkish
Year Of Migration	-	1982	-	-	-	-	-	-	1950	-
Year To Starting Work	1974	1982	1984	1980	1961	1990	1956	1964	1954	1989
Scope	<i>Sadekar</i>	<i>Sadekar</i>	<i>Cilacı</i>	<i>Mihlayıcı</i>	<i>Sadekar</i>	<i>Sadekar</i>	<i>Montur</i>	<i>Mihlayıcı</i>	Gold production	Engagement ring master
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Single	Married	Married	Married	Married
Occupation Of Wife	Bank clerk	Not working	Not working	Not working	Not working	-	Not working	Not working	Not working	Not working
Children Information / Daughter	1/Student	-	-	2/Student	1/Not working	-	-	-	1/Not working	-
Son	1/Student	2/Student	1/Student	-	1/Artisan	-	1/Diamond expert	<i>Mihlayıcı</i> , artisan	1/Artisan	-
Apprentices	2	1	1	*Has not had an apprentice for 8 years	-	-	-	1	1	-
Journeyman	2	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-

3.4.1.1.2. Craftsmanship and knowledge

Who Can Be a Craftsman?

With the findings on the knowledge of the craft, the basic characteristics of craftsmen and their perception of the occupation can be understood. Apart from this, the process of being a master and a craftsman was investigated. In this context, first, it is important how and when the masters started to work in this sector. Most said that they had started to work between 13 and 18 years of age and that they worked as an apprentice for approximately 10-15 years at first. This information shows that there is a problem of child labor.

According to the interviews held in the TÜBİTAK investigation, 126 jewelry firms out of 346 (36% of the firms) employed people between 12-21 years of age. This data also strengthens the issue of child labor in the sector.

The reason to start working at early ages is always according to their educational life. Most of them left school at early ages and their families committed them to a master, who is always a relative or an acquaintance, based on the trust concept.

There are some masters who continued their education and jobs at the same time. For example, one of them stated that:

“When I was a child, I was working in the semesters and summers when school was off. I took up with jewelry when I couldn’t get through university” (M1).

In the context of craft knowledge, one of the questions that was asked of masters was who can be a craftsman and how can the job be learned. Generally, the interviewees shared a common answer to this question. They said that desire, patience, and aesthetics are important concepts for craftsmanship. They are properties that every craftsman should have. They mentioned that patience and

desire are important for sustainability and aesthetics is valuable for professional manner. They mentioned that a craftsman can only be differentiated from a jewelry merchant by his having aesthetic merits. Because of this, all masters highlighted the importance of a 'soul.'

One participant stated:

"The real thing is a soul. Ability and desire are innate. Craftsmanship in the jewelry sector needs soul, art, and passion. It couldn't be learned. It can be developed, but if there is no creativity it isn't valuable to being a jeweler" (M1).

Another participant said:

"Apprentices learn the details of the occupation from the journeyman by watching, and they strengthen the knowledge with the master's experiences" (M2).

Another one believes that occupation can be learned, and added:

"Jewelry is an occupation that can be learned. But there must be soul in the production process. If there is not, it is worthless" (M4).

Another master shows the importance of practice as soul and aesthetic and said:

"The occupation can be learned with practice, not from books" (M5). He highlighted the importance of the master-apprentice relationship.

Additionally, character and honesty are other important components of being a craftsman.

One participant stated that:

"It is important to have patience and experience in this occupation. It isn't acceptable to be inappropriate as a human being and as a worker" (M10).

From this, it is seen that there are some highlighted concepts for being a craftsman. Trust is an especially important concept in the master-apprentice relationship. Other important concepts are patience and aesthetic merit in order to create jewelry as a craft.

Can They Do Any Other Job Except Jewelry?

Another question posed to the masters was whether they did or wanted to do any other job except working in the jewelry sector. Most of them said that they had not tried another job from the beginning, and they thought they could not succeed in another job now.

One of them said:

“We are born to do this job. It is our life” (M1).

However, there were some masters who did another job at the beginning.

One participant stated:

“I started working as a repairman. I repaired automobiles, electronic machines, etc. I couldn’t keep on doing this job and I started jewelry when I was 18, which is an elderly age for jewelry. They didn’t want to accept me because of my age, but my master saw my ability for the occupation and I continued working as an apprentice. I want to have another job. But it is too late to learn” (M6).

Likewise, another participant (M7) used to work as a repairman and as a lathe operator after middle school. Then he started working as an apprentice and did not want to consider another job.

It is seen that masters who did other jobs before jewelry require a new manual ability.

Can You Describe Your Master?

This question was asked in order to understand how the education and training processes and the relationship between the interviewees and their masters had been. As shown above, some of the participants were sent to relatives and some of them started working with their acquaintances. For example, one of the participants (M1) had his uncle for a master. He lives in Canada now and is 78 years old. He migrated to Canada like many others in the 1980s because of the socioeconomic and political situation in Turkey, and also because of a lack of appreciation, as was reported by the respondent.

Another participant stated:

“This occupation has a family circle. My master was my uncle” (M2).

Another told that he learned all of the details of the occupation from his father, who is a silver master (M4).

Another important issue was that different ethnicities did not always accept other ethnicities as apprentices. A Turkish master said:

“My master was an Armenian. They prefer to work with Armenians, but he accepted me because of my character. I have values like justice and living with less, which are the characteristics of Islam, and because of these reasons, my master trusted me” (M6).

From this, the importance of family and ethnic and religious linkages appear. The sector is closed to new people who do not have a linkage with a jeweler family member or a jeweler acquaintance.

Another question was about what their masters are doing now. Most of them said that their masters died, while some of them keep working and others have immigrated. When the reasons for migration were asked, the Armenian or Greek masters did not want to express their ideas about the topic and said generally that

the masters migrated because of economic reasons. When the same question was asked to the other masters, they highlighted that they wanted to, but they could not go abroad. Armenian and Greek masters generally also have relatives or friends in different countries. Masters generally think that Armenian and Greek masters have a deeper knowledge of the occupation, often linked to “their genetics or blood,” and they are also more advantaged according to their social linkages, which depend on ethnic and religious connections, for continuing their occupations abroad. The social network is important for the sustainability of the sector. Masters produce and sell their products with the help of these networks, so having social linkages in other countries simplifies the master’s survival abroad.

What Is Your Benchmark While You Chose an Apprentice?

The concept of trust was important for this topic.

One participant expressed:

“We are a team. If we start to interrogate trust, we can’t produce anything. If we have a problem, it will reflect in our product. In our occupation, the important thing is concentration” (M1).

The same participant continued:

“I don’t employ ordinary persons. It is very important to know the apprentice in advance. Besides this, I carry out some tests on apprentices. Security is also important in the workshop. Our occupation is based on the trust concept” (M1).

The value of being acquaintances and the case of trust can be clearly understood. In older times, families committed their child to masters in order to employ them, and they gave money to facilitate it. It is different now. Youth work as apprentices in order to earn money, and when they get bored, they can leave the job easily.

According to one master:

“Families committed their children and said that ‘he is your flesh, my bones,’ but now we can’t find appropriate and new apprentices, there is no demand for the occupation. The expectations of apprentices get bigger and they have no patience in order to learn the details of the occupation” (M2).

The expectations for the occupation are different. Masters only want to educate an apprentice, but apprentices want to also earn money. So, masters are always complaining about the lack of apprentices in the sector.

Another participant said:

“The apprentice is so important, because dialogue first happens between apprentice and customer, and an apprentice also reflects the master’s character. So, masters behave very carefully while choosing apprentices” (M3).

From these answers, we can see the importance of dialogue between customer and apprentice according to the trust of the customers in the master’s production.

One participant highlighted the relationship between master and apprentice and said:

“In the older days, apprentices were handed over to masters and they learned all the details of the occupation until they were sent to the army. In this period, masters continued to send money to the apprentices. It was a kind of guarantee of life. By the end of the military service, the apprentice opened his own workshop with the help of his master. In addition, the master recommended some of his customers to his old apprentice in order to encourage him” (M4).

As it is seen, being a member of the sector requires social linkages. In this example, the master-apprentice relationship is highlighted.

Another anticipated topic was the number of apprentices and journeymen who are working with masters. There were different answers, which are shown in Table 1. Some of the masters did not have an apprentice. They said that economic conditions do not allow it. Beside this, there are few apprentices who work with desire. So, the masters highlighted that they cannot find an appropriate apprentice. One of them (M10) employs an apprentice whenever he needs one. Generally, they said that apprentices are impatient and rash, so masters can employ apprentices for shorter terms.

Trade Schools and Education of Apprentice

The opinions of masters about trade schools are important in order to understand the occupation's future. Masters behave as carefully about the education of the apprentice as in the choosing of an apprentice.

One of the participants mentioned:

“I educated my seven apprentices with seven different ways. I believe everybody is different and they understand in different ways. So, my whole goal is to be aware of these differences and educate them according to their subject of interests” (M5).

Another highlighted the difficulty in educating an apprentice in Turkey and said:

“It is so difficult to find an apprentice in the process of an eight-year, continuous education process. Children grow up while they are educated in schools and they get to old for being an apprentice. They get into a flap for exams and they don't think about having an occupation like a craftsman in this process” (M6).

There were different answers about trade schools. Some thought that these schools are necessary, and some thought that they cannot replace a master's education. They all highlighted the importance of learning by doing, face-to-face relationships, and practice. Some of them said that there must be trade schools and masters all together.

One of the participants said about this topic that:

“Trade schools are necessary, but our occupation can't be learned in two or four years. It is an occupation that needs soul, desire, and skill. What can you teach in four years? I started when I was a child. I came to work in semesters and I could discover my ability when I was younger” (M1).

Another participant discussed the benefits of trade schools and added:

“They are necessary, but there is less practice. It's a big problem, I think” (M2).

Another likeminded participant said:

“There is much theoretic information in the trade schools” (M3).

Another one expressed that:

“Our occupation can't continue with this standard system, because in our occupation, education should be individual and private. Besides this, most craftsmen don't like schools and they left schools when they were younger. So, there is a contradiction between craftsmanship and school. When a child goes to trade school, he can be bored by school quickly because of the theoretic base of the education system” (M5).

A master who thinks that there are too many theoretic lessons in trade schools said that:

“I think education is inadequate. Students get confused in practice because they are learning theoretical things” (M6).

Another one said, in order to highlight the importance of craftsman-apprentice relationship in education:

“Trade schools are inadequate. The occupation can't be learned with no or less practice. The occupation works with practice. Only knowledge can't maintain craftsmanship. It needs also character, aspect, and taste. They can't be learned in

schools. An apprentice can only learn by looking to his master. So, the relationship between master and apprentice is indispensable in education” (M8).

Another participant pointed out the uselessness of theoretical education and said that:

“The teachers in schools are not masters in the occupation. Their knowledge and skill are also limited. My nephew goes to a school like that and he is only learning theoretical information. If the lessons in schools can’t connect to a master’s education in the workshop, the education will be useless” (M9).

Tacit knowledge is very important in the jewelry sector, which is highlighted in the literature review. Masters all highlighted the importance of practice and face-to-face education, which depends on tacit knowledge, and they generally thought that trade schools need to develop the practice side of their education.

Awards and Punishments

It was also asked if masters give awards or punishment to their apprentices. Most of them said they do not.

One of the participants thinks that they are necessary and said:

“I carry out this kind of method. There aren’t strict rules, but, for example, I don’t give responsibility to my apprentice in order to give a punishment. Awards are limited. A master is always capricious and doesn’t like everything. He always criticizes a product and if he criticizes, it is a good thing for the apprentice” (M1).

Another said that he did not carry out any punishments, but he appreciates his apprentice as an award (M3).

Another master thinks that:

“I can’t carry out a punishment for my journeyman, because he is approximately at the same age as me and he has children. I don’t want to let him down” (M6).

From this, it is seen that awards and punishments are about the production process and recognize the apprentice’s character.

3.4.1.1.3. Work Ethic and Social Life

In this part, working methods and social lives are examined. In this context, working hours were asked. Generally, craftsmen said that they start working at 8 a.m. in the morning and stop working at 7 p.m. in the evening. They stop working at 3 or 4 p.m. on Saturdays. Sundays are always vacation days.

About this topic, a master said that:

“For me, 8-10 a.m. and 6-8 p.m. weekdays are the most productive hours because the telephone and the doorbell ring less in these hours. The other factor that affects my working concentration is the weather. The changes of the weather really affect my products. I think jewelry is a kind of art and we are artists, so it is normal be influenced by weather and working hours” (M1).

Another participant mentioned:

“I work flexibly. I have an irregular system. Evening and morning, weekday and weekend are same for me. There are no differences, I think. My working hours only change according to the density of my work” (M6).

It is seen that if a master is married, he tries to systematize his working hours, but if he is not married, the working hours can be flexible.

Certificates

Master certificates were another important topic in working systems. Most of the participants have master certificates and they believe in the necessity of this

document. Some of them do not believe in the importance or necessity of it and have refused to get a certificate.

For example, one of them said that:

“I haven’t got a master certificate and I’m against having a certificate. I think it is ridiculous because I don’t believe in the adequacy of testers who decide to give the certificate. I’m against having a test about my ability and skill” (M5).

Another mentioned the difficulty of getting a certificate and said:

“I don’t try to get a certificate because I know the unnecessary of it. It is only a procedure. In order to have a master certificate, you have to get an apprentice certificate, and after that, a journeyman certificate. I can’t act as an apprentice now” (M6).

It is seen that the process of getting a master certificate dissuades masters from having it. If a master has a master certificate, he can also get a master educator certificate, because there is no enrolled system to become a master.

One participant said that:

“The teachers who carry out exams in order to give a master certificate always apologize to us. They explain the insufficiency of them” (M1).

One master summarized the ideas of others who have master certificate and said that:

“It is necessary because every master has to have a registration for the Ministry of Finance, associations, etc.” (M1).

Having a certificate is important in different sectors, but in the jewelry sector masters can ignore it, and this decision strengthens the informal structure of the sector.

Social Life and Istanbul

Most of the participants said that they spend their free time with their families. The majority of them described the pleasure of traveling and seeing new places. They think it is a source of inspiration. Besides this, on Sundays, Christian masters go to church and worship. Most of the Armenian masters tell of the importance of Büyükada in their life.

In order to understand their lives, their opinions on Istanbul were also asked. Generally, it can be said that most of them are impassioned admirers of Istanbul and they have a strong relationship, socially and emotionally, with the city.

One participant stated that:

“I have connections from thousands of years with Istanbul. My genetics belong to 4000-5000 years before. I had visits to Vienna-Germany-Holland- Belgium in 1985. It lasted 11 months. I was 21 years and I realized where I wanted to live. The city where I wanted to live was Istanbul. In the last years, I started to think what if I decided to live in a different country. But I’m happy with my decision because I love Istanbul” (M1).

Another participant mentioned:

“I have 400 years of linkages with Istanbul. I can’t go anywhere but here” (M4).

One of the other participants expressed his love of Istanbul but also complained about its damaged aesthetics (M5). Another one said that:

“I love Istanbul, and my whole family is another factor for loving it” (M9).

From these answers, masters love Istanbul, especially due to their historical and social linkages, and they do not want to migrate anywhere else.

Have They Any Occupational Illnesses?

The most common illnesses of master’s are eye problems and illnesses caused from stress.

One participant said:

“Working conditions are not good. Our workshops are closed and narrow places, and we make jewels with really small pieces of materials. It needs careful attention. These cause vision problems. Besides this, long and attentive hours of work and the dissatisfaction of earnings cause problems” (M6).

Another participant said:

“Small materials and closed workshops make craftsman unable to endure offenses or difficulties” (M1).

The small pieces of materials and long working hours with extra attention particularly cause these problems.

How Do Masters Stop Working?

The results show that there is not a determined age at which to stop working. Generally, the reasons were those from above, like vision problems and stress, to stop working. The masters who are still working while they are old are in need of money.

One participant stated that:

“This occupation is a part of the ability to endure an offense, as I said before. A craftsman can stop working if he can survive, but if he needs to earn money, he should keep on working” (M6).

Another participant said that he is still working because of his children and grandchildren (M8).

3.4.1.1.4. Grand Bazaar and Jewelry

Production in the Grand Bazaar

The opinions of the masters about the occupation of jewelry-making and the Grand Bazaar were important for the study. The information about their workshops was especially valuable. It was seen that the khans, which are buildings containing different trade groups, are necessary for production. Generally, the participants work in some of these khans, and they talked about the advantages and disadvantages of them.

For example, a master who had to move to a new place said that:

“There is a communal life in the khans. It has some advantages. The production process is based on working collectively. It is easy and also pleasurable. But long conversations in working hours and the large number of visitors start to be annoying in time, and the concentration for work will be destroyed. I was an administrator for 15 years in a khan. It was good, but everybody started to tell their private life to me so I had to run away from this process and I had moved my workshop here” (M1).

He moved his workshop about 3 years ago. He highlighted that he continues the relationship with other craftsmen because of the closeness of their workshops and adds:

“If you want to be more productive, you sometimes need to be alone” (M1).

Most of the participants are working in khans. One of them has been working since 1990 in a khan (M2). Another mentioned that he is also a chairman of the khan where he has been working for 11 years (M3). Another participant also said that he is working in the same khan for about 15 years. There are some participants who have been working in the same khan with another master (M8).

According to the structure of the sector, different specializations have to be done in the same place. The production process needs to produce mutually. As is seen in the examples, some masters want silence in order to concentrate on work, but they can only move one or two streets away.

Security

The most common security system is the security cameras and alarm systems of workshops and khans. Security officers of khans are also necessary; workshops have their own security systems. For example, there are no handles on the doors inside the workshop. Doors can only be opened with a button, and the master knows where it is. In this way, if there is a thief, he cannot open or escape from the workshop.

Model-Trademark-Manner

Masters gave different answers about model, trademark, manner, and mass production. Generally they said, especially *sadekar* masters, that they carried out their own designs. They mentioned that they did not use any security systems for the new models. They all mentioned that there are social laws against stealing ideas, but they highlighted the inadequacy of them. Most of them did not struggle to save designs or to get a patent for products because of the length and difficulties of the process. They think products will be imitated in this long process. Some of the masters use a stamp in order to have a signature on their product.

Technology and Mass Production

Most of participants believe in the necessity of technology, but they are generally against mass production. For example, one participant mentioned:

“Showcases begin to seem similar. There is no originality. When I create a ring, if I make a mistake, I protect and evaluate it and create an original ring. The

mistake makes the product original. Ordinariness is not good for our occupation. I hate globalization. It standardized us and makes us alike. Everybody has some faults and should protect and reflect it in products” (M1).

He talked about Kuyumcukent, where some of the workshops have moved and others are going to move:

“Jewelry is not a kind of industry. Kuyumcukent is appropriate for mass production, but it isn’t suitable for craftsmen. Masters will disappear in Kuyumcukent” (M1).

Most of the masters are against mass production. They think that it damages crafts because of the quick and cheaper production structure.

One participant said:

“There are no new masters because of the mechanization. Art in craft is disappearing” (M2).

Another participant highlighted the importance of the traditional production process and said that:

“In a factory, every laborer produces one part of the product. Not the whole. They can’t produce all parts of the production, so a master who comes from a factory can’t help me. But an apprentice of mine can do more things than a factory master can do” (M3).

Another participant stated that according to the cheap and quick production process in mass production, craftsmen face economic hardship. He thinks bigger firms are ruining small firms and craftsmen (M4).

Another likeminded participant said that:

“Mass production means standardization. There must be gusto, aesthetic in our productions. There should be standard products, too, but the value of being unique is different” (M5).

Another participant thinks more optimistically and said that:

“The products that are produced by mass production are also valuable, but if you want to see the aesthetic merit and the reflection of the master’s soul, you can’t find them” (M6).

The same master described imitations with the word “marvelous” and said that sometimes they inspire him (M6).

One participant thinks that the products that are produced by machines are different from the products that are produced manually. He highlighted that these products should not be confused, and he added:

“Imitation means wasting money” (M9).

Another participant emphasized the risks of mass production deteriorating originality and said that:

“Art will disappear as long as there is mass production. Bigger firms are taking a big part of the pie and masters like me have difficulties living on. With this system, craftsmanship will disappear someday” (M8).

A participant who is producing engagement rings mentioned:

“More difficult models can be made by new machines and new models are more ornamental and exaggerated, so the effort in the production process of the craftsman and costs increase. Shortly, the numbers of masters who specialize in rings according to the profits are decreasing day by day” (M10).

Masters generally complained about the similarity of products. They want to protect uniqueness, but they think mass production and standardization threaten the products of masters.

Production and the Profiles of Customers

The information about customers shows that customers are from all over the world and production is materialized by ordering. Production by ordering is mostly in varnishing, setting, and placing materials. *Sadekar* masters are producing products not only by order, but also produce through their own wishes and tastes. They also mentioned the importance of fairs in order to reach customers.

Besides this, customers are often permanent. A customer can buy something every year. The relationship between master and customer is not only professional, but can also be defined as friendship.

One participant explained this situation and said that:

“I don't prefer the word ‘customer.’ They are my friends. In this way, I can know their styles and it simplifies my working process. First I have a long conversation with them, and then the trading starts” (M1).

There are masters who had difficulty in accessing customers, too. According to their workshop conditions, they cannot reach out to new customers. The only people who find them had already known them or had heard of them from other customers. Along these lines, they were asked if they take money before or after delivering the product.

All of the participants said that they are taking the money after delivering, because of the trust matter. As it has been seen, trust is very important, and also in the master-customer relationship. Customers are always permanent if they trust the master's production style.

State Assistance

Another important topic was state assistance for the occupation. All of the participants were same-minded about the necessity of state assistance, and they also had common statements about the absence of it.

One participant expressed that:

“There was a guild system before, and there isn’t an application now to take its place. Everybody can be a jeweler now. But in order to work as a jeweler, there must be gusto at the same time. I give importance to the production process. I also give importance to my clothes. A jeweler has to have gusto about clothes, too, but when I look to new merchant-jewelers, I can’t see gusto. There is a big incompatibility. I think they really confused this occupation with commerce” (M1).

The same master highlighted that the state sometimes gives assistance to some people, and he thinks that if the state gave this assistance more systematically, there would be more successful people in the sector.

Another participant said that:

“There isn’t state assistance to the occupation, but there should be. Small manufacturers can’t compete with bigger ones in the current system” (M3).

Another one stated that:

“There isn’t state assistance, but there isn’t any state assistance in other sectors or occupations, too. The real encouragement is buying the production, so the important thing is the customer’s consciousness. So the future of the occupation is not clear, I think” (M5).

Masters generally think that state assistance is necessary, but they also think that selling the products is more important for sustaining the occupation.

Women in the Jewelry Sector

The role of women in the sector was another important topic.

One participant told that,

“Men are dominant in this occupation. But we try to change this situation in our workshop. Participants in design lessons are mostly women, and I think they are good at designing. A woman can know others taste best, and the occupation doesn’t need power, so women can easily do our job. In the last 5 to 10 years, women started to be in the sector, and I am planning to have a women apprentice from the participants of design lessons” (M1).

Another participant highlighted a different point and said that:

“None of the women want to work with us because our workshops are always crowded, small, and airless” (M4).

Another participant mentioned that:

“There is no woman in our workshop. Women can do this occupation, but traditions do not allow this, I think. We get used to educating men” (M8).

Another participant said:

“Women think jewelry is an easy occupation. They suppose that they can be successful only by designing. I do everything in the production process, from designing to realizing it, but I’m not successful enough. So, I think women that think like that are unrealistic” (M6).

The craft-based jewelry sector is especially closed to women. According to traditions, working conditions and approaches of women to the sector cause the presence of fewer women in the sector.

The Future of the Jewelry Sector in Turkey

The most important thing is the future of the jewelry sector. Masters were asked about their ideas about the future of the sector. Most of them were pessimistic and generally said that the art in the jewelry sector will end but that jewelry as a sector will last.

One participant said that:

“I think the future of the jewelry sector will not be good in Turkey. Two or three months ago, I went to Erzurum. There is a Bazaar called Taşhan, where there are lots of silver shops. Taşhan was really important in past years, but there are a lot of imported products now that do not reflect the masters’ skills. There were a lot of craftsmen in Erzurum, Erzincan, Maraş, Sivas, and Tokat, but they left these districts in the beginning of the 1900s; some of the masters came to the Grand Bazaar and some of them went abroad. Now original production is under threat because of the mass production process” (M1).

Another participant also thinks that craftsmanship is disappearing in Turkey, like in the Grand Bazaar (M2).

Another one pointed out the political structure of Turkey and said that:

“The events that took place in the Özal period were only good for big firms. Craftsmen are idle. We couldn’t benefit from the 1980s development process” (M4).

Another concern was the aesthetic merit in Turkey. One participant thinks that Turkey does not esteem the aesthetic and or craftsmen. He got annoyed about this matter and summarized it with these words:

“What do you expect from a mentality that puts a water pipe in an antique lion head? How can you expect gusto from him?” (M5).

Another participant showed a different problem and said:

“We are creating a thing that belongs to humans. So the system will collapse easily because of this” (M6).

Another participant thinks that:

“I know we are not good enough, but we are in a good situation in the world jewelry sector. As long as there are women in the world, the sector will never collapse” (M9)

Other respondents highlighted the importance of gold in the world economy and said that the jewelry sector will never end, but he thinks that it will shift from producing by craftsmanship to producing by machines. He said that there must be more policy for craftsmen (M10).

Grand Bazaar and the Future of the Jewelry Sector

The jewelry sector's future in the Grand Bazaar was also examined. In this context, masters' ideas about the Grand Bazaar and the jewelry sector were gathered.

One master said that:

“If we can protect the present structure, it is good enough I think. Developed countries have experienced the same process. First art collapses, then the value of art is realized and it starts to be protected. They guard their masters with some assistance. In short, it isn't too late for Turkey” (M1).

Another master thinks that art in the jewelry sector is disappearing. He thinks that with the growth of capital, the competition capability of small producers has decreased. He said that some craftsmen continue to work, but some cannot because of the fallen profit margins. He stated that most of the masters have emmigrated abroad due to the economic problems (M2).

Most of masters think that the Grand Bazaar is an ideal place for developing the relationship between master and apprentice. They are likeminded on the character of the Grand Bazaar and they said that it is a good school for not only being a craftsman, but also being a human being.

At this point, one master said that:

“The Grand Bazaar is a faculty where life is learned. The life experience will be best gained there” (M3).

Another important topic was the master’s value in the Grand Bazaar. Most of the masters complained about the confusion with merchants and craftsmen. One master said:

“I can’t be optimistic for the future of craftsmanship in the jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar because of the value imparted to masters. It is too late, but I wish I could change my occupation. It is late because now I am tied up in my occupation with passion” (M6).

He added:

“Our occupation is prestigious. For example, when I enter a new group and when somebody asks what my occupation is, I always answer proudly and say I’m a jeweler. I get more respect from most of the people than an ordinary merchant will get. But when day/night ends, I take a bus in order to go home, but the ordinary merchant goes to his home with his modern automobile. At this point, prestige loses its meaning” (M6).

Another master mentioned that it is easy to reach customers in the Grand Bazaar and the production process is performed easily because of the collective working structure of the sector. The real problem is the merchant jewelers who do not know the details of the occupation and who pass through this occupation from other occupations (M10).

Another master thinks that the Grand Bazaar is a perfect place for production and he believes that artist craftsmen will gain there in the long term (M9).

Income and Ownership Information

Generally, masters avoided answering questions about income and ownership. Some of them said only “Thank God.” Some of them highlighted that there is no encouragement in their occupation, and they also said that people give less importance to the sector, so they complained about the low income rates.

One participant said that:

“The most important thing to a master is the satisfaction that is gained from the product. Money comes second. Customers pay money after they receive the product because masters mostly care about the happiness of customer. Of course, money is important for living, but a craftsman doesn’t think about gaining money. If he does, he can’t produce art. So, the equilibrium between money and producing is important. A successful merchant can’t be a successful craftsman, and also a successful craftsman can’t be a successful merchant” (M1).

Another participant remarked:

“I am not satisfied with my income. I don’t know when a customer will come. There is no employment security. I can’t have an apprentice for these reasons” (M4).

Another highlighted the relationships between people and added that:

“I am not satisfied with my income. I could get more work if I tried to have more relationships with others. But I don’t strive for this kind of thing. I am among the mad man of the Grand Bazaar and I always say to people what I think about them. So they don’t always want to deal with me and I have less work to do than the others” (M5).

Another master said that:

“My income is not enough. Shopkeepers come and try to buy my products by bargaining. It is very wrong, I think. They only calculate the material and they ignore the effort” (M6).

Table.2: Ownership

MASTERS	DISTRICT	HOUSE	SUMMER HOUSE	CAR	SHOP
M1	Şişli	Owned	Owned	Owned	Owned
M2	Bakırköy	Owned	-	Owned	Owned
M3	Bakırköy	Owned	-	Owned	Owned
M4	Şişli	Owned	-	Owned	Rented
M5	Şişli	Owned	-	Owned	Rented
M6	Taksim	-	-	-	Rented
M7	Kurtuluş	Owned	Owned	Owned	Owned
M8	Bakırköy	Owned	-	-	Rented
M9	Bakırköy	Owned	-	Owned	Owned
M10	Bakırköy	Owned	-	Owned	Owned

They generally don't want to say anything about their ownership, but it can be said that Armenian jewelers have better incomes than the others. The participating masters all have a house in Istanbul, and some of them also have a house on Büyükkada. The masters are generally dwelling in Şişli and Bakırköy locations.

3.4.1.2. Apprentices

It was difficult to arrange interviews with apprentices. The problem was the lack of apprentices in the sector. Besides this, some of the apprentices get bored in a short time and leave the job. Furthermore, masters always allow their apprentices to be interviewed, but tried to be present at the interview, so the apprentices could not answer the questions openly. In the end, interviews were carried out with five

apprentices who have been in the sector for a while. In order to understand and evaluate the master-apprenticeship relationship and the sustainability of craftsmanship, some questions were asked of apprentices, too. Some sub-categories were created. These sub-categories were basically about the knowledge and the work ethic of apprentices.

3.4.1.2.1. Socio Demographic Structure

As seen in Table 3, all of the apprentices were born in or after the 1980s. Their ages vary between 14 and 30 years. Most of them were born in Istanbul, except A3. When we look at the date of starting work, we can say that three of them (A1, A2, and A3) have been sustaining their occupation for a while, but two of them (A4 and A5) started work recently.

Table 3: Socio Demographical Structure of Apprentices

Apprentices	Gender	Year Of Birth	Place Of Birth	Family Hometown	Ethnicity	Date of migration	Date of Starting Work
A1	Male	1990	Istanbul	Kastamonu	Armenian	_	2004
A2	Male	1987	Istanbul	Sivas	Turkish	_	2002
A3	Male	1980	Ankara	Malatya	Armenian	1995	1993
A4	Male	1996	Istanbul	Istanbul	Turkish	_	2010
A5	Male	1993	Istanbul	Istanbul	Turkish	_	2009

3.4.1.2.2. Craftsmanship and Knowledge

Starting the Occupation

Generally, apprentices said that they started working with the help of an acquaintance or at the wish of their family. Their common characteristic is a dislike of education in schools.

One participant said that:

“When I failed from my lessons, my father took me from school and I started working as an apprentice” (A1).

Another participant said that:

“My family discovered my interest in jobs that need manual ability, so they sent me to a master whom they knew” (A3).

They all wanted to do jobs using their hands. They mentioned that they would work in some other jobs, like repairing, which can be done manually, but the ability to do something detailed brought them to the jewelry sector. Most of them said that being an apprentice in the jewelry sector is their first job. Only one of them worked with a shoemaker as an apprentice before (A3).

Is There Any body in the Family who is a Jeweler?

Another question was about their family occupational history. Most of the apprentices do not have a jeweler in the family, except one participant who said that his uncle was a jeweler (A3). However, all of them said that their family has jeweler acquaintances. It is important to have a jeweler family member or have a jeweler acquaintance in order to start the occupation, as it has been highlighted that masters choose apprentices according to the trust matter.

How Long Will They Maintain Their Occupations?

Another topic was the continuity of the job. For an answer about this, the question of how long they are planning to work in this sector was asked.

One participant said that:

“This occupation fit me correctly. I like producing something. I’m looking forward to the days when I can produce jewels by myself, except for helping the master” (A3).

Another apprentice mentioned that he will have a break when he joins the army, but he is planning to continue his job after returning. Other apprentices could not give a determined answer. They have not decided their future yet.

They generally do not want to sustain the occupation. They are all waiting for something else, like going into the army, finding a new job, etc. They spend time in the Grand Bazaar learning an occupation, and that is all.

Can You Describe Your Master?

In order to understand the master-apprentice relationship, the characteristics of masters and their manner of conduct with the apprentice were examined. It was a difficult part of the interview because at this point, masters did not want to leave the apprentice; they always acted as if they were doing urgent and necessary things during the conversation, so most of the apprentices unsurprisingly said that their masters were good people and behave correctly toward the apprentices.

One of them said that:

“My master is also my father. I learn a lot about life and about my occupation from him. Being an apprentice is not only learning about your job, but it also

means developing your character. In this learning process, masters have the leading role” (A2).

3.4.1.2.3. Work Ethic

Working Hours and Responsibilities

Apprentices’ working hours are same as the masters. They start working always at 8 a.m. and finish at 7 or 8 p.m.; Sundays are vacation days. Some of the apprentices live in the same district as their masters, so they come to work together. Some of them come to work by themselves.

One of them explained how he starts a day:

“I always come 15 minutes earlier than my master. First I open the workshop, tidy it up, and make tea. My master considers the order in the workshop” (A2).

Another one said that:

“I am an assistant of production, but I am also an assistant of my master. Master’s comfort is really important in the production process and I provide the comfort” (A1).

Others are likeminded. They said that they do everything about the production process, like organize the workshop, take possessions to the workshop, communicate with customers, take or make tea, take out the garbage, and so on.

Labor Rights

Employee rights were another question asked of the apprentices. This issue involved arrival to the job, dinner, and their weekly wages.

Apprentices who live in the same district as their masters said that the masters take them to the job by car and take them back home. For example, while talking about the apprentice, a master said that:

“He is my neighbor’s son. I am watching him in and out of the job. He is also my son” (master of A1).

Other apprentices come to work by bus, and their travel fees are not generally paid by the masters, but one apprentice mentioned that his master gives an arrival fee (A2). There is not a rule or a system for this. It only depends on the master. Besides this, all masters supply food and drink while working.

Apprentices make between 100-150 TL weekly. They all said that it is not enough.

Out-of-Work Activities

Most of the apprentices complained about not having enough time for social activities. In their spare time, they enjoy sports and computer games. One participant said he likes playing football (A1), another said that he likes watching sporting matches (A3), and another said that he is always playing computer games in cybercafés in his spare time (A5).

3.4.1.2.4. Grand Bazaar and Jewelry

Ideas about the Grand Bazaar

Apprentices generally said that the Grand Bazaar is their home because they know all of the details and all the streets and shops there. They add that they also spend their most of their time in the Grand Bazaar and in khans, so they really adapt to the Bazaar. When asked about the future of the jewelry sector and the future of the Bazaar, they did not comment.

3.4.1.3. Owners of Firms

In order to compare smaller workshops with bigger firms, and in order to have an idea about the other side of the sector, information about 3 big firms from Kuyumcukent, Güneşli District, and districts close by are given.²³ The common features of these firms are that they all started vocational training in the Grand Bazaar.

The Establishment of the Firm

The first firm (F1) belongs to a family from Bitlis, Turkey.

The firm owner said that:

“The Patriarchate sent Armenian families to different jobs in Istanbul in order to obstruct the assimilation in the 1960s. It sent Armenian children and youth to Armenian masters from different sectors for jobs. The 1960s and 1970s were the years when Armenians mostly emigrated” (F1).

His father first started to work with a *civatacı* master while his two uncles started to work with a jewelry master called Agop Feşçiyen. In time, his father changed his job and worked as an apprentice with master Agop. When master Agop decided to migrate to Canada, the father and the two uncles took over the workshop. His uncles and father separated their firms in the 1980s. With the economic growth in the liberalization period in 1983, the production of a modern series of jewelry started in their workshop. The second firm (F2) was established in 1992 by an agricultural engineer from Denizli. He adapted the “system of representatives,” which creates a direct link between producer and customer by

²³This information was taken from a field investigation held in the summer of 2009 in a TÜBİTAK project about jewelry clusters that I participated in.

considering customers' demands, to the jewelry sector. The firm was first established in the Grand Bazaar. According to the growth of the firm, it moved to a new building in Güneşli in 2005. The third firm (F3) was established in the Özal period in 1983 by a family from Mardin. The founder of the firm was a seller of dried goods. Then he started to operate in the jewelry sector, following the wish of an elder brother who had gained experience working as an apprentice in this sector. They had two shops in the Grand Bazaar before the 1980s. In that period, there was demand, but not supply. In 1983, the sector got bigger and they brought experts from abroad in order to develop know-how. They moved their shops first from the Grand Bazaar to Çemberlitaş, and then they established a factory in Güneşli in 1997.

Firm information

There are 102 employees in F1. It exports 35% of its production. It gives importance to being a trade, so they have joined fairs as a firm since 1992. Firm F2 has 600 employees and it also has an academy in order to educate people who are interested in different parts of jewelry. F3 has 310 employees and they have also had offices in the US for 12 years.

There are 5 masters in F1. They said that the most experienced master is an Armenian who has been working there since the establishment of the firm. The second firm, F2, has no master, but they work with some from the Grand Bazaar when they need to. The third firm, F3, works with masters from the Grand Bazaar like F2, and they do not employ a master in the firm. Masters generally earn 3000-4000 TL and apprentices earn 800-1000 TL a month in these jewelry firms.

Designing

When we look at the designing process of firms, it can be said that they have more systematic systems than the small workshops in the Grand Bazaar. The first firm,

F1, explained that they arrange design meetings every month. In these meetings they try to determine the sales. If there is a problem, they try to create solutions during the meetings and they also determine trends. They said that they create 400 new products a month. They also arrange seminars each year in order to have new ideas about designing.

The owner of F2 highlighted the importance of the designing process. They set trends with the help of feedback from the Internet, fairs, and magazines, and then they start designing. They also have a research and development laboratory.

The third firm, F3, benefits from magazines and Internet sources in order to create new designs. They think this system is not copying, but inspiration. They create new products by looking at many examples and deriving inspiration from them.

Relationship between Firms and the Grand Bazaar

The firm owners said about the Grand Bazaar that:

“It is a place of trust. The trust is very important because it guarantees a place in the sector” (F1).

They all said that they have an organic relationship with the Grand Bazaar. For example, they work with masters from the Grand Bazaar and they buy materials from there. Although they had moved their production places away from the Grand Bazaar, they have showrooms near or in the Grand Bazaar now, because even when the production places have changed, the Grand Bazaar is still the most important place according to customer relationships.

3.4.2. General Treatment

Bigger firms were first established in the Grand Bazaar. The fathers of the current owners established the firms and the current owners started the occupation as apprentices. They enlarged their production and started to export, and they need

bigger places for production, so they moved to Kuyumcukent and the surrounding areas. Their relationship between the Grand Bazaar still continues. They take raw materials from the Bazaar and reach customers there. When they need a master, they generally work with masters from the Grand Bazaar. Their designing process is faster because of the use of different sources, like magazines, Internet, etc. They called this system 'inspiration' and they produce easily with machines.

It can be seen from all of the interviews that there are some common concepts in order to be a craftsman and in order to be in the sector. Trust is very important in the master-apprentice relationship. Other important concepts are patience and aesthetic merit, in order to create jewelry as a craft. The importance of family and also of ethnic and religious linkages appeared. The sector is closed to new people who lack linkages with a jeweler family member or a jeweler acquaintance. Apprentices also started working with the help of an acquaintance or at the wish of their family.

Social networking is important for the sustainability of the sector. Masters produce and sell their products with the help of these networks, so having social linkages in other countries simplifies the master's survival abroad. Social networking is a network based on the trust concept, also important in the production process. There are different specializations in the sector and these specializations have to occur in the same place. The production process needs to be undertaken mutually. The working hours of masters and apprentices are generally systematic. Generally, if a master is married, he tries to systematize his working hours. Master certificates were another important topic within the working systems. Some masters have them, but some others refused them.

Security is important in the sector. The most common security system is the security cameras and alarm systems of workshops and khans. They do not use any security systems for the new models. They trust social laws in the Grand Bazaar. They want to protect uniqueness, but they think imitation, idea theft, mass

production, and standardization threaten the products of masters. All of the participants said that they take payment after delivering, because of the trust matter. As it is seen, trust is also very important in the master-customer relationship. Customers are always permanent when they trust the master's production style.

The masters all have a house in Istanbul, and some of them also have a house on Büyükkada. Masters are generally dwelling in Şişli and Bakırköy locations. Armenian jewelers have higher incomes than the others, according to their fame in the sector.

Apprentices generally do not want to pursue the occupation in the long term. They are all waiting for something else, like going into the army or finding a new job. Meanwhile, bigger firms are developing day by day and there is a lack of apprentices in the craft-based jewelry sector in order to sustain the occupation. Thus, the sector will evolve from producing by craftsmanship to producing by machines.

CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION

Jewelry has always played an important role in human civilization. The beginning of gold production in the world goes back to 4000 BC, and in Anatolia, it goes back to 3000 BC. Gold as a natural product and as a material of art production can be included in discussions on cultural, social, political, and of course economic analyses of society.

As was detailed in the text under the title “The Development of the Jewelry Sector in the World,” people are interested in using precious stones and gold in different ways. These precious materials are used as jewelry and objects of art and consumption, but also as a way of saving. Economic, political, and social factors especially affect their use. Weddings, ceremonies, and ‘gold days’ are the most common usages.

Craftsmanship developed in order to produce jewelry from precious stones and gold. Craft, which is based on the labor of people in the production process, has a unique characteristic. Calvinist thoughts encouraged this idea, expressing a common belief that hand-crafted goods are superior expressions of a uniquely human spirit. In addition to supporting this idea, scholars claim that “the day of craftsmanship, of pride in work, and of independently expressing one’s best” has been abandoned in order to reach greater profits “through automated production of mass-marketed products” (Wolek, 1999: 405).

Crafts are used to produce under a system that has traditionally been called ‘the guild.’ As detailed in the section on work ethic in the Grand Bazaar, there were no guilds in Anatolia until the end of fifteenth century, but there was the Akhi movement, which was a nonprofessional craftsman association. During the sixteenth century, a professional guild system was established; it started to control the production as a process and also the vocational training of craftsmen. The basic relationship in the guild was the master-apprentice relationship.

The guild system, which is presented under in the section on the organization of the Grand Bazaar and work ethic, was important in the Ottoman economic system as an indicator of Islamic economy and its rules. The system was arranged by Akhism, futuvvet, and trade unions. Akhism was a vocational moral school that had been established in order to develop people's education. A futuvvetname was a guide for social ethics. They organized around characteristics like generosity, realism, selflessness, and modesty. Guilds, as the last organizational system, guaranteed social rules, good character, and verbal agreements. As Baer said, it was an indirect control system over each individual in the urban population (Baer, 1970: 34).

Although the guild system is not used in the Grand Bazaar nowadays, social rules, instead of written ones, are still common. There are some other organizations and unions, too, but most of the masters think that these work only for profits and do not seriously engage for the rights of their members. They only take fees and are not able to provide other rights for their members. Masters, apprentices, and customers are generally linked to each other through a well-developed social network that relies on trust and obedience.

In this master study, the role of trust and work ethic on the sustainability of the jewelry sector was discussed. The main question of this master study was: What is the role of trust, obedience, and work ethic on the sustainability of the jewelry sector as a craft?

The basic goal was to gain an understanding of the sustainability of craftsmanship. The study consisted of two main parts: The main concepts and an overview of the literature related to this subject area were presented in the first part, and then followed an analysis of the empirical fieldwork conducted in Istanbul's Grand Bazaar.

In the literature review, the concepts of craftsmanship, knowledge and work ethic of craftsmanship, the globalization process, the jewelry sector and its establishment, and the modernization and deterioration periods of the Grand Bazaar were debated. In this process, the importance of knowledge and work ethic in craftsmanship, the effect of the modern production system on craftsmanship, the development and changes in the jewelry sector from past to present, and the work ethic in the Bazaar were discussed. In addition to these, the guild system process was particularly discussed in linking the Ottoman and Turkish economic systems.

In the case study, local craftsmanship and sustainability of craftsmanship alongside the role of trust and work ethic concepts were discussed, giving reference to the specific case of the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul. The field work in the study was especially useful for gaining an understanding of the complexities and the process of the jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar. Through interviews, following a general questionnaire guideline, insights into the work relations and market mechanisms were gained.

Interviews were carried out with 10 masters and 5 apprentices in the Grand Bazaar and 3 owners of jewelry firms in Kuyumcukent and neighboring areas. The aim was to investigate the role of trust and obedience in work and trade relations and how masters and apprentices define their work ethics. To also gain some limited ideas about the perceptions of representatives of bigger jewelry firms, some additional interviews were conducted. The differences or similarities of small-scale workshops and large-scale international firms were investigated. Furthermore, analysis of craftsmanship in the Grand Bazaar's jewelry sector showed characteristics of the five-centuries-old jewelry sector that still remain in effect.

The research theme was evaluated in sub-categories. These sub-categories were topics related to the sociodemographic structure of masters and apprentices, work

ethic and out-of-work activities, the Grand Bazaar and the jewelry sector (production, workshop information, security information, jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar, jewelry sector in Turkey, and ownership information). Some questions about craftsmanship, knowledge, work ethic, and the Grand Bazaar were asked, based on these sub-categories, in order to understand the structure, the process, and the future of the sector.

Masters generally highlighted concepts like desire, patience, aesthetics, and “soul,” which every craftsman should have. They mentioned that patience and desire are important for sustainability and aesthetics is valuable for a professional manner. They mentioned that a craftsman can only be differentiated from a jewelry merchant through his having aesthetic merits and reflecting his own emotions and beliefs. What is described as “soul” is putting one’s own point of view, experiences, and gusto into the production and the final product. They highlighted these concepts because they know that only people who connect to the occupation spiritually can sustain themselves in the job.

The jewelry sector as a craft is closed to women. There are few or no women in the craft-based jewelry sector in the Grand Bazaar according to the traditional structure of the sector. There are only women course attendees. In bigger jewelry firms, however, there are women employees in numbers similar to men.²⁴

The sector is also closed to the idea of reaching new customers. Masters do not struggle to reach to customers. Their customers are people who have already known the masters for years. Customers trust masters and they are stable; masters trust customers and they only take their money after delivering the product. The products are sold on order.

²⁴ According to the interviews that were held in the scope of the TÜBİTAK research, 52% percent, or more than half of the 346 firms, had female employees (Tübitak Project which has not published yet).

Most of the masters did not have another job before jewelry. Those who did work in another field worked in other manual jobs and they needed manual dexterity. Most of the masters thought that they not just do a craft, but also do art. Some of them identified themselves as artists, like a sculptor or a painter. They also emphasized the occupation's importance in their life and said that they do not consider leaving the job. Generally, they feel strongly attached to their occupation. All of the masters were passionately in love with Istanbul and, in spite of the complexity of it, feel themselves as part of the city and cannot think of living elsewhere. Beside this, the Grand Bazaar is also very important for them. One of them said that "*The Grand Bazaar is a faculty where life is learned. The life experience will be best gained there*" (M3).

Most of the masters and apprentices viewed the Grand Bazaar as a school. It is not only a school of theoretical information, but also a school of life. Masters highlighted the importance of the Grand Bazaar for knowledge and trade. Some of the masters complained about the bad effect of the Grand Bazaar on concentration during the production process, due to the crowds, noise, and limited space. They explained the importance of seclusion, but hermitage is not easily achieved because of the necessity of the economic and social networks of the Grand Bazaar.

The solidarity in the sector occurs as a mutual machine or employee using, giving, or taking loans, especially during economic crisis and within trust relations. Mutual trust relations also function as credit systems. An important issue to be elaborated on within the jewelry sector is the access to and trade of raw materials. Firms and raw material providers work within a trust network; oral contracts are common. There is also a raw material relationship between firms and places where the jewelry sector occurs. For example, generally in the jewelry sector in Istanbul, the raw material comes from Eminönü, where the Grand Bazaar is

located. Other districts, and also Kuyumcukent firms, provide raw materials from Eminönü, too.²⁵

Although some of the workshops and firms try to move to different places, away from the Grand Bazaar, they can only move a few streets away according to the connections and also due to security.

Protecting products is important in the sector. From this, security systems are gaining importance. The interview results showed that there are cameras and security officers in the khans, and some other systems are used, like doors that cannot be opened from inside the workshop. There are some security systems for products, but fewer security systems for protecting the products' originality. Masters do not try to protect their designs and they do not try to obtain a patent for each product, because they generally do not believe in the effectiveness of that system. The important concept in the sector is again trust. Most of them think that only social rules can stop theft, because he who loses his reliability will be isolated from the sector. Some masters use a stamp in order to have a sign on their products, a kind of branding, but this is not enough to protect their products. According to the security problems of designs, there are many imitations in the sector, and this obstructs the process of branding. State assistance is not enough, so security systems and the sustainability of the production depend on the masters' efforts and their vision.

The masters were asked to talk about their own apprentices and their masters. They expressed that some of their masters are living abroad and some of them have left the occupation or have died. The important thing is that the masters of the masters could train and educate new members for the sector. However, it is seen that, nowadays, masters cannot find suitable apprentices to educate. During

²⁵ TÜBİTAK research which is coordinated by Bilge Armatlı Koroğlu and has not published yet.

the process of choosing and recruiting an apprentice, the concept of trust is of the greatest importance. There is a lack of apprentices in the sector. Young people usually now prefer to continue their formal education when they are 13-14 years old, but this is the age considered most suitable for being an apprentice. Apart from that, others who do not go to school have no patience for the occupation.

The importance of educational method is obvious. The path of education in the jewelry sector is based on the process of learning by doing, which can be developed only by practice. An apprentice should mature with this education. Masters complained about not having or finding a suitable apprentice, one who would be patient in learning the details of the craft. There are also trade schools, about which masters were suspicious because of the lack of practice during the education. Most of them thought that the jewelry occupation cannot be learned only by theoretical lessons. There should be more practice in the education system.

As Baykal said, there is a lack of laboratory in order to make practice. This kind of occupation can only be maintained by lifelong learning and practice with code of ethics like in Akhism (Baykal, 2009). There is a hierarchical structure in the traditional education system of craftsmanship, but the same system is not carried out in trade schools. There is no organization in schools. The equivalence of apprentice education must be secondary education, a journeyman's educational equivalence must be trade schools, and the master's educational equivalence must be universities. The jewelry sector's school-based education time is short, not enough to learn all of the details. There are 14 universities with departments about jewelry in Turkey, and the general problem in these departments is the lack of master teachers. The teachers do not have enough command of the jewelry sector. Besides, masters highlighted that these schools cannot be productive, because the students in these schools, who are also the master candidates, generally do not want to study theoretical lessons.

Masters highlighted other problems beyond the educational system in Turkey. They complained about the process of having a master certificate. They think the certificates are given by people who do not have the necessary qualities, inadequate in the occupation. They refused a master certificate, but some of them were still aware of its importance.

Another problem was the low wages, mentioned in the section on work ethic and personal rights. Apprentices earn 100-150 TL weekly. They all said that it is not enough. An apprentice can work in another job for much more money. Some masters argued that they are teachers of jewelry and that people do not usually demand money from a teacher, and they added that they do not earn much money themselves, so they can only give money to apprentices in parallel to their own acquisition. It is known that jewelry production, as a craft, is very valuable, according not only to the material but also to the effort. Masters do not have a constant income but can nevertheless earn a lot at times, so this should also affect the apprentice's income. However, few masters think like this. They are the apprentices' teachers and they do not need to give much money to them. Perhaps they shelter the idea of trust in the sector.

Labor rights are not connected to the same rules. It all depends on the master's demand. For example, apprentices who live in the same district as their masters come to work in their masters' cars. Some of them come to work by bus and receive the transport costs from their masters. Like other topics, labor rights are again connected to social and personal rules.

Apprentices are not as sensitive to the future of the occupation as their masters are. Most of them started working at the age of 13 or 14. They are very different from their masters. They are generally keen on technology, computer games, modern telephones, and football. They generally play football or computer games in their spare time. Most of them have no wish of maintaining the occupation. Their common characteristic is leaving school at an early age. They think that the

Grand Bazaar is a school of life. They love the Grand Bazaar, but they do not care much about the future of the occupation or craftsmanship. It can be said that their families force them to join the sector.

Working conditions create problems for craftsmanship. Workshops are always enclosed and narrow places. According to the work place's structure and the occupation's structure, which require extra attention because of the use of small pieces of material, vision problems are common.

Social networks are highlighted through the ethnicities of masters. Ethnic and religious kinships are important. Armenian and Greek masters generally have relatives or friends in different countries. Masters generally think that Armenian and Greek masters have a deeper knowledge of the occupation; often it is linked to "their genetics or blood," and they are also more advantaged for continuing their occupations abroad according to social linkages, which means that they have been in the business for a much longer time.

Kinships and social networks are also valued, similar to the trust concept, when starting out in the occupation. In order to be a jewelry craftsman, one needs to have a jeweler family member or a jeweler acquaintance. All of the masters were relatives or acquaintances of their own masters, and the apprentices were also all relatives or acquaintance of masters.²⁶

²⁶ The TÜBİTAK research also showed the importance of these linkages. According to the interviews from the TÜBİTAK investigation, 91% of the 346 firms highlighted the importance of the family in the sector, 79% highlighted the importance of acquaintances, and 71% highlighted the importance of kinship. There is an organized structure in jewelry clusters that form from formal and informal associations. Formal associations are organized as sectoral structuring, trade unions, and trade associations. Besides this, commercial associations are also other structures in the sector. Ethnic and religion kinships, family linkages, and traditional production culture are important elements of informal associations. The network system that is formed from family, ethnicity, and religious relationships sustains the production activities in the sector. It is seen that kinships and social networks create and encourage the informal structure of the sector.

There are different areas of specialization among masters, like *sadekar* master, *montur* master, *cilacı* master, *mihlayıcı* master, and so on. *Sadekar* masters first create sketches with precious metals, *montur* masters put together the pieces, *mihlayıcı* masters carve gold and gold products and place precious stones there, and *cilacı* masters shine products. It is the final stage of the production process. These are the different steps of the production process and all of them must occur within a network.

Different ethnic groups work together in the same khans. Their specializations are always different, and this system has continued for centuries according to the social networks among them. For example, while Armenian masters have expertise in the designing side of production, Turkish masters usually produce engagement rings, bracelets, etc.

Working conditions in bigger jewelry firms are different from small workshops. They look like jewelry factories, and the production is carried out in large working spaces that are grouped according to the specialization of the production. The firms have 300-600 employees with high export value and turnover. They give importance to advertising expenses and patents for their products. Generally, the firm's authority does not prefer to employ a master in the firm. There are only a few masters, or no master, in the bigger jewelry firms. The employees in these firms are just 'employees.' They only know one part of the production process, not the whole process. If there is a necessity for a master, the firms will work with a master from the Grand Bazaar for the process of production. They also have their own showrooms in or around the Grand Bazaar, in order to reach to customers. From this, we can say that there is a strong social and trading network between these firms and the Grand Bazaar.

Assessments

Traditional work relations and work ethic are still important in the sector. The jewelry sector has its own rules and ethics. All stages contain work discipline and work ethic, from the choosing of an apprentice to the producing of the product.

In this context, some concepts are highlighted within the notion of work ethic. One of them is trust. As detailed in the section on work ethic in the literature review, trust is an important component of social capital.

Trust is valued in the relationships between masters and masters, masters and apprentices, masters and customers, and the apprentices' families and masters. The concept of trust especially comes forward during the choosing of an apprentice.

Masters' priority while choosing an apprentice is trust, because of the high prices of the raw materials that are used to produce jewelry.

Trust is also important for the social relationship between the apprentice and customer, because an apprentice represents his master. A reliable apprentice is also important for the sustainability of the occupation. According to all of these issues, apprentices are always chosen from the masters' own family or acquaintances' families, and are always children of the same religious or ethnic groups. Masters believe that if an apprentice is a relative or an acquaintance, he will be more reliable and more connected to the occupation, because he will not only be accountable to the master but also accountable to his family.

The trust concept is also important in the relationship between masters and the apprentices' families. Families are always told that "he is your flesh, my bones," according to the respect and trust for the master when their child starts working. This also means that the responsibility for their child is now the master's.

Trust is furthermore important in the relationship between customer and producer. From the study results, it can be seen that the customers of a master are constant. They generally buy products every six months or every year. New customers can only find a master through the recommendations of their friends. Masters always take money from the customers after delivering the product, again in accordance with the trust concept.

Other important concepts related to work ethic are patience and discipline. As was mentioned, concentrating on the work for long hours is difficult and this can only be achieved when a person can adapt to the work emotionally and intellectually (Sennett, 2008: 28). The traditional work ethic is valued as self-disciplined use of one's time in voluntary practice. In bigger jewelry firms, team adaptability is highlighted. In the traditional work ethic, one should be connected to the occupation. There is a strong obedience to the master and to the occupation. Patience and discipline come from this obedience, and patience is also an important component of self-discipline. It is valued in the production process and it is also a criterion while choosing an apprentice.

In the Grand Bazaar, traditional work ethic rules are still valid. Work starts in the early morning and lasts until the late evening hours, and sometimes might even go on throughout night. There are no strict working hours. Self-discipline is mentioned as being of the greatest importance in the art of jewelry.

As was mentioned, in the trust concept, social capital is governed by a high degree of trust, and social values and norms are shared through a series of networks. These networks are effective during the production process and also effective on the relationship between actors. For example, *“In the older days, apprentices were handed over to masters and they learned all the details of the occupation until they were sent to the army. In this period, masters continued to send money to the apprentices. It was a kind of guarantee of life. By the end of the military service, the apprentice opened his own workshop with the help of his master. In addition,*

the master recommended some of his customers to his old apprentice in order to encourage him” (M4).

Trust and work ethic, which contain concepts of obedience, discipline, and patience, are especially highlighted in terms of starting and sustaining the occupation, education, knowledge transfer, production, and marketing processes. Social rules are still important in the Grand Bazaar and social and trade links and solidarity are valued.

The masters are especially highly connected to the social rules and work ethic and trust concepts in every stage of the production process. Although these concepts are valuable and necessary for the education, production, solidarity, and sustainability of the sector, they also encourage the informal structure of the sector. As is shown above, the craft-based jewelry sector’s structure is generally informal. There are few or no contracts, social security, or labor rights.

First, there is an embedded child labor problem. Masters are generally against the eight-year secondary education system because it keeps them from finding suitable apprentices. They employ children with low wages as apprentices. This creates a child labor problem in the sector. Additionally, they generally do not need to provide all of the other necessities of the apprentices. This system should be controlled.

Masters are against the forms of education that are based primarily on theory, as in trade schools. In order to stop child and youth labor in the sector and make trade schools more efficient, there should be a new system that would bring masters and schools together. Masters should give lessons to students of trade schools in order to raise the amount of practice and face-to-face education in these schools. Besides this, students should have a chance to see the production process in masters’ workshops with a well-integrated internship program. In this way,

workshops and trade schools will work together and there will be less child and youth labor in the sector.

Second, masters are generally opposed to certificates. They say that they do not need them. They do not need to be called a 'master' by others, and they complained about the process of obtaining a certificate: first they have to have an apprentice certificate, then obtain a journeyman certificate, and finally receive a master certificate. However, lack of a certificate means that they are not registered, so these processes create and strengthen the informal structure of the sector. They avoid becoming a member of a union. They think that these are only associations that profit from membership fees. Thus, they must use trust in their relationships with other sector members and in the production process.

Third, social rules are still very important in the sector. Every step, from finding an apprentice to educating him and making the product to sell in the production process, is done with the help of the trust concept. Security also provides them with the help of trust. Social exclusion is used as a way of punishment for idea theft or other things. This system might be useful now, but it will collapse in time because the craft is changing and the production of bigger firms is increasing. As Whitaker said, human beings still need the 'handcrafted' objects, not only for the satisfaction of physical needs but also for purely aesthetic reasons. For some reason, a certain quality, variously called spirit, elan, vitality, life, or art, seems to be transmitted through the direct contact of the artist-craftsman's hand into the product (Whitaker, 1967: 14). However, most of the sector actors think, and the findings show, that the occupation as a form of art-craft will disappear in the future, but as an industrial sector, it will be continued.

To conclude, global and national market forces initiated great changes in the sector, yet still a relatively small group of craftsmen could survive in this highly competitive environment. It seems that there are basically two options, either to join the mass production of jewelry or to keep to the old traditions of the craft.

Handmade jewelry still has an important value nowadays; at least, old motives and designs can find a niche in this sector. That is one position the “masters” can keep. The recruitment of new apprentices becomes more and more difficult, specifically because the sector is based on informal work relations and on an understanding of work discipline that does not allow much space for contemporary labor rights in terms of working hours, income, health guarantees, or workplace conditions. Strong familial, ethnic-religious, and social ties do provide the necessary trust and security in the sector, in which it is important that the raw materials, as well as the products, are of high value. But policymakers should be aware of the need for more formal, registered organizations in order to protect laborers, production, and networks among sector members. They should order formal arrangements, working conditions, social rights, retirement, and health and security rights, because the sector is developing and informal social rules will not provide all of its needs.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONS

1. MASTERS

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE

What was the year of birth?

What was the place of birth?

What is the family's hometown?

What is the master's gender?

What is his ethnicity?

What was the year of migration?

When did he start work?

What is the scope of his work?

What is his marital status?

What is the occupation of his wife?

Has he got any children?

Has he got any apprentices or journeymen?

Does he want his children to pursue the same occupation?

CRAFTSMANSHIP AND KNOWLEDGE

Who can be a craftsman?

Can he do any other job except jewelry?

Can he describe his master?

What is his benchmark while choosing an apprentice?

What does he think about trade schools and education of apprentices?

Are there any awards or punishments in the workshop?

WORK ETHIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

How long are working hours?

Does he have or want a master certificate?

What about social life?

What is his opinion about Istanbul?

Have they any occupational illnesses?

How do masters stop working?

GRAND BAZAAR AND JEWELRY

The discussion issues were about:

Production in the Grand Bazaar

Security system

Model, trademark, and manner

Technology and mass production

Production and the profiles of customers

State assistance

The situation of women in the jewelry sector

The future of the jewelry sector in Turkey

The Grand Bazaar and the future of the jewelry sector

Income and ownership

2. APPRENTICES

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE

What was the year of birth?

What was the place of birth?

What is the family's hometown?

What is the apprentice's gender?

What is his ethnicity?

What was the year of migration?

What was the year of starting work?

CRAFTSMANSHIP AND KNOWLEDGE

How and when did he start to work?

Is there anybody in the family who is a jeweler?

How long will he maintain the occupation?

Can he describe his master?

WORK ETHIC

How long are working hours?

What are their rights?

What are their out-of-work activities?

GRAND BAZAAR AND JEWELRY

What are their ideas about the Grand Bazaar?

3. FIRMS

What is the history of the establishment of the firm?

How many employees does it have?

Are there any masters in the firm?

How much money are masters and employees earning in a month?

What are the design strategies?

What about the relationship with the Grand Bazaar?

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