INVESTIGATING THE TRACES OF AKHI VALUES IN THE TURKISH JEWELRY INDUSTRY: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

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PLAGIARISM PAGE

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise I accept all legal responsibility.

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ABSTRACT

INVESTIGATING THE TRACES OF AKHI VALUES IN THE TURKISH JEWELRY INDUSTRY: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

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Although some studies claim that Akhi values still guide craft industries today in the Turkish business context, there is a lack of explorative studies that illuminates the issue. This study examines the values, traditions and practices in the Turkish jewelry industry. Specifically, the study aims to understand if Akhi values which dates back to nearly a millennium ago are still intact today among Turkish jewelers. In-depth interviews were conducted with 11 jewelers in İstanbul and Ankara. In addition, 2 focus group studies were conducted in Ankara. The data from the interviews and focus groups were analyzed by NVivo 10 qualitative data analysis software. The results imply that many Akhi values continue to guide business decisions and relationships in the jewelry industry. On the other hand, certain values of Akhism are not observable anymore in today's jewelry industry. The study contributes to the literature by elaborating on the persistence and disappearance of Akhi values.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE KUYUMCULUK SEKTÖRÜNDE AHİ DEĞERLERİNİN İZİNİN SÜRÜLMESİ: NİTEL BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Yüksek Lisans, Yönetim ve Organizasyon Bölümü

Danışman: Doç. Dr. Ayşe Elif ŞENGÜN

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Bazı akademik çalışmalar, Ahilik değerlerinin Türkiye'de zanaat sektörlerini yönlendirmeye devam ettiğini iddia etmektedir. Ancak, konu hakkında eksploratif çalışmaların yeterince yapılmadığı dikkat çekmektedir. Bu çalışma, Türkiye kuyumculuk sektörünün değerlerini, geleneklerini ve iş pratiklerini incelemektedir. Çalışma, özellikle kökeni neredeyse bin yıl önceye dayanan Ahilik değerlerinin kuyumculuk sektöründe hâlâ geçerli olup olmadığını anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda İstanbul Ankara'da 11 kuyumcuyla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Ek olarak 2 adet odak grup çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşmelerden ve odak gruplardan elde edilen veriler NVivo 10 nitel araştırma yazılımıyla analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmanın sonuçları, Ahiliğe ait bir çok değerin kuyumculuk sektöründe iş kararlarına ve ilişkilerine kılavuzluk etmeye devam ettiğini göstermektedir. Diğer yandan bazı Ahilik değerlerinin günümüzde artık gözlemlenmediği çalışmanın bir diğer sonucudur. Çalışma, değerlerin sürekliliği ve etkisinin kaybolması hakkında getirdiği açıklamalarla yazına katkıda bulunmaktadır.

DEDICATION

To my daughter

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1. INTRODUCTION

This study aims to investigate the informal norms, shared values, practices and traditions in the Turkish jewelry industry. More specifically, I try to understand if Akhi values that date back to the 13th century are still intact in the current Turkish jewelry industry. Therefore I take a historical perspective and first study the Akhi values and tradition from the literature and then compare these values to the values, norms and culture prevalent in today's Turkish jewelry industry. In order to achieve the latter end, I conduct a qualitative research and do content analysis of interviews of participants from the Turkish jewelry industry.

The complexity of business environment has significantly increased in recent years due to macro level changes such as advances in technology, accelerating globalization and varying consumer preferences. In this rapidly changing environment, firms face tougher competition and are forced to become more agile for survival. Governance of inter-firm relationships is critical for managing resource dependencies in unstable environments (Barney & Hansen, 1994). In such situations, relational governance mechanisms such as informal norms, shared meanings, values, trust and relationships based on ties of kinship are important resources (Macneil, 1980).

There is a vast literature on values and culture in various social science disciplines. Values have been defined as conceptions that enable individuals or groups to select a course of action among possible alternatives (Kluckhohn, 1951; Guth & Tagiuri, 1965), or as beliefs and attitudes that lead to a preference of certain state of affairs over others (Rokeach, 1973; Connor & Becker, 1994; Hofstede, 1980; Hambrick & Brandon, 1988). Some researchers believe that each individual have a value framework consisting of competing values, and that people prioritize some of them over others (Senger, 1971; Sikula, 1971). To sum up, values are concepts or beliefs that guide behavior and are ordered according to their relative importance (Schwart & Bilsky, 1987).

The level of analysis in the values literature under inspection is generally the individual level. While most research in the field deals with individual values, several researchers also point out to a lack of clarity about organizational and industrial level values (Agle & Caldwell, 1999). In this sense, our study also aims to contribute to the literature by exploring industry level values in the Turkish jewelry industry.

Other than the definition of values and different levels of analysis, two other important discussions in the literature are whether values influence behavior and whether they are persistent. There is a wide agreement on the view that values affect behavior (e.g. Schwart, 1992), although some researchers oppose it (e.g. Adler, 1956). Similarly, the persistence of values, sometimes for even centuries, is another point of agreement in the literature (Connor & Becker, 1994; Inglehart, 1985; Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach, 1989; Posner & Schmidt, 1992).

'Values' are closely related to the concept of 'culture'. For example, according to Broms & Gahmberg (1983), values underlie culture. In a similar vein, Deal & Kennedy (1982) put values at the core of the discussions about culture. Similar to values, culture also survives for very long periods of time and continues to influence business decisions (Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Moghaddam & Crystal, 1997; Putnam, 1993). Schein (2004) summarizes culture as the collection of unique methods with which a collectivity solves its problems. Hence, we believe that adding an examination of the current culture of the Turkish jewelry industry will provide us a better understanding regarding the industry's values. Therefore we will henceforth use the terms 'values' and 'cultural values' exchangeably.

Business values and culture are said to be deeply rooted in historical processes that shape economic mentality (Ülgener, 1991) in a given industry or country. Several researchers (e.g., Ülgener, 1991; Asceric-Todd, 2007) agree that Akhi values and Akhi culture are still intact even after centuries and these values continue to shape business relationships in modern Turkey, even today. In a similar vein, Erken (1998) strongly claims that the values of Akhism still function as effective principles of organization in craft industries in Turkey. In her explorative study of the craft jobs in the Grand Bazaar, Çörek (2011) shows that jewelry craftsmen still adhere to the work ethics of Akhism. Further, Cantekin (2014) in her study of the Turkish jewelry industry, reports that industry participants consider themselves as successors of the Akhi tradition and believe they feel obliged to abide by Akhi norms and values while practicing their craft so as to honor the title 'craftsman'.

Therefore, our objective in this thesis is to investigate systematically the above claims from the literature on the persistence of Akhi values in the Turkish jewelry industry. To achieve this, I first study Akhi values from the literature and then compare them to the current values guiding business exchanges in the Turkish jewelry industry. While doing this,

I employ a qualitative methods, since these methods are best suited for exploratory studies. Further, I make use of Nvivo as a software program to conduct content analysis of interviews done with participant from the Turkish jewelry industry.

By doing this study, I contribute to the literature in a number of respects. Firstly, I systematically study and conclude on a theoretical claim in the literature suggesting the persistence of Akhi values in Turkish craft industries. Secondly, my research provides a contribution to the literature on values and culture by giving empirical evidence on the theoretical idea that values are persistent. While some studies show that values may change at the individual and societal levels (Kramer, 1968; Miller & Wager, 1971; Abramson & Inglehart, 1995), many others claim that they are stable over time (Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach, 1989; Posner & Schmidt, 1992; Connor & Becker, 1994). As a result of qualitative content analysis, I show that many values of Akhism still live in the Turkish jewelry industry. Thirdly, the study contributes to the debate on whether values determine social behavior. Earlier studies express doubt about the effect of values on behavior (e.g. Adler, 1956; Blake & Davis, 1964; Wrong, 1961) while later stodies agree on the significance of values in explaining behavior (e.g. Ravlin & Meglino, 1987; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Kim et al., 1994). In this respect, I support the second view by providing evidence that values influence business decisions and relationships. Thirdly, there is a lack of studies for determining industrial values (Agle & Caldwell, 1999). This study also contributes to the literature by determining industrial level values at the Turkish business context

This thesis study is organized as follows: The next chapter examines the history and values of Akhism. The second chapter provides a literature review about business values and business culture. The third chapter is about methodology and data analysis and it contains the findings of the study. The last chapter summarizes and discusses the findings of the study, and elaborates on the limitations and implications for future research.

2. FUTUWWA, AKHISM, OTTOMAN GUILDS AND BUSINESS VALUES

Business culture is greatly affected by context in any particular industry. Context involves historical processes that have shaped the business environment as well as current conditions. According to Ülgener (1991), there are long lasting properties of economic organizations which stayed alive for centuries until modern times: '…Regardless of how much the outer shell of economic-social organization or the names that are attached to them changes, the spirit and mentality which fills their essence is not very different. For this reason, centuries did not have an abrasive effect on artisans' life style and world view and they carried this mentality to the beginning of new times, even to this day in many occasions' (p.35). Muallim Cevdet makes a similar argument for akhism as cited from Ülgener (1991): 'Akhism has lost its political function and its name has faded after the reign of Sultan Murad the 1st. However it did not completely disappear. Its mentality was still alive in artisan communities and this mentality was sustained in the bazaars, shops and guilds of Anatolia, İstanbul and Rumeli' (p.77) In this regard, akhism has been a popular research topic for understanding social structures that affected economic life in muslim societies.

Despite the existence of a vast literature on the concept, a consensus has not been reached on the definition of akhism. While some scholars see akhism as a form of occupational organization, others see it as a religious movement whose members happen to be craftsmen and traders. For example; Baer (1970) stresses the distinction between akhi groups and Ottoman guilds, explaining the main difference between them as professionalism. He claims guilds are professional organizations that meet the following criteria so akhi groups do not belong to this category: 'One may be justified in speaking about the existence of guilds if within a certain area all the people occupied in a branch of the urban economy constitute a unit which, at one and the same time, fulfils various purposes, such as economic, fiscal, administrative and social functions. A further condition is the existence of a framework of officers or functionaries chosen from among the members of such a unit and headed by a headman' (Baer 1970, p.1). Cahen (1968) supports this view by emphasizing that akhis were craftsmen and tradesmen who belonged to the futuwwa tradition in their spiritual life but they were not organized on the basis of professional occupation: 'The futuwwa organizations throughout the whole Muslim world before the end of the Middle Ages, even though they included men most of whom followed some trade, were not professional organizations in the sense that the profession does not appear to have

been the basis of either for their activities or for the division of their members into sub-groups' (p.199).

Akhism is not a clearly defined concept but most scholars agree that it is not peculiar to Anatolia and the roots of its ideology lies in the futuwwa organizations of previous periods (Ocak 1996, p.181). Çağatay (1974) sets a rare exception to this agreement by evaluating akhism and futuwwa separately and claiming that akhism emerged totally as a Turkish institution in history. Considering that it is highly unlikely for an institution to emerge without any origins, we believe it is important to understand futuwwa groups to have a better grasp of akhism and its values.

2.1.Futuwwa Organizations And Their Values

The word 'futuwwa' originates from the Arabic word 'fata' which means young man. But in Arabic poetry, the word carries a wider meaning and describes an ideal person with the qualities of extreme generosity and courage (Taeschner, 1953). The groups of people who adhered to these principles of futuwwa were called *fityan,* the plural form of *fata*. In general, futuwwa is a set of qualities that are worthy of praise and fityan is a group of people that possess these qualities.

Early Muslim conquests in the 7th century helped the concept spread and be adopted in a large area by different groups of people. It should be noted that various social groups associated themselves with futuwwa but at the same time combined it with their group characteristics and utilized it to strengthen solidarity. For instance; evidence shows that books called *siyasatnama*s, which were written in order to provide advice for rulers and high bureaucrats of the period, described futuwwa as an ideal of nobility in 10th and 11th century Persia (Levy 1951, p.239). On the other hand, another group of *fityan* called *ayyarun* (can be translated as vagabonds) frequently caused political unrest and managed to establish a dictate rule in Baghdad between the years 1135-1144 according to Ibn al-Athir (Taeschner, 1953). Taeschner (1953) identifies the following characteristics of a tightly knit organization in *ayyarun* groups: 1) an initiation ceremony in which the new member wears garments called *libas al-futuwwa,* formal dress of the futuwwa group, 2) a concept of honor that involves high moral standards and honesty inside the group and expulsion of members who violate honor codes, 3) an oath taken on futuwwa principles, 4) an unwavering commitment to appeal to an internal arbitration mechanism named *musalaha* instead of state courts when

conflict occurs within the group, 5) accusation of group members with cooperation in their illegal activities. These characteristics indicate the prominence of internal order and social solidarity over individual considerations, as well as the existence of a distinct group identity which manifests itself with special clothing and internal problem solving. Later, we will see that akhi organizations have similarities to futuwwa groups in this regard.

Sufis were another important group that adopted futuwwa principles in their circles. They improved the futuwwa concept and installed in it an Islamic identity that goes beyond generosity and courage.

Al-Sulami, an 11th century sufi wrote the first *futuwwatnamah,* which was the first book that reflects the sufi interpretation of futuwwa. Al-Sulami describes futuwwa as follows at the beginning of his book *Kitab al-Futuwwa*: 'All praise is due to Allah Who has opened the path of Futuwwah, which leads to the most beautiful form of the fulfillment of our duties to Him, and Who has cleared and cleansed that path from all errors and all evil and raised its level to the highest. The prophets whom He has sent and the chosen servants who are close to Him are on this path. All for whom the path to Truth has been opened and whose names are written as pure in the Book of Righteousness learned to follow this path and attained the noble levels of those who embody Futuwwah.' (Bayrak 1984, p.1). Al-Sulami imports futuwwa into sufism by relating it to the main sources of religion such as prophets or the holy book, a tradition that continues in futuwwatnamas of later periods. He also mentions six qualities of people that possess futuwwa: 'He is thankful for the little that he has, patient amid the greatest trouble, kindly to the ignorant, and generous so as to educate the miser; he seeks no praise for doing good, and does not stop doing what he believes to be good out of fear of criticism' (Bayrak 1984, p.83). As stated above, the futuwwa understanding of pre-Islamic periods was mainly about generosity and bravery. With sufism, we see that modesty and altruism are added as central components to the futuwwa construct.

Another well known sufi from the 11th century, al-Qushayri has a chapter on futuwwa in his book *Al-Risala al-qushayriyya fi'ilm al-tasawwuf*. His view of futuwwa involves a high degree of altruism : 'The foundation of futuwwa is that the servant of God always exerts himself in the service of others' (Knysh 2007, p.266). al-Harith al-Muhasibi, the founder of the Baghdad sufism school, further highlights the altruism inherent in the sufi way of futuwwa: 'Futuwwa means that you act justly, while not demanding justice for your own self' (Knysh 2007, p.238).

Despite the fact that sufis contributed greatly to the evolution of futuwwa identity to a religious one, many researchers assert that the origin of futuwwa organizations should be searched not in Arabian Peninsula but in lands that were conquered by the Arabs. For example, Widengren (1968) points out the existence of a similar organization called *mairya* dating back to 1000 B.C. in Persian Mesopotamia. Taeschner (1953) states that it is reasonable to search for the roots of futuwwa in the solidarity organizations of the antique world that were established in the cities of Byzantium and Sassanid empires. Another orientalist, Massignon (1934) assumes the futuwwa-like organizations first emerged in Ctesiphon (or Madain in Arabic), the capital of the Sassanid Empire.

As mentioned above, futuwwa has been seen in the history as a multiform entity, depending on the ideologies and social positions of various groups who adopted it. The multiform aspect of futuwwa continued until the Abbasi caliph al-Nasir Lidinillah abolished all independent futuwwa groups and gathered all of them under his authority according to Ibn al-Athir (Taeschner, 1953). Futuwwa became a government institution in al-Nasir's leadership. Taeschner (1953) notes that al-Nasir chose a sufi sheikh for running his initiation ceremony to futuwwa and as a result, the superficial bond between futuwwa organizations and sufism became concrete and strong. After al-Nasir re-established futuwwa in his person, the sufi effect has become more and more dominant. One of the great scholars and Sufis of his time, Abu Hafs Umar Suhrawardi was the primary supporter of al-Nasir in institutionalizing and spreading futuwwa to the muslim world. Suhrawardi claims that futuwwa and sufism are actually the same and the two structures should unite under the caliph's authority (Uluç 2004, p.37). In his view, futuwwa is a sub branch of Sufism and Sufism is subject to the caliphate (Uluç 2004, p.54). In his writings, these views are seen clearly: '…the caliphate is a notebook, sufism is a part of the caliphate and it is also a notebook. Futuwwa is part of sufism. Futuwwa is having good qualities, sufism is the sum of good behaviors and the union of good sources. The glorious caliphate unites good behaviors, good actions and good qualities' (Anadol 1991, p.15). Suhrawardi was a personal advisor to al-Nasir and held a political influence in state affairs (Çatak 2007, p.12) and was a widely respected sufi sheikh who had access to independent futuwwa groups (Uludağ 1996, vol. 13, p.260). He was sent to Anatolia as an ambassador to initiate the Seljuk sultan İzz al-Din Kayka'us and his brother Ala ad-Din Kaykubad into the newly reshaped futuwwa institution (Anadol 1991, p.22). According to Cahen (1968); Seljuk sultans were eager to

embrace futuwwa in order to gain the caliph's favor and pose themselves as upholders of orthodoxy, thus they opened the way to the stimulation of futuwwa in Anatolia.

Futuwwa is accepted as the ideological base of akhi organizations by most historians. Arnakis (1953) describes akhi groups as the embodiment of futuwwa ideas in Anatolia: 'In Asia Minor the Akhiyat al-Fityan appeared as the most vital realization of futuwwa ideology from the middle of the thirteenth century to the last quarter of the fourteenth—that is from the morrow of the defeat of the Rum Seljuks by the Mongols until the time when Anatolian Turkish society assumed a stable character' (p.234). Taeschner (1953) emphasizes futuwwa has never been completely erased from history, it took different shapes by merging with craft and trade unions and becoming founding principles of guilds. In this regard, he names akhism as a 'type of futuwwa that is particular to Anatolia' (p.17). Köprülü (1976) describes akhis as an 'occupational-sufistic group that comprises singles' (p.211) that was widespread in Anatolia and assumed important functions in the foundation years of the Ottoman Empire. Ocak (1996) indicates it is of critical importance to notice the sufi origins of akhism in order to understand its organizational structure: 'Akhism did not emerge as an artisanal entity at the beginning; on the contrary, it developed on the futuwwa tradition because the first Melamati futuwwa founders that lived in Khorasan in the 9th and 10th centuries such as Hafs-i Haddad and Hamdun-i Kassar belonged to the artisanal class. In other words, akhism took the aspect of an artisanal organization' (p.185). Köprülü (1976) also points out a similar view: '…Akhi organization is not a community of artisans, it can be counted as a sufi sect that relies on and spreads its beliefs via that organization' (p.213).

As futuwwa organizations, akhi groups had certain regulations and ethical codes laid out by futuwwanamas. Futuwwanamas are written documents that describe rules of conduct, ceremonies, manners and they provide valuable insights about social and occupational life of akhi groups. They have continued to draw a framework for governing Ottoman craft guilds after akhism was replaced by them in the 15th century. For instance, Asceric-Todd (2007) observes analogies between practices of dervish orders and initiation ceremonies of craft guilds in a futuwwatnama dating from the 16th century Bosnia. She also gives another example, a guild statute of tanners to demonstrate the close relationship between craftsmanship and spiritual development:

> '…it should be known that as a tanner in a visible manner tans and cleans a dirty hide, his soul too becomes clean from animal qualities and the darkness of ignorance; he becomes

> enlightened and does not depart for a single hour from the manifestation of Beauty. Thus, just as sole-leather is golden yellow and not empty of sustenance and numerous kinds of benefactions, so are the hearts of the tanners who tan it not devoid for an instant of divine gifts.' (Asceric-Todd 2007, p.7)

One of the most important rites of akhi organizations was the belt girding ceremony for new initiates. In this ceremony, a new apprentices were accepted into the akhi organization after certain rituals are performed and the belt (also called *şed*) was girded to him by his master. The initiate promises to adhere to certain values and is given warnings about what will happen to him if he does not live up to these moral expectations. We can gain insights about the values of akhism from the words that were said to an apprentice in his girding ceremony:

> "My son, listen with your heart and accept this advice: do not transgress even a foot-length beyond the borders of the religious law (*sharia*), do not follow passion and devils, do not neglect your prayers, respect the masters and do not be rude to other journeymen; do not betray the one who gave you your bread, and do not give false oaths; with one hand work for yourself and with the other for the poor and never miss out doing good whenever you can — that way you will also receive good in the next world; do you hear this and do you accept it?...I give you the licence to practice so that you may earn your living in this way, keeping away from the things that are forbidden (*haram*). If you can work this way, work, but if not, then leave the craft, lest I be your prosecutor in the next world." (Asceric-Todd 2007, p. 167)

This text shows an intermingling of religious values and in-group solidarity principles. First, the apprentice is advised to stay in boundaries defined by religion while performing his craft. Second, he should not follow passion. Passion can be interpreted as sacrificing morals for maximizing earnings. So, moral values are put before close pursuit of profit in a capitalist sense. Third; he should respect the authority of his superior craftsmen in other words the in-group hierarchy, and should not betray the group that provides him the means for earning his life. Then he should stick to honesty in his professional life and demonstrate a high level of altruism by working for the poor besides himself. Lastly, the apprentice is threatened by expulsion if he does not obey the standards of akhism.

The first futuwwanama written in Turkish language in Anatolia is the futuwwanama of Yahya bin Halil al-Burgazi, probably dating before Ibn Battuta arrived in Anatolia (Anadol 1991, p.28; Köprülü 1976, p.215). Çağatay (1952) examines the futuwwanama of al-Burgazi and Avarif-ul Mearif, a sufi classic authored by Suhrawardi, to compare sufi and

futuwwa principles and notes some similarities such as: great emphasize and elaboration on manners, exaltation of serving others, hierarchical relationship between the master-apprentice and sheikh-sufi duos that can be observed in belt girding ceremony of akhis and cardigan wearing ceremony of sufi orders, details about meetings and rites performed at these gatherings. Besides underlining the close relationship between akhism and sufism, Çağatay's (1952) article also shows the values behind traditional economic mentality mentioned above.

It should be noted that practical life may not completely reflect the literature on futuwwa and akhism. Codification of ethical and moral principles may not suffice for people's adoption of these thoughts. Futuwwanamas inform us about the discrepancies between the ideal qualities that craftsmen should possess and their practical behavior. In this regard, Al-Burgazi is one of the many futuwwanama writers that complain about deviations from akhi work ethics:

> '…I see that futuwwa groups (*ehl-i fütüvvet*) are engaged in many illegal works. They plunged in hubris and abandoned the righteous way. They preferred cheating, disorder and heresy over righteousness and courage. They caused internal quarrel and fights. They gained earnings in forbidden ways (*haram*). They invented various new things (*bid'at*) and named them futuwwa…they called treachery as respecting futuwwa…I, Yahya bin Halil bin Çoban al-Burgazi see that akhis do not have a futuwwanama with which they can learn and practice the way of futuwwa as best as they can. They have some futuwwanama copies which do not reflect the original futuwwa…Futuwwa lives only in name, people abandoned its principles…I wrote this futuwwanama in Turkish because majority of Anatolia speaks Turkish language and I want them to benefit from this work.' (Anadol 1991, p.31)

2.2.Akhism In Anatolia Through Ibn Battuta's Memories

According to Köprülü (1991), people from various social groups including nobles, traders, sufis, artisans and even vagabonds have become members of akhi organizations throughout the 13th century. Prevalence of akhi organizations in Anatolia can also be inferred from the writings of travelers such as Ibn Battuta. Ibn Battuta traveled in Anatolia between the years 1330-1331 and visited many cities and towns. He gives a detailed account of akhis he encountered in every part of Anatolia in his travel book *Seyahatnama*. Some of his impressions on akhis are as follows:

> "Akhis exist in every city, town and village inhabited by Turcomans in *Bilad-ı Rum* (the Ottoman Anatolia of the time). They have no equal in showing hospitality and generosity to strangers, serving them food and meeting their needs, fending off and eliminating ruffians and killing bad people who help cruelty. Akhi is generally the name of the man who is chosen unanimously as a chieftain of unmarried young artisans and futuwwa is the name of their society. The chieftain builds a dervish lodge, furnishes it with carpets and other needed things and hangs oil lamps. Members of this community work for their livelihood during daytime and bring their earnings to the chieftain in the late afternoon. With this they buy food, fruits other things required for the lodge. If a traveler comes to town, they host him in the lodge and prepare a feast for him. That person becomes their guest until he leaves. If they don't have a guest, they dine together and sing and dance; in the morning they perform their occupations and all of them bring their earnings to the chieftain again. These are called fityan and their chieftain is called akhi. I have seen no one in the world with better qualities than these people." (Aykut 2004, vol 1, p.404)

Ibn Battuta's words show that akhis stand out with their dedication to hospitality and generosity, futuwwa values of both pre-Islamic and Islamic periods. Another deduction from his memories is that akhis also undertake the role of a peacekeeping organization. Considering the decentralized state of Anatolia and the weakness of state authority, we can claim that akhism operated as more than an occupational community. It played an important role for social solidarity in general. We can also deduce that the sufi interpretation of futuwwa was dominant in the lives of Anatolian akhis since they were organized under a religious institution. We can also clearly see that a high level of altruism, a characteristic of sufi futuwwa teachings, was a highly revered value of Anatolian akhis.

Ibn Battuta then describes the dervish lodge in Antalya:

> "It was the second day after we arrived in Antalya. One of the young akhis who were called fityan came and spoke with sheikh Şihabeddin Hamevi in Turkish. I could still not understand Turkish at that time. He had worn out clothes and a felt hat. Sheikh asked me if I understood what he was saying. I said I did not understand him. I was astonished when sheikh said he was inviting me and my friends for dinner, but I immediately accepted the offer. When the man left, I turned to sheikh and said: 'This man seems to be a poor man, he cannot afford to host us, and I do not want to put him in a difficult position.' Sheikh laughed and answered: 'This man is a prominent akhi. He is a master tanner who is famous for his generosity. He leads about two hundred artisans. They chose him as their leader and built a lodge. Now they are spending there what they earn in the daytime.' The man returned after

we completed the evening prayer. We went there together. It was an amazing place….They served us various kinds of meals, fruits and desserts. Then they began to sing and dance. Their good behavior and hospitality further increased our amazement…" (Aykut 2004, vol.1, p.405)

We can again see a vivid account of futuwwa principles of generosity and altruism, which directs akhis to show their hospitality even when they are in need.

Ibn Battuta continues his journey and goes to Ladik (Denizli) after Antalya. He encounters akhis in this city too in a very interesting occasion:

"We saw some people coming out of their shops and turning our animals from their direction by clinging to their halters. Suddenly another group showed up, stopped them and started quarreling. When the quarrel dragged on, some of them drew their daggers and tried to attack the others. They were speaking but we did not understand anything. We began to get afraid. We were worried that they could be bandits who were after our goods. Then, Allah sent us a man who knew Arabic. We asked him what they wanted. He answered: 'These men are brave akhis!'. The first group was akhi Sinan's men and the ones who stopped them belonged to akhi Tuman's group. Both sides wanted to host us and they were quarreling because of this. It is impossible to stay unastonished when one sees such hospitality! In the end, they solved the problem by drawing a lot. It was decided that whoever won the lot would host us first. Akhi Sinan's group won the draw. Sinan welcomed us with his friends when he heard about the result of the draw. We went to his lodge together. They immediately brought us food. Then, Sinan took us to bathhouse. After the bathhouse, they prepared a big feast. They served us various fruits and desserts. We listened to qaris who were reciting the Qor'an. Then, all of them began their sema ritual….We went to akhi Tuman's lodge the next day, after we visited the sultan and his son. They served us food and took us to the bathhouse just like the others, then they served us rose water. Then we came to the lodge. Like the other group, they served us delicious meals, fruit and desserts. Some parts of the Qor'an was recited after the feast, they sang and danced. We stayed at their lodge for a while." (Aykut 2004, vol.1, p.409-410)

He then describes a religious festival in Ladik. Akhis take place in the public ceremony and receive special favor in the sultan's mansion:

"We experienced the holy Ramadan bayram in this city. When we arrived at the mosque; we saw that the sultan came with his soldiers. Akhi artisans were ready with their drums and horns and flags that symbolize their professions. They were heavily armed and competing

> with each other in showing their glory. Artisans were distributing meat and bread to poor people in the cemetery…After the bayram prayer, we headed to the sultan's mansion. Two feasts were prepared; one for sheikhs, akhis and religion scholars and the other for poor people. Everyone was accepted into the sultan's mansion that day, whether he was poor or rich." (Aykut 2004, vol.1, p.410)

Akhism existed in various social strata in Anatolia. Besides artisans, people from different professions were also part of akhi organizations. As an example, Ibn Battuta meets a *kadı* (judge) who is also the sheikh of a big akhi lodge in Konya:

> "We stayed in the mansion of Ibn Kalemsah, a kadi and the sheikh of a big akhi lodge. This man has many students. They relate themselves to Ali bin Ebu Talib in futuwwa. God bless him. They have a tradition of wearing shalwar (a kind of baggy trousers), just like sufi dervishes have a tradition of wearing cardigans." (Aykut 2004, vol.1, p.412)

We also learn that akhis assisted the ruling class in political affairs from Ibn Battuta's memories in Kayseri. :

> "As a tradition, akhis temporarily take over the sultan's duties when he is not in the city. Akhis host visitors, gives them new clothes and horses. They act like a sultan with their behaviors, orders and horse mounting style!" (Aykut 2004, vol.1, p.416)

Similar to his experience in Ladik, akhis of Erzurum treated Ibn Battuta with hospitality. We understand that it was a matter of honor for akhis to host their guests as best as they can:

> "We settled in Akhi Tuman's lodge in Erzurum…We wanted to continue our journey after staying here for two days. Akhi Tuman took offense from our behavior and tried to prevent us leaving. He said 'If you leave, you will destroy our reputation in the city. Because a visitor must be hosted for at least three days.' We had to stay there for three days!" (Aykut 2004, vol.1, p.417)

2.3.Ottoman Guild System And Business Values

First of all, one should be wary of using the word guild in the Ottoman context. Black (1997) warns researchers against borrowing terms from other cultures because they contain social and mental constructs that were shaped in another historical context. Historical documents show us the words *esnaf* or *taife* were used as indigenous words corresponding to craft and trade organizations. However, for the sake of convenience we use the term guild

and define it as a craft organization that possessed its own internal rules and regulations and official leaders as its representatives.

We mentioned before that akhi groups and Ottoman guilds are distinct organizations, and professionalism is the main difference between the two. The timing of the transition from akhi groups to professional craft guilds is still unclear due to insufficient documentation, however historians agree that this transition is closely related with the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire and strengthening of central state authority during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Taeschner, 1953; Arnakis, 1953; Lewis, 1937). In support of this opinion, Baer (1970) and Faroqhi (2009) notes a structure that can be called a professional occupational organization has not emerged in the Ottoman Empire until the fifteenth century. On the other hand, as cited in Baer (1970) Taeschner marks the beginning of the sixteenth century as the period in which futuwwa organizations transitioned into professional guilds. Archival documents collected in Ergin (2000) describe a procession ceremony on the circumcision day of Sultan Murad the 3rd's son Mehmet in the year 1582, and name a lot of different professional groups of artisans that takes place. From a collection of imperial edicts in Altınay (2000), we learn that a *kethüda* and a *yiğitbaşı* was appointed to *varakçılar* (gilders) guild in 1572 in order to ensure a steady supply of silver and gold leafs to the Sultan's court at reasonable prices (vol. 1, p.155). Other imperial edicts from the same collection mention *kethüda*, *şeyh* and *yiğitbaşı* for many groups such as bakers, tanners, boatmen, pin makers, leather merchants, sweet sellers etc. in 1580s (vol.1, p.141-188). So, we can definitely conclude that professional guilds existed in the sixteenth century.

Mantran (1990) asserts that guilds were the only social groupings in seventeenth century İstanbul and this had deep economic, social and administrative effects. There does not exist any consensus on this idea but scholars agree that guilds consisted the main ground for Ottoman economy (İnalcık 1989, p.151). Although they did not encompass the entire working population, large number of craftsmen and service workers worked under guilds (Quataert, 2001). When it comes to number of guilds, it is a confident claim that over a hundred different guilds existed according to court records, law codes and price registers (Yi 2004, p.25; Akgündüz 1990, vol.4, p.321-329). *Kuyumcular* (goldmiths) are included in most documents that list guilds. An extreme tendency to split into specialized branches is observed in Ottoman guilds according to Baer (1964) in order to maintain control over guild members by limiting population and enabling close personal ties. Demirtaş (2010) also notes

that guilds have a tendency of spatial concentration due to formal regulations and security concerns. However, Yi (2004) finds evidence from court records that spatial concentration may not be a binding principle. It should not be overlooked that guilds were very diverse in terms of number of members and geographical coverage (Baer, 1970). Evliya Çelebi's records show that number of guild members range from a few to thousands (Gökyay, 1996). In all cases, it is safe to assume that a high degree of coherence and geographical concentration increase guilds' control over their members (Faroqhi, 2002)

Many scholars assume a three level membership structure for Ottoman guilds; *usta* (master), *kalfa* (senior apprentice) and *çırak* (apprentice) (Yi, 2004). For example, Ergin's (2000) description of guilds of Serres in the nineteenth century uses this three tiered structure. On the other hand, Barkan (1979) shows that only masters and apprentices work in construction in the mid-sixteenth century. Also Gerber (1988) points out that the rank of senior apprentice is rarely mentioned in the seventeenth century documents.

Guilds were sensitive in protecting standards in terms of initiation into and progression in the craft. In Kütükoğlu (1986), we see the seal makers' guild report intruders to the *kadi* (judge) as unqualified and unskilled. It is clear that guilds viewed training under a qualified master for a certain amount of time as the legitimate way to open an independent shop. Ülgener (1991) evaluates the hierarchic relationship between masters and apprentices as a reflection of Ottoman economic mentality that is fostered by traditional work values. The government generally allowed guilds to handle membership matters internally but in the eighteenth century it ordered that all guildsmen without guarantors (*kefil*) would be expelled from İstanbul (Yi, 2004). Entering into guilds' domains were subject to rules but according to Yi (2004), there existed ways for outsiders to enter without disturbing the incumbents: 1) renting a shop from a guild member, 2) renting or purchasing a shop from a shop owner, 3) becoming a business partner with a guild member and 4) investing in shops.

Ottoman guilds are seen as a tool of the government to control economic life by some scholars (e.g. Baer, 1970; Mantran, 1990). On the other hand, some scholars think that guilds were not mere tools, they had a certain autonomy and flexibility in their internal affairs (e.g. Kütükoğlu, 1986; Yi, 2004). Evidence that support both views exist in the literature. For instance, Kütükoğlu (1986) shows that guilds can handle their internal affairs without government help. Inalcık (1986) notes that the *kethüda* must be approved by the guild in his article describing the appointment procedure of a *kethüda.* Ergenç (1980) also provides cases

from Bursa and Ankara court records in which kethüdas were selected unanimously by guild members. These examples support the view that guilds had autonomy. However, existence of government intervention on kethüda appointment in large guilds which provisioned İstanbul shows that guild autonomy have limits (Yi, 2004). Government authority in setting prices, appointing kethüdas, allowing new shops and punishing wrongdoers (Baer, 1970; Mantran, 1990; Demirtaş, 2010) support the view that puts more emphasis on the effect of government in guilds' operations.

Whether or not they were autonomous structures, internal mechanisms were important for guilds in problem solving. For example, there are only a few cases in which guildsmen reported their fellows to courts for rule violation and even fewer occasions of expulsion from guilds in the sixteenth century İstanbul (Yi, 2004). Gerber (1988) mentions only three expulsion cases in Bursa from the same period (p.57). It can be interpreted that guild members prefer to deal with internal matters without involving the government authorities. Furthermore; Kuran (2010) shows that courts never move on their own initiative in guild matters, but deal with them only if guild members appeal. Gerber (1988) draws attention to social sanctions and states that reporting problem makers to the court may be a punishment itself (p.57). Guild members made informal agreements on different matters such as kethüda selection, production standards, raw material distribution etc. and appealed to courts to notarize these verbal agreements (Ergenç, 1980; Kuran, 2010). Even though it is proper to assume guild members in the top ranks had more power in making agreement decisions (İnalcık, 1993), it is still important that informal agreements were accepted as evidence by courts in dispute resolution.

Another important subject of scholarly interest is the role of Akhism and futuwwa values in the life of professional guilds. As Baer (1970) cites, there is a proposition that guilds have encouraged honesty and sobriety among craftsmen through their affiliation with sufi sects. Similarly, Ergin (2000) states that sufi connections of guilds develop righteousness and contentment among their members. Another document provided by Ergin (2000) describes a transition ceremony in which desired qualities of a master is listed as follows: faithfulness, integrity, respect to guild masters and members and to customers, honesty, consideration of other people's interests, obedience to the sovereign, veneration of the ulema, kindness to other people, love of children, helpfulness, and the consideration of apprentices and journeymen as the master's children (p.710). Court documents provide

examples of kethüdas that were dismissed because of their laziness, incompetence, negligence and greed while new kethüda candidates were praised as pious, upright and knowledgeable in front of the kadi (Yi 2004, p.79). Demirtaş (2010) claims that goldsmith guilds paid great attention to trustworthiness of their apprentices due to the malfeasable nature of the craft (p.70). In addition; one of the most important futuwwa values, cooperation and altruism, was highly regarded in Ottoman guilds. According to Ergin (2000); each guild had a mutual help fund called *orta sandığı* or *teavün sandığı* these funds were used for purposes such as helping a master to open a new shop, lending money to members in need, assistance to poor members' families after their death or reciting Qoran in the Eyüp Mosque during ramadan (vol.1, p.576-580). Lastly, Evliya Çelebi shares his memories about an initiation ceremony that occurs at a guild excursion of goldsmiths (Gökyay 1996, vol.1, p.272-273). This ceremony involves belt girding of the apprentice, sermons about moral and religious principles and respecting masters just as other akhi initiation ceremonies do (p.273).

All of the abovementioned evidence show that Akhi organizations may have declined and disappeared in the while that Ottomans were becoming an empire, however their traditions and values continued to be exercised by the professional guild system that took its place.

An overall summary of central Akhi values is provided in the following table:

Table 1: Akhi values and their explanations

AKHI VALUES	EXPLANATION	REPRESENTATIVE QUOTATION
Altruism	Selflessness, putting others before one's self	"The foundation of futuwwa is that the servant of God always exerts himself in the service of others" (Al-Risala al-Qushayriyya)
Apprenticeship	On-the-job education of new members by experienced masters	N/A
Ascetism	Abandoning the pleasures of this world for spiritual development	N/A

AKHI VALUES	EXPLANATION	REPRESENTATIVE QUOTATION
Benevolence	A tendency towards doing good to people	"…with one hand work for yourself and with the other for the poor and never miss out doing good whenever you can…" (Tanners' guild statute, Bosnia)
Contentment	Being satisfied with one's current economic status	"He is thankful for the little that he has" (Al-Sulami's Kitab al-Futuwwa)
Cooperation	Working collectively for individual and group prosperity	N/A
Faithfulness	Believing in İslam and practicing it in personal and professional life	N/A
Group identity	A shared sense of belonging by the group members that separate them from out-group	N/A
Halal profits	Doing business inside the borders that are drawn by Islamic rules	"...I give you the licence to practice so that you may earn your living in this way, keeping away from the things that are forbidden (*haram*)" (Tanners' guild statute, Bosnia)
Helpfulness	Taking action for helping people while prioritizing the in-group	N/A
Honesty	Truthfulness, not being deceitful	N/A
Internal problem solving	Solving internal problems without involving official authorities	N/A
Keeping promises	Fulfilling declared ommitments in every part of life	N/A

AKHI VALUES	EXPLANATION	REPRESENTATIVE QUOTATION
Moral integrity	Obeying the norms dictated by religion and traditions	"…do not transgress even a foot-length beyond the borders of the religious law…" (Tanners' guild statute, Bosnia)
Obeying elders	Carrying out the superiors' wishes without question	"…respect the masters and do not be rude to other journeymen…" (Tanners' guild statute, Bosnia)
Professionalism	Proving a high level of proficiency in the craft	N/A
Religion	Sufi interpretation of Islam as the source of all Akhi values	"…do not transgress even a foot-length beyond the borders of the religious law…" (Tanners' guild statute, Bosnia)
Respecting traditions	Taking traditions as reference for daily conduct and problem solving	N/A
Righteousness	Always saying and defending the truth, being just	"Futuwwa means that you act justly…" (Al-Risala al-Qushayriyya)
Social sanctions	Informal sanctions that are applied to people who violate group norms	N/A
Trustworthiness	Being reliable on doing what is needed or right	N/A

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1.Business Values

Values have been an important research topic for scholars from various disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics and business administration. This long lasting interest on the subject has generated an extensive body of knowledge in the business literature as well as other branches of social science.

Despite the fact that research on values has a long history, some scholars complain from obstacles to progress such as conceptual ambiguities or measurement problems. For instance, Hechter (1993) claims there are major impediments to progress in values research. Among these are that: (1) values are unobservable, (2) they are difficult to measure, (3) processes that generates values are unknown, and (4) there is not sufficient explanation on how values affect behavior. Early contributors such as Blake & Davis (1964) and Wrong (1961) question the roles values play in social life and point out a lack of empirical evidence. Williams (1979) notes values have referred to various terms such as 'interests, pleasures, likes, preferences, duties, moral obligations, desires, wants, goals, needs, aversions and attractions, and many other kinds of selective orientations' (p.16). Adler (1956), on the other hand, implies that values are immeasurable and they may not be useful for explaining social behavior at all:

> 'Values may be seen as absolutes, as inherent in objects, as present within man, and as identical with his behavior. Absolutes are inaccessible to science. Values in objects cannot be discovered apart from human behavior relating to the objects. Internal states cannot be observed apart from action. Thus what people do is all that can be known about their values. The meaning of an action can be grasped without recourse to any kind of value concept if meaning is understood as the probability of other events preceding, accompanying, or following it.' (p.272)

Values have been defined in various ways in the literature depending on the research area and level of analysis in which it is operationalized. For example, Thomas & Znaniecki (1958) call social values 'the objective, social elements which impose themselves upon the individual as given' (p.1131) and guide his behavior. Parsons (1951) states that 'an element of a shared symbolic system which serves as a criterion or standard for selection of the

alternatives of orientation which are intrinsically open in a situation may be called a value' (p.12). According to Sorokin (1947), any meaning is also a value which presupposes a norm of conduct. Kluckholn (1951) defines value as 'a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the *desirable (italics mine)* which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action.' (p.395). Guth & Tagiuri (1965) also view a value as an explicit or implicit conception 'of what an individual or a group regards as desirable, and in terms of which he or they select, from among alternative available modes, the means and ends of action (p.124-125). Rose (1956) assumes that values are attitudes 'held by an individual or group toward an object—material or nonmaterial, real or imaginary—such that the object is esteemed, as something worthy of choice, so that in relation to the behavior of those who hold it the value has a should or ought quality (p.5). In his definition, Rokeach (1973) also stresses the effect of values on human will: 'A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence' (p.5). Connor & Becker (1994) describe values in absolute rather than relative terms and claim that they can be 'thought of as global beliefs about desirable end states underlying attitudinal and behavioral processes' (p.551). Hofstede (1980) defines values as 'a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others' (p.19) and Hambrick & Brandon (1988) use a similar definition that points out the preference shaping property of values: 'a broad and relatively enduring preference for some state of affairs' (p.5).

Senger (1971) mentions a personal value structure which is 'a hierarchy of competing, fundamental life directions which act as criteria for psychological behavior' (p. 416). Sikula (1971) on the other hand elaborates on personal value systems that comprise of individual values which have a hierarchy reflecting their relative importance. 'Individuals may possess same values but attach different importance to them'.

In the organizational context, Enz (1988) defines values as 'the beliefs held by an individual or group regarding means and ends organizations ought to or should identify in the running of the enterprise, in choosing what business actions or objectives are preferable to alternative actions, or in establishing organizational objectives' (p.287). Frederick (1992) designates three types of values in a polylectic relationship while explaining the tensions between business and society: economizing, power aggrandizing and ecological business values. Economizing values constitute the core values of business and ensure the efficient

usage of resources for material advancement. Power aggrandizing values sustain the pursuit of coercive power within organizations. Ecological values regulate the organization's coexistence with its ecosystem, ensuring sustainability. On the other hand, at the societal level, Williams (1970) notes that cultural values represent the shared ideas about what is good, right, and desirable in a society.

Schwartz & Bilsky (1987) state that different definitions share certain common elements: 'According to the literature, values are (1) concepts or beliefs, (2) about desirable end states or behaviors, (3) that transcend specific situations, (4) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (5) are ordered by relative importance' (p. 551).

As mentioned above, the level of analysis should be taken into consideration in the study of values. As Rescher (1969) emphasizes, 'the most obvious classificatory distinction regarding values relates the subscribership to the value. Is the value held— or is it such that it ought to be held—by a person or by a group, and then what sort of a group? . . . We correspondingly obtain such classificatory groupings as personal values, professional values or work values, national (nationwide) values, etc.' (p. 14). Values can be used at all levels of analysis according to Rokeach (1973). However, Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach (1989) states there is little consensus on how to conceptualize and measure values in a way that is meaningful for all levels.

Perrow (1986) includes 12 levels of analysis for values: individual, group, department, division, organization, inter-organization, organizational set, networks, industry, region, national, and world. Agle & Caldwell (1999) suggest that five levels of analysis should be considered for studying values in business administration: individual, organizational, institutional, societal, and global. In terms of measuring personal values, Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) has been the most popular tool for researchers (Mayton et al. 1994). Rokeach (1973) divides 36 value items under two groups: terminal and instrumental values. Terminal values refer to desired end states whereas instrumental values reflect personal qualities that help reaching favorable outcomes. Terminal values in RVS are a comfortable life, an exciting life, a sense of accomplishment, a world at peace, a world of beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition and true friendship, wisdom. Instrumental values are ambitious, capable, cheerful, clean, courageous, forgiving, honest,

helpful, imaginative, independent, intellectual, logical, loving, obedient, open-minded, responsible and self-controlled.

Scwartz (1992) identifies ten motivational value types under two bipolar dimensions. The first dimension is called openness to change versus conservation. It classifies values 'in terms of the extent to which they motivate people to follow their own intellectual and emotional interests in unpredictable and uncertain directions versus to preserve the status quo and the certainty it provides in relationships with close others, institutions, and traditions.' (p.43). The second bipolar dimension comprises a continuum between self-enhancement and self-transcendence. This dimension 'arrays values in terms of the extent to which they motivate people to enhance their own personal interests (even at the expense of others) versus the extent to which they motivate people to transcend selfish concerns and promote the welfare of others, close and distant, and of nature.' (p.43). Ten types of individual values and their motivational goals are as follows: '1) self-direction: independent thought and action, 2) stimulation: excitement, novelty and challenge in life, 3) hedonism: pleasure or sensuous gratification for oneself, 4) achievement: demonstrating competence in terms of prevailing cultural standards thereby obtaining social approval, 5) power: attainment of social status and prestige, and control or dominance over people and resources, 6) security: safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self, 7) conformity: restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms, 8) tradition: respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion impose on the individual, 9) benevolence: preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact, 10) universalism: understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature' (p.5-12).

Ravlin and Meglino (1987) claim that most of the literature deals with individual level values. Agle & Caldwell (1999) explains the lack of studies on macro level values with measurement problems. At this point, Rokeach & Ball-Rockeach (1989) propose five ways to uncover the values of a society, institution or organization: '(1) through a content analysis of the values contained in societal, institutional, or organizational documents, (2) through an assessment of the values espoused by societal, institutional, or organizational gatekeepers (e.g., priests, educators, or military leaders), (3) by assessing the values of persons aspiring to membership in a society, organization, or institution (e.g., seminary students, military

cadets, or graduate students in physics), (4) through gatekeepers' perceptions of societal, institutional, or organizational values, and (5) through the clientele's (or members') perceptions of societal, institutional, or organizational values.' (p. 777)

Characteristics of values change in the literature according to level of analysis. From individual level to group and societal level, values show different properties. The most noticeable change is that values of social groups can be different from those of their members. Frederick and Weber (1987) warn that the aggregation of personal values of members may not indicate the values of a collectivity. Ravlin & Meglino (1987) separates social values from individual ones and describe their collective characteristics:

> 'social values . . . represent general modes of behavior individuals should or ought to exhibit…This oughtness characteristic—perhaps the most distinctive feature of these values—arises from the social nature of the construct itself…social values come to represent the efforts of a social system (e.g., group, organization, society) to impose concern for the welfare of the system as a whole on the actions of its individual members… Thus, a society socializes individuals to value honesty because it is important to the society as a whole that individuals do not cheat or steal. Social values are, therefore, phenomena that are highly socially desirable and, as such, tend to be strongly endorsed by all individuals.' (p.667)

Concerning group values, Williams (1960) writes that they can be different from individual values:

> '… a group value is an ambiguous term that may refer either to (a) a shared goal… or (b) a desired state for the group taken collectively…. A group goal we may define a future state of affairs intended to be reached by group (collective) action… Thus, a group goal is not necessarily identical, or even congruent, with the values, motives or goals of individual members considered distributively.' (p. 409)

We infer from the literature that values of groups, organizations and societies are different than those of individuals because of the fact that private and communal interests may conflict with each other. To explain how groups, organizations or societies reach a balance between individual and collective interests, macro level studies on values, especially cross-cultural studies extensively use the concepts individualism and collectivism to compare different cultures.

Kim et al. (1994) shows the contrasts between individualistic and collectivistic ethos. They argue that an individualistic ethos motivates people to be 'autonomous, self-directing,

unique, assertive, and to value privacy and freedom of choice.' On the other hand, a collectivistic ethos is characterized by 'interdependency, succor, nurturance, common fate, and compliance' (p.6-7).

Triandis (1989) points out to the tension between individual and social preferences and defines collectivism as a 'greater emphasis on (a) the views, needs, and goals of the in-group rather than oneself; (b) social norms and duty defined by the in-group rather than behavior to get pleasure; (c) beliefs shared with the in-group rather than beliefs that distinguish self from in-group; and (d) great readiness to cooperate with in-group members.' (p. 52).

Triandis et al. (1990) find that collectivists perceive in-group members as being more homogeneous than do individualists and also perceive out-group members as being more different from in-group members than do individualists. In distributive outcomes, collectivists favor equality whereas individualists favor equity (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997).

Triandis (1995) proposes two subcategories under individualism and collectivism as horizontal and vertical types. The horizontal dimension can be characterized by social cohesion and status equality inside the group while the vertical dimension signifies the priority of serving the in-group and accepting inequality and rank. In this regard, Singelis et al. (1995) mentions rural India as an example for vertical collectivism, the United States for vertical individualism, Israeli kibbutz for horizontal collectivism and Swedish value structure for horizontal individualism. On the other hand, Kağıtçıbaşı (1997) provides another distinction between relational and normative individualism/collectivism. The normative dimension is about the balance between group domination and individual's rights, whereas the relational dimension is about interpersonal distance versus embeddedness. Concerning Schwartz's (1992) value types, we see that collectivism is closely related to self-transcendent values like conformity, tradition and security whereas individualism includes self-enhancement values like self-direction, hedonism and achievement.

The relationship between values and human behavior has been discussed extensively in the literature. Researchers have attributed different levels of significance to the effect of values on individual and social phenomena. For instance, Rokeach (1973) claims that values determine all kinds of behavior 'that could be called social behavior or social action, attitudes and ideology, evaluations, moral judgments and justifications of self and others,

comparisons of self with others, presentations of self to others, and attempts to influence others'(p. 5). Smith and Schwartz (1997) state that values transcend specific situations and serve as standards to guide behavior in different contexts. Bardi and Schwartz (2003) find that among Schwartz's (1992) motivational value types, stimulation and tradition values relate to behavior strongly; hedonism, power, universalism, and self-direction values relate moderately; and security, conformity, achievement, and benevolence values relate only marginally. They suggest that 'these differences in value-behavior relations may stem from normative pressures to perform certain behaviors. Such findings imply that values motivate behavior, but the relation between values and behaviors is partly obscured by norms.' (p.1). On the other hand, Kristiansen and Hotte (1996) observes that 'although values, attitudes, and behavior are related, these relations are often small ... one wonders why people do not express attitudes and actions that are more strongly in line with their values'(p.79).

Different social science disciplines including but not limited to sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics and business administration attached importance to values and their consequences. Values serve an important function in societies by easing conflict between individual and collective interests and thus enabling individuals to work together for collective goals. As Grube et al. (1994) argue, 'values play a particularly important role because they are cognitive representations of individual needs and desires, on the one hand, and of societal demands on the other' (p.155). Values have also been attributed to social progress. In his seminal work, Max Weber ([1930] 2005) argue that an important factor in the rise of capitalism is the emergence of the Protestant Ethic, which encouraged hard work and self-control as a means of salvation. In a similar vein, Ülgener (1991) applies Weber's methodology to the Ottoman Empire in order to trace an economic mentality characterized by the social values of the period. He reaches the conclusion that the unique value structure of the Ottoman society has put impediments to the development of an economic system that takes capitalist ideas as basis.

Schwartz (2006) argues that 'values evolve as societies confront a set of basic and inevitable issues or problems that arise in regulating human activity.' (p.140). How they respond to these problems determine their cultural values. He identifies three basic issues that societies face: 'the nature of the relation or the boundaries between the person and the group, guaranteeing that people behave in a responsible manner that preserves the social fabric and regulating how people manage their relations to the natural and social world'

(p.140-141). He then specifies three bipolar cultural value dimensions that correspond to these issues: embeddedness versus autonomy, hierarchy versus egalitarianism and mastery versus harmony (p.141).

Other than real life cases, values have been demonstrated to affect behavioral choices in experimental situations. Kuhlman & Marshello (1975) show that cooperators do not act based on pure altruism in prisoner's dilemma games. They attach importance to beneficial outcomes of and defect if they are exploited by non-cooperators. Kuhlman et al. (1993) find that cooperation is partially self-interested for cooperators; that is, they are aware that collective effort has self-beneficial outcomes. Kuhlman et al. (1986) compare individualists and cooperators in terms of their values in prisoner dilemma settings and find that cooperators have an internalized a value system where satisfaction with interdependent relationships is directly proportional to the level of the collective welfare they produce. Individualists, on the other hand, are relatively indifferent to others' outcomes and this makes them most similar to the traditionally conceived model of economic man.

Values have been an important research topic for business scholars too. Research on the role of values in various business issues has produced a large literature. A significant part of the research on business values has been conducted at the individual level. For example, England & Lee (1974) show that managerial values are related to managerial success in different business contexts. Similarly, Jaskolka et al. (1985) find that values and ideologies play an important role in managers' financial and status success. Schein (2005) claim that values of executives are clearly effective in strategic decision making. Beyer (1981) state that managers' ideologies affect daily operational decisions. In terms of ethical behavior, Akaah & Lund (1994) and Singhapakdi & Vitell (1993) show that personal values influence marketing professionals' ethical decision making. Weber (1993) explains that personal value orientations have a significant relationship with employees' moral development. McNeely & Meglino (1994) find that values such as empathy and concern for others are important antecedents to prosocial organizational behavior. Wittig-Berman & Lang (1990) show that the Protestant Work Ethic, as a personal value system, exerts significant direct effects on organizational commitment. Other than these examples, there is voluminous research that relates personal values to job choice (Judge & Bretz, 1992), consumer behavior (Beatty et al., 1985), job satisfaction (Meglino et al., 1989), work

attitudes (Posner & Schmidt, 1993), satisfaction with leaders (Meglino et al., 1991) and strategic influence (Enz, 1988).

At the corporate level, research on the most successful companies show that excellent organizational performance is dependent on the strength of core values (Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Peters & Waterman, 1982). Organizational values are also claimed to have an influence on the choices, beliefs, and behaviors of employees (Velasquez, 2002). Schroeder (2002) claims that organizational values may initiate organizational change if they diffuse from top management to lower ranks. In terms of corporate ethics, Wimbush & Shephard (1994) records an ethical climate reinforced by organizational values as a motivator of ethical behavior, while Van Sandt & Neck (2003) find that such a climate has a more direct effect on employees' adherence to ethical standards. Even though individuals are responsible for their actions, research indicates that the values of corporations have a serious impact on individuals through socialization processes (Stead et al., 1990). Also studies on organizational socialization (e.g. Hinrichs, 1972; Van Mannen & Schein, 1979) support the view that organizations can influence the values of their members. Kohn and Schooler (1983) find that workers develop values of conformity as a result of routine, closely supervised and uncomplicated work, whereas complex tasks based on self-direction give rise to independence and autonomy. In international business relations, Getz (1995) discover five 'trans-ideological' values that should be agreed on for an efficient performance: sovereignty, social equity, human rights, market integrity and organizational autonomy.

It should be noted that individual, organizational and industry level characteristics are not static, they interact and shape each other. For example, corporate values are claimed to be formed by both the industrial culture (Chatman & Jehn, 1994) and the value priorities of top managers (Hambrick & Mason, 1984). Other than individuals and organizations, values of groups and institutions such as labor (England et al., 1971), shareholders (Ryan & Gist, 1995), non-profits (Vinten, 1994) and industries (Erez, 1986; Gordon, 1991) have also been examined in the business literature.

Research in various disciplines show that values have power in social and business life. The power of values stem from the following factors according to Parsons & Shils (1951) as cited in Spates (1983): '(a) their element of moral suasion (to do x was good; not to do x was not so good, even bad), (b) the sanctions that would or could be visited on transgressors of them, and (c) their transmission to new generations via socialization.'(p.28).

They suggest that values are derived from unconscious processes and common orientations of a collectivity and lead to conflictless action in the case of full institutionalization.

Socialization is especially important for the transfer of values in occupations that heavily depend on tacit knowledge: 'If an occupation involves an intense period of education and apprenticeship, there will certainly be a shared learning of attitudes, norms, and values that eventually will become taken-for-granted assumptions for the members of those occupations. It is assumed that the beliefs and values learned during this time will remain stable as assumptions even though the person may not always be in a group of occupational peers' (Schein 2004, p.20). In the socialization process, certain values are confirmed by the shared experience of a group and deviant behavior is punished by sanctions. For example, '…any given culture cannot prove that its religion and moral system are superior to another culture's religion and moral system, but if the members reinforce each others' beliefs and values, they come to be taken for granted. Those who fail to accept such beliefs and values run the risk of excommunication—of being thrown out of the group.' (Schein 2004, p.29).

Social values are engraved in individuals' minds through socialization and sanction mechanisms; but their stability, a crucial concern for the purposes of this thesis, is a controversial issue in the literature. According to Connor & Becker (1994), values are relatively stable over time. This result is consistent with the findings of Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach (1989) and Posner & Schmidt (1992), who claim that the values of American adults and managers are fairly stable over many years. However, there are longitudinal studies that find evidence of value change. Inglehart (1985) notes that societal level values are relatively stable over years but greater fluctuation occurs at the individual level. Several studies at the individual level demonstrate that job experience can change work values (e.g. Kramer, 1968; Miller & Wager, 1971). Other important studies about value change are Abramson & Inglehart's (1995) and Inglehart's (1995) research on the shift from modern to post-modern values in the Western world. Inglehart (1995) suggests that postmodern values that emphasize friendship, leisure, self-expression, and the desire for meaningful, and not just wealth creating work, is gaining more influence in Western societies due to their high economic development level. Kidd & Lee (1997) warns that this shift occurs gradually with different segments of the population, and that so many people still adopt modernist values.

In conclusion, scholars agree on the following points about values (Wuthnow 2008, p.334):

'… (1) social behavior is purposive, meaning that it is goal oriented; (2) values are conceptions of the desirable, or things in which people are interested, things that they want, desire to be or become, feel as obligatory, worship, enjoy; (3) values influence the selection of means, as Weber argued, and thus influence and help organize human behavior; (4) values are not always consistent with one another, but some values typically become dominant in a society and shape it or give it a distinctive character; and (5) dominant values tend to be enduring and shared, and for these reasons provide stability and integration to a society.'

3.2.Business Culture

Many studies in the literature treat values of groups, organizations and societies together with the culture construct. Similar to values, culture exists in different contexts such as organizations or societies. Pettigrew (1979) notes that organizational values literature developed rapidly after the introduction of the term organizational culture.

Similar to values, the term culture has various definitions. Kluckhohn and Kelly (1945) defines culture as 'all the historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and nonrational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men' (p.97). Keesing (1974) claims that culture is 'an individual's theory of what his fellows know, believe, and mean, his theory of the code being followed, the game being played, in the society into which he was born' (p. 89). Kluckhohn (1962) defines culture as 'the part of human makeup that is learned by people as the result of belonging to a particular group, and is that part of learned behavior that is shared by others. It is our social legacy, as contrasted to our organic heredity.' (p.25). Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (1998) asserts that 'culture is meaning, or rather, a shared system of meanings. It dictates what we pay attention to, how we act and what we value' (p. 13). Katzner (2008) defines it as a 'system of meaning or orientation that provides a guide to perceiving reality, and, in addition, furnishes standards for interpretation, judgment, and action.' (p.1)

Scholars mostly agree that culture is a collective phenomenon, because it is shared with people in the same social environment. Czinkota et al. (1994) find common elements in different definitions of culture: '1) culture is learned, shared and transmitted from one generation to the next, 2) culture is primarily passed on from parents to their children but also by social organizations, 3) culture is also multidimensional, consisting of a number of common elements that are interdependent.' (p. 264). Lewis (1969) finds three fundamental

aspects in every culture: '…the technological, the sociological, and the ideological. . . . The technological is concerned with tools, materials, techniques and machines. The sociological aspect involves the relationships into which men enter. The ideological aspect comprises beliefs, rituals, art, ethics, religious practices, and myths' (p. 42). Cateora (1991) sets up a scheme that include components of a culture: '1) material culture, technology, economics; 2) social institutions, social organization, education, political structures; 3) humans and the universe, belief systems; 4) aesthetics, graphic and plastic arts, folklore, music, drama, and dance; 5) language.' (p. 73). About cultural phenomena, Alvesson (2002) determines the primary characteristics as follows: 'a) they are related to history and tradition; b) have some depth, are difficult to grasp and account for, and must be interpreted; c) they are collective and shared by members of groups; d) they are primarily ideational in character, having to do with meanings, understandings, beliefs, knowledge, and other intangibles; e) they are holistic, intersubjective and emotional rather than strictly rational and analytical.' (p.6)

In the business literature, organizations may be viewed as 'miniature societies with a distinctive social structure, reflected in various patterns of action, language, discourse, laws, roles, rituals, customs, ceremonies, norms, folklore, stories, beliefs, myths and so on' (Morgan et al. 1983, p. 18). So, organizational culture is generally defined as a type of group culture by management scholars. For example, according to Schein (2004), the culture of a group can be defined as 'a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.' (p.17). Hofstede et al. (2010) see it as the 'collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others.' (p.6). Schwartz & Davis (1981), on the other hand, states that 'culture is a pattern of beliefs and expectations shared by the members of an organization. These beliefs and expectations produce rules for behavior norms that powerfully shape the behaviour of individuals and groups in the organization.' (p. 33). Values are an inseparable element of cultures, so they often appear in definitions of culture. Broms and Gahmberg (1983) form a definition of organizational culture as 'the collection of central values hidden in the shared myths and symbols of that domain' (p. 482). Deal & Kennedy (1982) and Schein (2004) place values at the core while discussing culture. Gagliardi (1986) and Tichy (1982) define organizational culture as shared values or beliefs.

At the societal level, Hofstede (1980) identifies four dimensions that characterize national cultures: uncertainty avoidance, power distance, masculinity versus femininity and collectivism versus individualism. Uncertainty avoidance refers to the extent to which individuals feel threatened by and try to avoid uncertain and ambiguous situations. Power distance is the degree to which individuals expect and agree that power should be distributed unequally in the society. Masculinity focuses on competition, success, confrontational social relationships, and limited emotional involvement with others. Collectivism reflects the degree to which the society encourages and rewards collective action. The Turkish cultural system is classified as being high on power distance, uncertainty avoidance and collectivism and low on masculinity (Hofstede, 1980; House et al., 1999). In addition to Hofstede's (1980) four dimensions, Bond (1988) adds a fifth dimension named long-term orientation. This dimension refers to prioritizing values that bring future rewards, perseverance and thrift in particular. Its opposite pole is short-term orientation. Kabasakal & Bodur (2007) develop another dimension called future orientation. Future orientation is the extent to which the society encourages and rewards future-oriented behaviors such as delaying gratification, planning, and investing in the future. They report that Turkey is below the world average on this dimension.

Culture's significance in business and economics is quite relevant according to many scholars. First of all, all economic behavior occurs in a social context. Greif (1994) stresses that culture matters in determining and explaining economic behavior. Katzner (2008) indicates that culture helps to control individual behavior '(1) by supplying norms or guidelines directing that behavior and (2) through institutions such as the family, the instruments of government, the organization of production, and economic exchange' (p.1). He also claims that culture '…clearly impinges on economic investigation and, at the level of the individual agent, on the determination of both economic objectives and the motivating forces behind economic behavior. Its influence therefore permeates all economic analysis and all economic activity' (p.18). In this regard, North (1990) recognizes the importance of culture in establishing 'a path dependence in the evolution of institutions and economic development itself' (p.44).

Studies have shown that culture has a significant influence on business strategy (Faucheux & Howell, 1977). Barney (1986) claims that an organization's culture may be a source of sustained competitive advantage if it is valuable, rare and inimitable:

> ‘First, the culture must be valuable; it must enable a firm to do things and behave in ways that lead to high sales, low costs, high margins, or in other ways add financial value to the firm….Second, the culture must be rare; it must have attributes and characteristics that are not common to the cultures of a large number of other firms. Finally, such a culture must be imperfectly imitable; firms without these cultures cannot engage in activities that will change their cultures to include the required characteristics, and if they try to imitate these cultures, they will be at some disadvantage (reputational, experience, etc.) compared to the firm they are trying to imitate’ (p.658).

As stated above, culture affects business in different levels of analysis. It influences how individual enterprises run their operations as well as the development of national economies. It also helps explain why business is conducted differently in countries that belong to different cultures. For example, Misra (2000) demonstrates that business culture is a central reason for the difference between British and Indian enterprise in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Gerlach (1992) shows that the collectivistic Japanese culture is pervasive to business activities and manifests itself in structures such as keiretsu groups. Extensive research on the Japanese business system find evidence that long-term employment (Ouchi, 1980; Pascale & Athos, 1981), closer cooperation between government and industry (Tyson, 1992), risk minimization by forming long-lasting business relationships that are characterized by high levels of trust (Sullivan & Peterson, 1988; Hagen & Choe, 1998) and close social ties with business partners (Hall & Hall, 1987) are closely related to the national culture. Cultural differences are also useful in explaining why the same action can be perceived differently in different business contexts (Acton, 1990), and how cultural factors affect organizational growth (Hamilton & Biggart, 1988). However, Dahles (2005) questions whether the effect of cultural cohesion is overestimated in business relationships and states that profit seeking and government policies should not be overlooked.

According to Schwartz (1999), ‘the ways that societal institutions (e.g. the family, education, economic, political, religious systems) function, their goals and their modes of operation, express cultural value priorities… Individual value priorities are a product both of shared culture and of unique personal experience… the average priorities attributed to different values by societal members reflect the central thrust of their shared enculturation. Hence the average priorities point to the underlying, common cultural values’ (p.25-26). Denzau & North (1994) argues cultural backgrounds will cause individuals to ‘share

reasonably convergent mental models, ideologies, and institutions; and individuals with different learning experiences (both cultural and environmental) will have different theories (models, ideologies) to interpret their environment…' (p.3-4). Following this thread, one can claim that a corporation's culture is reflected in the attitudes and values, the management style, and the problem-solving behavior of its people (Schwartz & Davis, 1981, p. 32). It gives employees a sense of how to behave, what they should do and where to place priorities in getting the job done, how to fill in the gaps between what is formally decreed and what actually takes place (Pearce & Robinson, 1985, p. 342). In addition it embodies what it takes to succeed in the broader social and business environment in which the company operates (Deal & Kennedy 1982, p. 107).

Various studies show that cultural elements can survive for centuries (e.g. Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Moghaddam & Crystal, 1997; Putnam, 1993). Smircich (1985) claims organizations exist as systems of meanings and that a sense of common beliefs and meanings are necessary for continuing organized activity. In this sense, transferring these beliefs and meanings to new members is critical for the sustainability of organizations. Van Maanen & Schein (1979) states it is natural for a group to pass its culture to new generations of group members. Van Maanen & Kunda (1989) state culture is a social control mechanism that survive through teaching shared assumptions to newcomers. Markus & Kitayama (1994) argue value orientations that characterize a culture are endorsed by members through everyday exposure to customs, norms and organizational practices. Having a common jargon, symbols and a training system is a strong force toward organizational cohesion (Hofstede, 2010). Munkata (1988) observes that corporate educational programs are important tools for teaching organizational principles to new employees.

Socialization plays a very important role for the continuation of culture but its power gets weaker as groups, organizations and societies become less embedded. Schwartz (2009) explains that identification with one's primary group, conformity to its expectations, and maintenance of its traditions '…change with the emergence of the state. The development of secondary institutions in the wider society (e.g., formal governments, schools, courts, hospitals, armies, large corporations) reduces the importance of extended family groups. These groups become less critical bases of communal action and sources of protection and provision for the individual. Instead, there is encouragement for recruiting individuals into positions in society based on their individual skills and interests. These changes weaken the

cultural embeddedness of value orientation and promote the autonomy orientation that legitimizes and promotes pursuit of individual talents, interests, and preferences.' (p.7). As Giddens (1991) writes, 'doubt, a pervasive feature of modern critical reason, permeates into everyday life as well as philosophical consciousness, and forms a general existential dimension of the contemporary social world' (p.3) and traditional obedience to authorities gradually fade away.

In the light of this literature review, I will try to find out whether values are persistent in the Turkish jewelry industry in the next chapter. I will do this by examining the business culture, which is defined as 'a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.' (Schein 2004, p.17). I will unearth the values that underlie the business culture of the jewelry industry. In this regard, I use Rokeach's (1973) value definition: 'A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence' (p.5). Therefore, I will show which values guide the preferences of jewelers in terms of their business decisions. I will show the shared assumptions in the jewelry sector that are perceived as the correct way of doing business. Utilizing their business practices and traditions, I will unearth their guiding values and compare these values with the values of Akhism in order to demonstrate the similarities and differences between the two sets of values. Then I will discuss and explain these similarities and differences in the discussion chapter.

4. METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

This study explores business cultural values in the jewelry industry that guide the way industry participants' business exchanges. While doing this, the study also takes the historical evolution in the industrial and business context into account. Qualitative research methods suit better to this study because of several reasons. First of all, the study aims to explore cultural values, which are subjective and difficult to quantify. A naturalistic approach is helpful in this regard, because it enables the researcher to 'make sense of, or interpret the phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (Denzin & Lincoln 1998, p.3). Qualitative methods provide useful tools to infer value priorities of individuals from their narratives. Second, I am interested in how participants perceive the business context and how they attach meaning to it. So, in order to understand their world and the meanings they attach to their environment, qualitative methods are the perfect fit. This study is about providing rich and in-depth details of a phenomenon. Schwartz and Jacobs (1979) suggest that many of these details are directly observable. But, as Berg (2000) asserts, 'certain elements of symbolism, meaning, or understanding usually require consideration of the individual's own perceptions and subjective apprehensions' (p.11). In this sense, I aim to present both an emic and etic view of the participants that are located at different phases of the jewelry value chain. By this, I mean I am trying to do two things. First, I will try to understand the views of people within the business culture of jewelry industry from their own accounts. And then, I will try to reach generalizations about business culture and values in the Turkish jewelry industry based on my understanding.

Miles & Huberman (1994) identify three major approaches to qualitative data analysis: interpretative approaches, social anthropological approaches and collaborative social research approaches. Interpretative orientation allows researchers to treat social action and human activity as text (Berg, 2000). In other words, human action can be seen as a collection of symbols expressing layers of meaning. Interviews and observational data, then, can be transcribed into written text for analysis.

In this study, qualitative content analysis is used for examining transcriptions of recorded conversations, which are considered as artifacts of social communication. Holsti (1968) broadly defines content analysis as 'any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages' (p.608). Content analysis is especially useful when analyzing in-depth interviews (Berg, 2000). It

also provides a means by which to study processes that occur over long periods of time or that may reflect trends in a society (Babbie, 1998).

An important issue in content analysis is to decide which kind of content to focus on: manifest or latent. Analysis of manifest content focus on the surface meaning of a text while for latent content, the analysis is extended to deeper meanings that lie below the surface (Kondracki et al., 2002). Both manifest and latent content are interpreted but the depth of interpretation changes according to which content is analyzed. In this study, the focus is on the latent content rather than the manifest content of the interviews. Because, it is important to reach a higher level of abstraction with respondent accounts in order to have a better understanding of their world. Holsti (1969) warns that inferences from latent content need to be corroborated with independent evidence. In this sense Berg (2000) advises researchers to provide detailed excerpts from interviews that support their interpretation. In this study, I kept Berg's (2000) advice and provided lots of evidence from interview transcripts to show how I derived meanings from the texts. On the other hand, Strauss (1987) points out to another benefit of abstraction: abstract concepts add breadth and depth to research by reaching beyond local meanings to broader social scientific ones.

4.1.Data Collection

In this study, data from 11 in-depth interviews and 2 focus group meetings were utilized. The purposive sample in İstanbul was developed through snowball sampling. 7 of the interviews were conducted by the researcher, and 4 interviews and the focus group transcripts were obtained as secondary data.

All of the respondents are males and they represent different phases of the jewelry value chain such as retailing, production and wholesaling. The majority of the respondents are located in Ankara, but I also travelled to İstanbul to conduct interviews at the Grand Bazaar, considered as the heart of Turkish jewelry industry. Most of the respondents have more than ten years of experience in the sector and this property makes them very reliable interview sources. Most of them were experienced through an apprenticeship period. As the interviewees report, this period is very important for learning the cultural values of the craft through socialization. When we look at how they entered the sector, varieties are observed. Some respondents say they inherited the business from their families, while others report

having entered the sector through partnerships or starting their own businesses after apprenticeship. All of the interviews were tape recorded and their duration varies between 30 and 75 minutes on average. The respondent characteristics are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Characteristics of the sample

RESPONDENT	VALUE CHAIN PHASE	LOCATION	EXPERIENCE (YEARS)	APPRENTICESHIP	TYPE OF ENTRY	FAMILY BUSINESS	RECORDING TYPE	DURATION (min)
1	Wholesaler	İstanbul	11	No	Family reference	No	Tape	30
2	Retailer	İstanbul	40	Yes	Inheritance from family	Yes	Tape	75
3	Retailer	Ankara	50	Yes	New business	No	Tape	75
4	Workshop owner	İstanbul	33	Yes	New business	No	Tape	60
5	Wholesaler	İstanbul	31	No	Partnership	No	Tape	75
6	Sales clerk	İstanbul	N/A	Yes	Friend reference	No	Tape	30
7	Wholesaler	İstanbul	32+	Yes	Inheritance from family	Yes	Tape	40
8	Sales clerk	Ankara	17	Yes	N/A	No	Tape	60
9	Retailer	Ankara	22	No	Inheritance from family	Yes	Tape	65
10	Retailer	Ankara	32	No	N/A	N/A	Tape	70

RESPONDENT	VALUE CHAIN PHASE	LOCATION	EXPERIENCE (YEARS)	APPRENTICESHIP	TYPE OF ENTRY	FAMILY BUSINESS	RECORDING TYPE	DURATION (min)
11	Retailer	Ankara	11	No	Inheritance from family	Yes	Tape	60
12 (Focus Group)	Retailer, retailer, wholesaler	Ankara	30	Yes	N/A	N/A	Tape	75
13 (Focus Group)	Wholesaler, retailer, sales clerk	Ankara	15	Yes	N/A	N/A	Tape	75

The interviews were semi-structured and each were audiotaped. All of the interviews were conducted in the respondents' work places. I formed an interview guide composed of open-ended questions, but I did not keep my inquiries limited to the topics in the guide. Open-ended questions were selected in the interviews because as Patton (2002) writes, they 'permit one to understand the world as seen by the respondents' (p.24). The interview guide is provided in Appendix 1.

4.2.Data Analysis

Nvivo 10 software was used for the data analysis. Qualitative analysis is about working intensively with rich data. The tools provided by NVivo support researchers in making use of multiple strategies concurrently - reading, reflecting, coding, annotating, memoing, discussing, linking, visualizing - with the results of those activities recorded in nodes, memos, journals and models (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). NVivo also enables researchers to handle a large amount of data and provides tools that makes seeing connections easier. Another advantage of using NVivo is that the software has different options for visualizing analysis results. Data analysis will consist of two parts. In the first part, results of the Nvivo software analysis will be provided. In the second part, I will elaborate into the software results and provide evidence from the respondents' accounts.

Researchers collect large amounts of raw data from the field during qualitative research in the form of text, observations, field notes or visuals. As Corbin and Strauss (2008) explain, the coding process is very important for extracting meaning from chunks of raw data. The raw data from the field is raised to a conceptual level through coding. Coding enables researchers to identify common themes in a text (Bernard & Ryan, 2010). Miles & Huberman (1994) see coding as a form of iterative, ongoing reflection that extracts and relates meanings from the field data. Field notes and verbatim interview transcripts need coding to derive meaningful categories from them (Patton, 2002). Coding also helps organizing the data and eases analytical thinking (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Coding allows researchers to put the data in a different context, enabling a fresh perspective (Tesch, 1990). According to Richards (2009), codes may vary from descriptions to analytical concepts. Selecting the first source to code has a significant influence on the categories a researcher chooses to pay attention to, and affects the rest of the coding process (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). According to Bernard & Ryan (2010), researchers

broadly adopt two approaches to coding: splitting for maximizing differences between text passages and looking for fine-grained themes or lumping for minimizing differences and looking for overarching themes.

Before starting coding, I read extensively in a broad range of literature encompassing business culture, values, Akhism, and inter-organizational exchange governance. Then I read the interview transcripts carefully twice to decide on which source I would code first. I coded the transcript from Informant 2 first, because he was representing the majority opinion of the respondents and he provided richer detail than the rest of them. His ideas showed the characteristics of an industry representative who had a broad perspective and extensive experience. I read Informant 2 once more and associated passages from his speech with concepts from the literature. These concepts became my first code list. Then I coded the transcript from Informant 3 whose ideas were at odds with the majority. I chose him because his ideas enabled me to see things from a fresh perspective and provided valuable insights. I applied the same procedure to the transcript from Informant 3's interview. I marked passages and associated them with both the concepts from the literature and the new ones I noticed while reading his adversary ideas. This way, I enlarged my coding list. I followed the same procedure with the rest of the transcripts. As a result of this procedure, I obtained a list of codes as shown in the following section.

4.3.Results

In the below table, the codes that emerged from my interviews are listed. This list is a more refined version of Appendix C, which contains the raw codes I derived guiding values and principles from.

Table 3: The list of codes derived from interviews

NAME OF THE CODE	SOURCES	REFERENCES
Apprenticeship	8	32
Benevolence	10	17
Code of conduct	9	23
Collective action	6	11
Community values	12	44
Group identity	8	15

NAME OF THE CODE	SOURCES	REFERENCES
Honesty	13	36
Internal arbitration	8	21
Keeping promises	10	33
Long-term orientation	10	43
Moral values	14	79
Mutual benefit	11	22
Reference system	9	29
Religion	6	14
Reputation	15	70
Respect to elders	6	13
Social sanctions	13	31
Socialization	13	40
Tacit knowledge	8	26
Tightly knit community	10	35
Traditions	14	44

In Table 3, the first column gives the names of codes and the second column shows the number of interviews in which related passages are connected to this code. The third column shows the total number passages of text that are associated with this code in all of the sources (i.e., interviews). To illustrate, 40 passages from 13 interviews are associated with the code 'socialization'.

Reviewing Table 3, we see that the following basic codes emerge: apprenticeship, benevolence, code of conduct, cooperation, moral values, internal arbitration, reference system, mutual benefit, socialization, social sanctions, tacit knowledge, tightly knit community, traditions, community values, reputation, religion, respect to elders, honesty, keeping promises, group identity, collective action, common language, reference system, long history, mutual benefit, long term orientation, transfer of culture. I call these codes the guiding principles or values that govern business exchanges in the Turkish jewelry industry. In the below table (Table 4), I provide meanings for these codes as I derive from the interviews by respondents and the associated respondent quotations.

Table 4: Respondent values, derived meanings and representative quotations

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OR VALUES	DERIVED MEANING	REPRESENTATIVE QUOTATIONS
Apprenticeship	A period in a jeweler's professional life in which he is informally educated by a more experienced and qualified jeweler	"…you need to live in that atmosphere. You need to learn by working with your master, by observing him. At first, we only watched when our master was teaching. Then he assigned us simple work. It was hard in the beginning but he taught me step by step. This is the master-apprentice relationship." (Informant 3) "The most important thing is starting as an apprentice. People who do not have apprenticeship experience can not be successful." (Informant 8)
Benevolence	Providing credit or extending the term of debt when a colleague is in need	"Wholesalers used to help a friend when he first opened a shop. They provided him various amounts of credit ranging from 150 to 500 gr of gold, based solely on a promise and written on a notebook. If the retailer grows his business, he can even borrow 1 or 2 kg of gold." (Informant 7)
Code of conduct	Informal rules of trade that are idiosyncratic to jewelry	"People had a culture, they had a sense of shame. They had to pay your labor cost even if he did not pay for materials. I knew I could take a certain amount of payment before I sold my merchandise"

		(Informant 4) "We record every agreement with wholesalers on a piece of paper. We agree on the amount and write it on a paper. They bring you gold every week and take their money. They do not demand any cheques or promissory notes." (Informant 8)
Collective action	Mobilization of group resources towards collective interests	"They [workshops] tried to set a fixed price for raw materials. They promised each other but people started to violate the deal after a short while." (Informant 4) "We can not set fixed prices against free trade rules. We tried to do it in the past but it is impossible. Everybody signs a price union contract, but then people violate it to find new customers." (Informant 5)
Community values	Values that prioritize solidarity among industry members	"Old friendships does not exist anymore in the Grand Bazaar. There is a fragmentation in the society. We lost our old neighborhoods. The same is true for our profession." (Informant 4)
Group identity	A shared sense of belonging by the group members that separate them from out-group	"….We complain about people who come from outside the profession, who think that this is an easy job." (Informant 2) "People from outside the profession damage our business environment." (Informant 4)

		"The sector had established its own dynamics, not too many outsiders were welcome in this business. In other words, you have to have a reference or you have to start a partnership with people from inside. There was no other way to enter before." (Informant 5)
Honesty	Not cheating people	"There are a few jewelers left who is very meticulous about the content of gold products they sell." (Informant 10) "A jeweler should not cheat anyone, he should not lie to customers. You should put yourself in your customer's shoes…" (Informant 3)
Internal arbitration	A system in which jewelers resolve their disputes without appealing to formal authorities	"We have our own internal dynamics. In this type of negative situations, we appeal to what we call a 'shariah court'. Shariah is the divine system that is established by God. This sector has its own shariah. In controversial issues, experienced jewelers whom we call 'elders' get together. They solve the problem before the related parties go to the court." (Informant 5)
Keeping promises	Honoring verbal business agreements	"For example, customer says the price he accepts and brings the money tomorrow. He can make a profit or loss depending on price changes [of gold or precious stones]. But he has to bring the agreed amount because he promised." (Informant 6)

		"…there are no documents in our exchanges, there are promises. We agree on a price and nobody can attempt to change it at the time of exchange." (Informant 9)
Long-term orientation	Having a successful long term business relationship and prioritizing behaviors that bring future rewards at the expense of short term gains	"He can increase my credit when I am still indebted to him. But our relationship is an exception. We know each other for 20 years." (Informant 4) "When you begin a relationship, you enter a chain of relationships that lasts for years. Neither side wants to give it up, it is an important value. Because, for example when you put an order, you will be the best beneficiary of its results. So, why would you end relations with a firm that you trust and have a good history to start a new adventure?" (Informant 2)
Moral values	The values which prevent jewelers from engaging in fraudulence and opportunism in situations characterized by information asymmetry	"The most important thing is that both jewelers and consumers should have a fresh new ethics." (Focus Group 1) "Weighing gold correctly is very important. For example, Qoranic verses preach that correctness of the scale is of greatest significance. In this occupation, we deal with grams and centimeters that means

		money. If you are attracted to money, you do not care if your earning is halal or haram…If you resist to corruption; you may not have big business volumes, you may not get very rich. But people will say 'this man was a good and honest businessman' after you leave the trade. We see and experience this in our business lives." (Informant 9)
Mutual benefit	A win-win situation in which both parties benefit from commercial exchange	"The important thing is that both sides should be in a win-win situation. Zero sum games are harmful to our trade." (Informant 5)
Reference system	A system in which jewelers engage in business relationships based on advice from trusted parties	"We have worked this way for years. We have known each other for years. Now you want to do business with me on credit. You cannot buy it if you do not have anyone to vouch for you." (Informant 1) "In order to trust somebody, he must have a good reference." (Informant 7)
Religion	Islamic rules that dictate honest trade	"Fear of God and repentance have been neglected in trade, especially in our business. All people care about is earning money. They do not care how that money is earned. They just want to have it. They never consider the consequences of this mentality seriously." (Informant 10)

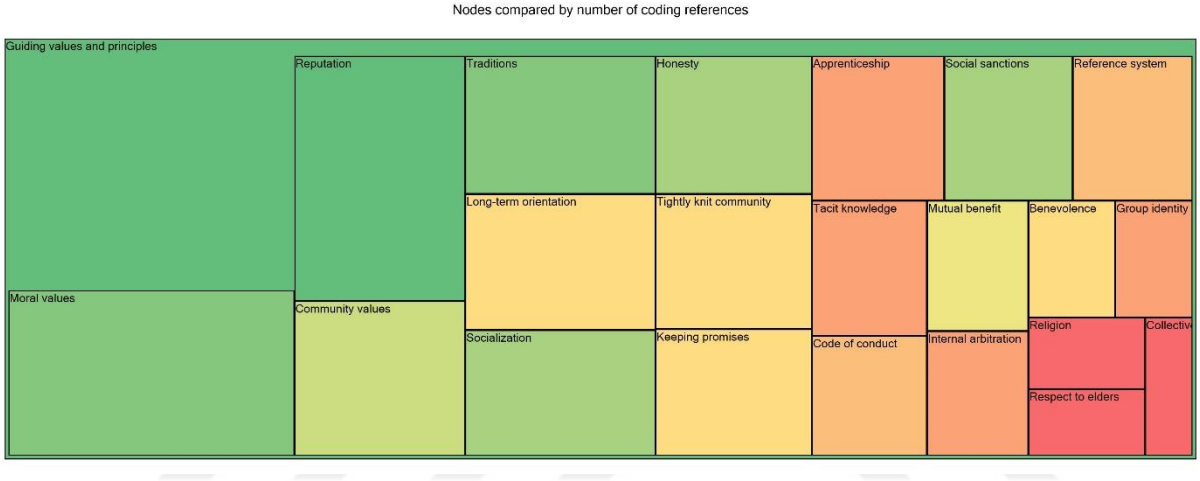
Reputation	A positive image that indicates a person is trustworthy and capable of being a trade partner	"Jewelry is a highly reputable sector in which deals are completed verbally and trust is the norm." (Informant 2) "You need to build a reputation in the sector first before demanding credit from people. Wholesalers enquire about your credibility and business performance with their connections before extending you any credit." (Informant 11)
Respect to elders	Appealing to more experienced group members in disputes	"We have experienced elders in the sector who have a grasp of our traditions. Everybody has to obey our internal order." (Informant 5)
Social sanctions	Informal sanctions that are applied to people who violate group norms	"If your name gets involved in adulteration, your commercial career is over. Your name gets stained. Everyone will say that you are a fraud." (Informant 11) "Nobody denies his debt and everybody knows how much he is owed to. If someone denies his debt, he will be erased from the market. If his bad reputation is heard in our sector, no one will sell him anything." (Informant 8) "People who go back on their words can never do business in the Grand Bazaar again." (Informant 1)
Socialization	Teaching the professional norms and codes of conduct to younger generations	"This is our family profession. I entered the sector with our family business." (Informant 7)

		"You learn everything during apprenticeship. You clean the shop first, then you can become a master in time." (Informant 8) "I do not prefer employees who I have not taught. I think it is better if you educate your own people." (Informant 4) "We learnt everything, including trust, from our masters." (Informant 8)
Tacit knowledge	Knowledge that can be learnt only by practicing in a particular profession	"I obtained a great deal of professional knowledge and experience in the Grand Bazaar. I think people who have not experienced the Grand Bazaar culture miss important qualities as jewelers." (Informant 2)
Tightly knit community	A group of people that are closely connected by social bonds	"People generally hire from their close environment in our profession." (Informant 4) "You can not trust people you do not know. You do not do business with only words, you do not extend them any credit." (Informant 5) "We know about each jeweler's business conditions. We have been in this sector for 30 years. It is natural that we know about everybody." (Informant 1)
Traditions	Principles and applications that comes from the sector's history	"For example, working honestly, respecting and helping business partners are our traditions." (Informant 2)

		"…our sectoral culture still lives. The culture that originates from Akhism…" (Informant 5) "Akhism established a system in which people trusted and helped each other. This system ended with the death of Ottoman Empire, but its effects are still felt in the society." (Focus Group 1)

After determining the guiding principles and values in the jewelry industry, I utilized Nvivo to further my analysis. One of the useful tools that Nvivo offers is a tree map. Tree maps help to see patterns in coding. A tree map is a diagram that shows hierarchical data as nested rectangles. By hierarchy, I mean the relationship between the codes in table 3. Guiding values and principles stand at the top of hierarchy and the other codes are analyzed under that heading. When we generate a tree map representing codes as nested rectangular boxes, we obtain the following figure:

Figure 1: Tree map of codes under guiding values and principles



The codes under guiding principles and values are represented by rectangles with different size and color. The size of each rectangle represents the number of references in the coding references, which is the number of text pieces in interviews associated with that code. On the other hand, the color of each box represents the number of interviews that contain passages related to the code. In other words, the tree map is a visual representation of Table 3. We see here again that ‘moral values’ and ‘reputation’ are by far the two most emphasized concepts. ‘Traditions’ and ‘community values’ follow them. On the other hand, ‘religion’ is emphasized only in a limited number of cases.

The next phase of my analysis includes a cluster analysis. Cluster analysis is an outcome by Nvivo that reports the correlation table among the codes and my research question theme ‘guiding principles and values in the Turkish jewelry industry’. The Pearson correlation coefficients on Table 4 are listed in a descending order, with higher correlations implying that similar texts are coded under the two concepts. As the Pearson correlation coefficient approaches to 1, it indicates the correlation between two codes becomes higher.

Table 5: Ranking of codes according to their correlation with guiding values and principles

CODE A	CODE B	PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENT
Apprenticeship	Guiding values and principles	0,844269
Benevolence	Guiding values and principles	0,83852
Code of conduct	Guiding values and principles	0,872657
Collective action	Guiding values and principles	0,754717
Community values	Guiding values and principles	0,919093
Group identity	Guiding values and principles	0,792125
Honesty	Guiding values and principles	0,925679
Internal arbitration	Guiding values and principles	0,778513
Keeping promises	Guiding values and principles	0,92053
Long-term orientation	Guiding values and principles	0,899402
Moral values	Guiding values and principles	0,969777
Mutual benefit	Guiding values and principles	0,855181
Reference system	Guiding values and principles	0,870569
Religion	Guiding values and principles	0,769106

CODE A	CODE B	PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENT
Reputation	Guiding values and principles	0,953142
Respect to elders	Guiding values and principles	0,722631
Social sanctions	Guiding values and principles	0,844716
Socialization	Guiding values and principles	0,924672
Tacit knowledge	Guiding values and principles	0,782996
Tightly knit community	Guiding values and principles	0,873624
Traditions	Guiding values and principles	0,943996

We see that the 'moral values' code has the highest correlation with the 'guiding principles and values' in the Turkish jewelry industry. This means that respondents talk about the two subjects in a very similar fashion. Reputation, traditions, honesty, socialization, keeping promises and community values follow moral values as highly correlated codes. One may think that respondents' focus on these terms indicate that today's jewelers adhere to a number of values that are similar to Akhi values of centuries before.

Another table given below as an outcome of Nvivo shows which codes are highly correlated with each other. The column on the right in the below Table A lists the codes that have the highest Pearson correlations with each other. As we can observe from this table, my research question theme 'guiding principles and values' in the Turkish jewelry industry has the highest correlations with 'moral values', 'reputation' and 'traditions'.

Table 6: Ranking of correlations among codes

CODE	MOST RELATED CODES
Apprenticeship	Socialization, moral values, in-group
Benevolence	Moral values, code of conduct, reputation

CODE	MOST RELATED CODES
Codes of conduct	Traditions, reputation, community values
Collective action	Honesty, moral values, traditions
Community values	Traditions, reputation, moral values
Group identity	In-group, socialization, traditions
Guiding principles and values	Moral values, reputation, traditions
Honesty	Moral values, traditions, reputation
Internal arbitration	Respect to elders, socialization, reputation
Keeping promises	Moral values, traditions, reputation
Long-term orientation	Moral values, mutual benefit, reputation
Moral values	Reputation, traditions, socialization
Mutual benefit	Reputation, socialization, tradition
Reference system	Reputation, tightly knit community, traditions
Religion	Traditions, social desirability, reputation
Reputation	Traditions, socialization, tightly knit community
Respect to elders	Socialization, traditions, social desirability
Social sanctions	Traditions, tightly-knit community, socialization
Socialization	Traditions, tightly-knit community, tacit knowledge
Tacit knowledge	Traditions, tightly knit community
Tightly knit community	Traditions
Tradition	Transfer of culture

In Figures 2 and 3 below I provide the Nvivo outcome reporting cluster maps of the codes under my research theme ‘guiding principles and values’ in the Turkish jewelry industry taking their Pearson correlations with other codes as reference. In this respect, codes are clustered together if they are associated with similar sets of texts, meaning respondents give similar accounts of certain codes if they are grouped together. For instance, in Figure 2, ‘internal arbitration’ and ‘respect to elders’ are located very close to each other. This indicates that the two codes are associated with similar texts and have a high correlation between them (see Table 5). On the other hand, these two codes are located far away from ‘guiding values and principles’. Because other codes such as ‘moral values’ or ‘reputation’ have higher correlation with ‘guiding values and principles. We can see the same occurrence in Figure 3. ‘Internal

arbitration' and 'respect to elders' are positioned close to each other and far from 'guiding values and principles' which is located at the center. To sum up, Figure 2 and 3 may be seen as visual representations of Table 5.

Figure 2: Cluster map of codes under 'guiding principles and values' in the Turkish jewelry industry

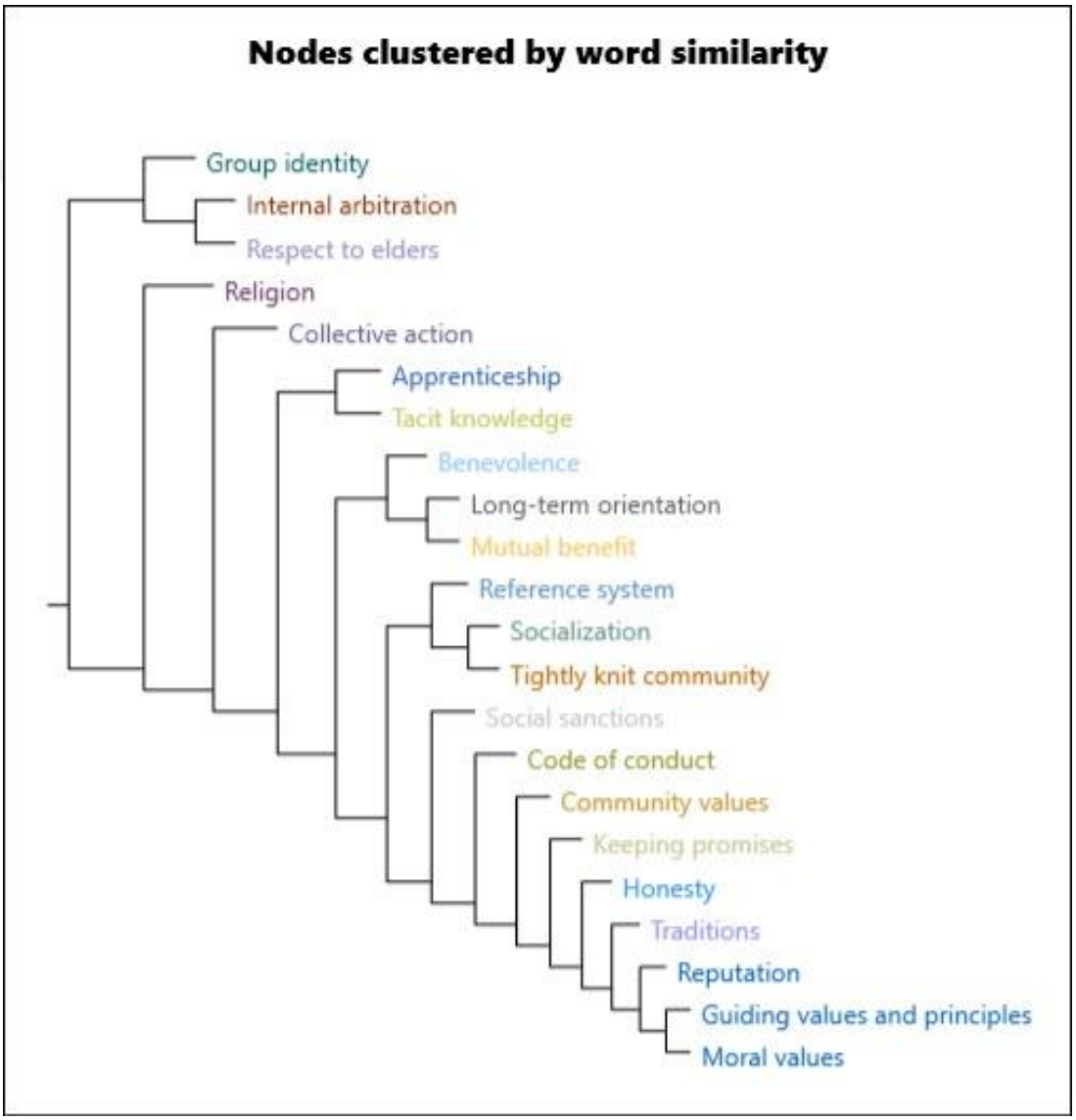


Figure 3: 2D Cluster map of codes under ‘guiding principles and values’ in the Turkish jewelry industry



In the last part of my analysis, I provide a comparison between the values of Akhism and the values of today's jewelers. In other words, I will compare the central values of Akhism which are expressed by its classical texts and history with the actual value priorities I observed in the field. By this, I aim to contribute to the literature by demonstrating continuities and fragmentations in basic Akhi values throughout history. I will elaborate into this table in the discussion part.

Table 7: Comparison of Akhi values and values of today's jewelers

VALUES OF AKHISM	EXPLANATION	CURRENT VALUES	DERIVED MEANING	COMPARISON
Benevolence	A tendency towards doing good to people	**Benevolence**	Providing credit or extending the term of debt when a colleague is in need	Benevolence is limited to a practical rather than a universal meaning. The same is true for helpfulness. On the other hand, altruism is not observable anymore because a shift from from unrequited help to reciprocal help occurs.
Altruism	Selflessness, putting others before one's self			
Helpfulness	Taking action for helping people while prioritizing the in-group			
Apprenticeship	On-the-job education of new members by experienced masters	**Apprenticeship**	A period in a jeweler's professional life in which he is informally educated by a more experienced and qualified jeweler	Apprenticeship preserves its meaning. It also contains socialization
Socialization	Teaching the professional norms and codes of conduct to younger generations			

VALUES OF AKHISM	EXPLANATION	CURRENT VALUES	DERIVED MEANING	COMPARISON
Halal profits	Doing business inside the borders that are drawn by Islamic rules	**Religion**	Islamic rules that dictate honest trade	We see that halal profits and honesty corresponds to the same meaning as religion today. On the other hand, faithfulness and moral integrity covered private and business life together in the past. Now, they are only referred to in trade related matters. As for religion, Sufi interpretation of Islam was the main source of all Akhi values. But today, it only corresponds to honest trade rules. Lastly, ascetism, contentment and generosity are no longer observable
Faithfulness	Believing in Islam and practicing it in personal and professional life			
Contentment	Being satisfied with one's current economic status			
Honesty	Truthfulness, not being deceitful			
Moral integrity	Obeying the norms dictated by religion and traditions			
Ascetism	Abandoning the pleasures of this			

VALUES OF AKHISM	EXPLANATION	CURRENT VALUES	DERIVED MEANING	COMPARISON
	world for spiritual development			
Religion	Sufi interpretation of Islam as the source of all Akhi values			
Generosity	Willingness to share prosperity with less fortunate people			
Honesty	Truthfulness, not being deceitful	**Honesty**	Not cheating people	Same
Internal problem solving	Solving internal problems without involving official authorities	**Internal arbitration**	A system in which jewelers resolve their disputes without appealing to formal authorities	
Keeping promises	Fulfilling declared commitments in every part of life	**Keeping promises**	Honoring verbal business agreements	Shift from a universal meaning to a practical one

VALUES OF AKHISM	EXPLANATION	CURRENT VALUES	DERIVED MEANING	COMPARISON
Moral integrity	Obeying the norms dictated by religion and traditions	**Moral values**	The values which prevent jewelers from engaging in fraudulence and opportunism in situations characterized by information asymmetry	Ambiguity about the source of ethics
Obeying elders	Carrying out the superiors' wishes without question	**Respect to elders**	Appealing to more experienced group members in disputes	Decrease in power
Respecting traditions	Taking traditions as reference for daily conducts and problem solving	**Traditions**	Principles and applications that comes from the sector's history	Decrease in power
Trustworthiness	Being reliable on doing what is needed or right	**Reputation**	A positive image that indicates a person is trustworthy and capable of being a trade partner	Trustworthiness continues to be an important value as reputation
Professionalism	Proving a high level of proficiency in the craft	**Tacit knowledge**	Knowledge that can be learnt only by practicing in a particular profession	Professionalism is reached by gaining tacit knowledge from masters

VALUES OF AKHISM	EXPLANATION	CURRENT VALUES	DERIVED MEANING	COMPARISON
Cooperation	Working collectively for individual and group prosperity	**Collective action**	Mobilization of group resources towards collective interests	Cooperation and collective action have similar meanings. Cooperation and community serve group interests, and tightly knit communities are likely to better cooperate
		Community values	Values that prioritize solidarity among industry members	
		Tightly knit community	A group of people that are closely connected by social bonds	
Social sanctions	Informal sanctions that are applied to people who violate group norms	**Social sanctions**	Informal sanctions that are applied to people who violate group norms	Same
Group identity	A shared sense of belonging by the group members that separate them from out-group	**Group identity**	A shared sense of belonging by the group members that separate them from out-group	Same
---	---	**Code of conduct**	Informal rules of trade that are idiosyncratic to jewelry	---

VALUES OF AKHISM	EXPLANATION	CURRENT VALUES	DERIVED MEANING	COMPARISON
---	---	**Long-term orientation**	Having a successful long term business relationship and prioritizing behaviors that bring future rewards at the expense of short term gains	---
---	---	**Mutual benefit**	A win-win situation in which both parties benefit from commercial exchange	---
---	---	**Reference system**	A system in which jewelers engage in business relationships based on advice from trusted parties	---

5. DISCUSSION

In this thesis work, I tried to understand if Akhi values, that are said to be still intact in craft industries in Turkey (e.g., Ülgener, 1991; Asceric-Todd, 2007; Erken, 1998; Çörek, 2011; Cantekin, 2014), are present and shape business exchanges in today's Turkish jewelry industry. To this aim, I studied Akhi values from the literature and then compared them to the current values guiding business exchanges in the Turkish jewelry industry. While doing this, I made use of Nvivo as a software program to conduct content analysis of interviews done with participant from the Turkish jewelry industry. Below I discuss my qualitative findings that are summarized in Table 7 in the methodology analysis chapter.

5.1.Discussion Of Qualitative Findings

If we review Table 7, we see that many values of Akhism are still guiding business exchanges in the Turkish jewelry industry. To exemplify, apprenticeship, cooperation, halal profits, honesty, internal problem solving, social sanctions, trustworthiness, and group identity still carry the same meaning and continue to shape business relations in the same way they have done for centuries. These values seem to be more engraved in jewelers' business exchanges even today than the other values. In this respect, jewelers still value on-the job education of new members by more experienced and qualified masters. They still emphasize the importance of honest trade whose borders are drawn by Islamic rules. They still recognize the principle of truthfulness and not cheating people as indispensable virtues in their profession. They also continue to appeal to internal problem solving mechanisms as they have done for centuries, and they still apply informal sanctions to norm violators. They choose their business partners according to whether they are reliable on doing what is needed or right, and based on how they are esteemed by other jewelers. And they mobilize group resources to reach individual and group prosperity. Lastly, like Akhis in the past, they share a sense of belonging that separate them from out-group.

So, we can confidently claim that the above mentioned Akhi values have been considerably stable and they still consist a core part of the jewelry industry's modus operandi.

On the other hand, we recognize in Table 7 a narrowing of scope for some values, especially the ones that stem from religion. First of all, the narrowing of scope in religion as an Akhi value is very obvious. For Akhis, religion meant the sufi interpretation of Islam as the

source of all their business values and principles. But today, religion stands for Islamic rules that dictate honest trade. Other than this, while altruism and benevolence requires an orientation towards unrequited help, the respondents emphasize reciprocal help behavior particular to business relationships. We observe the same with faithfulness and moral integrity. Most of the respondents stress the importance of moral values in their profession, but only a few of them points out to religion as the primary source of business ethics. In addition, we observe a shift from universal meaning to a practical one limited to business life for keeping promises and benevolence. This situation may be explained by a trend to exclude religion from the public sphere and to confine it in people's private lives as a result of the secularization process that has been transforming societies in modern times (Lambert, 1999; Stark, 1999; Chavez, 1994; Taylor, 2009). Similar to the narrowing of scope for some values, we observe a decrease in stringency for two of the Akhi values: obeying elders and respecting traditions. These values are very important because they represent the main authority figures in the pre-modern period. As I explained in the chapter on Akhism, obeying masters and other elders in the guild was a central principle in craft guilds. Futuwwanamas and initiation procedures reflected a strict hierarchy in which new comers obeyed their superiors without questioning. Traditions had even more authority on guild life. They not only guided daily business relations but were also used as evidence in courts. Recurring to traditions was the basic solution when a dispute was brought before the Ottoman kadis. Today, jewelers still respect their elders and appeal to them in their internal problem solving efforts. But, total obedience to more experienced members is not exercised any more. The same is true for traditions. They still serve as guiding values for jewelers but they do not have the same power they did before. Giddens (1991) explains the fading of the power of traditional authority figures as a consequence of modernity. Schwartz (2009) claims secondary institutions (e.g. governments, corporations) have taken over the role of primary groups with modernization and thus, the authority of traditions and close social circles has weakened.

We showed that some Akhi values strongly persist and some experienced a narrowing in the scope. Other than these two groups of values, certain Akhi values are no longer observable in today's business culture. These values are ascetism, generosity and contentment. Ascetism, which requires the abandonment of worldly pleasures for spiritual development is not mentioned beside other religion related concepts by any of the respondents. When we consider the critical role ascetic values played in the emergence of the Protestant work ethic (Weber, [1930] 2005); we realize that although Akhi traditions have preached a similar ethos,

it may not have had the intended influence on artisans throughout the history. Ülgener (1981) also supports this idea while comparing the business ethics of Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Generosity has been a fundamental characteristic of the futuwwa tradition that dates back before the emergence of Akhism (Taeschner, 1953; Arnakis, 1953), but it was not mentioned by any of the respondents. Contentment is another Akhi value that has been highly revered in the past and not exist today.

Today's jewelers have certain values that does not appear in Akhi texts. These values are codes of conduct, long-term orientation, mutual benefit and reference system. Codes of conduct refer to the informal rules of trade idiosyncratic to the jewelry industry; including term of debts, places of exchange or common expressions to finish a deal. Codes of conduct help jewelers to build a 'world in common' (Zucker 1986, p. 7) through common rituals and language. Long-term orientation refers to the prioritization of future rewards at the expense of short term gains. It ensures the continuity of successful business relationships by maximizing the benefit of long term relationships and deterring related parties from from opportunism. Mutual benefit stands for a win-win situation in which both parties benefit from exchange. Similar to long-term orientation, it reflects a commercial mentality that helps enable building long term business relationships. Finally, a reference system among jewelers based on reputation determines the future of the business relationships. In this system, jewelers engage in commercial exchange based on advice from trusted parties.

5.2.Contributions Of The Study

This thesis work contributes the literature in a number of respects, Firstly, I provide a systematic empirical analysis to the theoretical claim that Akhi values are still intact in Turkish craft industries. Through a qualitative content analysis of interviews from participants from the Turkish jewelry industry, I find that most of the Akhi values are still influential in the business exchanges of Turkish jewelers.

Secondly, my findings contribute to the debate in the literature on the persistence of values. Values are claimed to be changeable in various articles (Kramer, 1968; Miller & Wager, 1971; Abramson & Inglehart, 1995), but my findings are congruent with the view that values are relatively stable over time (Connor & Becker, 1994; Inglehart, 1985; Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach, 1989; Posner & Schmidt, 1992).

Thirdly, one of the important discussions in the values literature is whether values can explain social behavior. Despite some researchers doubt that values have any influence on behavior (e.g. Adler, 1956; Blake & Davis, 1964; Wrong, 1961), most of the later studies agree that values have a significant role in determining behavior (e.g. Ravlin & Meglino, 1987; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Kim et al., 1994). This study also supports the second view. The respondent accounts clearly indicate that values affect a broad spectrum of behavior ranging from forming new business relationships to solving disputes. So, it is obvious that Akhi values play an important role in the operation of the jewelry industry.

Lastly, this study contributes to the literature by unearthing industrial level values for Turkish jewelry sector as a result of a qualitative exploration. While Perrow (1986) and Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach (1989) note the difficulties of defining values at different levels of analysis, Agle & Caldwell (1999) call attention to a lack of studies for classifying values at the industrial and societal levels. This study answers the call to define industrial level values in a limited context.

6. CONCLUSION

6.1. Managerial Implications Of the Study

The study has important implications for managers and firm owners. First of all, values are found to be stable by this study. This indicates that certain values guide business relationships for long time periods and they help the establishment of a stable business culture in that industry. For the smooth running of business, existing members and newcomers should take shared values and informal norms seriously. They should refrain from violating any norms. They should remember that acting against shared values will cause them more harm in the future than current benefits. In industries where long term relationships built on trust are the norm, newcomers should increase reputation by meeting expectations in their initial business relationships. And existing members should be careful not to lose their business partners' trust by taking advantage of their goodwill.

Second, my study shows that relational governance mechanisms provides flexibility and helps smooth running of business by decreasing transaction costs. On the other hand they may also make businessmen vulnerable to opportunism, because enforcement of relational contracts depend on the efficient functioning of social sanction mechanisms. Research shows that the power of social sanctions weakens when information about a partner's behavior becomes less accurate (Carson et al., 2006). Considering the fast increase in the number of jewelers which is inferred from respondent accounts, we can confidently claim that obtaining accurate information about each member of the industry have become more difficult due to an increase in community size. Therefore, industry members should also use formal governance mechanisms to make their contracts more solid. They should benefit both from relational and formal governance mechanisms.

6.2.Limitations of the Study and Implications For Future Research

This study has some limitations. Firstly, I did a qualitative study. Qualitative studies are not favored in many of the social sciences because they take longer to complete and can not be evaluated by computer software (Berg, 2000). Furthermore, qualitative methods are sometimes criticized for not being scientific and valid (Berg, 2000). However, Bogdan (1972) strongly claims that qualitative methods have proved themselves and left their marks on the history of social research.

Secondly, most of the respondents were wholesalers and retailers. More respondents should be added to the sample from brands, workshops and industry representatives to reach a higher diversity of opinions. Thirdly, although I covered basically Ankara and İstanbul as two very important cities for jewelry commerce (Şengün and Wasti, 2015), the geographical coverage of the study may be enlarged to different cities of Turkey in order to get a more complete picture of the industry. It could be better to see if business relationships are similar or different in smaller cities. Thirdly, demographic properties of the respondents may have been examined better and meaningful comparisons could emerge. It would give a better understanding to know whether demographic status influence respondents' views about values.

My findings are related to persistence of values, the relationship between values and behavior, and determining values for the industrial level. However, this study also has implications for future research. I examined the values of Akhism and whether they have undergone any change throughout history. The dynamics of change and its relationship with the context are beyond the scope of this study and they should be examined further. This will provide a ground for a better understanding of how business culture has been shaped throughout the history.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Interview Guide

1. Can you tell me about your history in the industry?
2. How did you enter the sector?
3. How was the apprenticeship period? (if you had it)
4. Do you think jewelers have a business culture? What are the characteristics of this culture?
5. Do you have any traditions? Are they important to you?
6. Do you think moral values are important in the jewelry sector? Can you provide examples from your professional life?
7. Have you learned any values from your elders in the profession?
8. What kind of contracts are more common among jewelers? Formal or informal?
9. How do you engage in business deals?
10. How do jewelers solve their problems with other jewelers?
11. Do you think any change has happened in the business culture in recent years? Why?
12. How do you evaluate a potential business partner?

APPENDIX B: Turkish Version of the Quotations Table

SEKTÖRE YÖN VEREN İLKELER VEYA DEĞERLER	ÇIKARILAN ANLAM	TEMSİLİ ALINTILAR
Çıraklık	Kuyumcunun meslekte tecrübeli ustalar tarafından eğitildiği dönem	"O atmosferi yaşayacaksın. Ustanın yanında çalışarak öğreneceksin, bakarak öğreneceksin. Bizim ustamız bize öğretirken önce seyrettik biz de. Sonra ufak ufak işler verdi, zorlandık başta, Allah rahmet eylesin benim ustam gümüş yüzük yapardı. Bana başımda durarak göstererek öğretti. Usta çırak ilişkisi." (Görüşmeci 3)
İyilikseverlik	Bir arkadaş ihtiyaç duyduğunda borcunun süresini ertelemek veya kredi vermek	"Arkadaşımız bir perakende dükkanı açtığı zaman toptancılar onlara yardımcı olurdu. Asgari yarım kg, 150 gr, bakiye, açık hesap, herhangi bir senet teminat, çok güvencesi olan belge olmadan söze dayalı, açık hesap, deftere yzılır. Perakendeci arkadaşımız gelir toptancıdan çeşidini yapar gider. Ona yaklaşık 1 kg, yarım kg, çalışma sistemine göre. İleride durumu daha iyi olunca 1-2 kg bile aldığı olmuştur." (Görüşmeci 7)
Adap kuralları	Kuyumculuk sektörüne özel ticaret kuralları	"Orada bir kültür vardı, ayıp vardı. Altınını vermese bile işçiliğini ödemek zorundaydı. Ben malımı dağıttığım zaman belli bir ödeme alabiliyordum." (Görüşmeci 4)

SEKTÖRE YÖN VEREN İLKELER VEYA DEĞERLER	ÇIKARILAN ANLAM	TEMSİLİ ALINTILAR
		"…toptancılarımızla bizim her şey tamamıyla kağıt üzerindedir. Kaç gr borcun var 50 gr, mutabık mıyız mutabıkız. Bu şekilde giderler haftalık gelirler altınını alırsın. Çektir senettir hiç bir şey talep etmezler." (Görüşmeci 8)
Kollektif eylem	Grup kaynaklarının kollektif çıkarlar için harekete geçirilmesi	"Ya dedi biz niye birbirimize düşüyoruz. Topu topu 40-50 kişiyiz. Toplanalım, anlaşalım, atölyeci işçiliği tercih etsin, fiyatımız fix olsun. Anlaştılar, söz verdiler, 10 gün geçmeden aradan bozanlar oldu" (Görüşmeci 4) "Serbest ticaret kurallarına göre bir birlik kuralları koyamıyorsununz. Geçmişte de fiyat birliği olsun şu olsun bu olsun ama mümkün değil onu sağlayamıyorsunuz. Sizle oturup fiyat birliği kontratı yapıyor burada, sana diyor kimseye söyleme diyor hadi bakalım sen benim müşterim ol. Yani orada bozuluyor." (Görüşmeci 5)
Topluluk değerleri	Sektör üyeleri arasında sosyal dayanışmayı önceleyen değerler	"Eski samimiyetler kalktı kapalıçarşıda. Toplumdaki parçalanma…şimdi eski mahalle ortamımız var mı? Aynısı mesleğe de vurdu." (Görüşmeci 4)

SEKTÖRE YÖN VEREN İLKELER VEYA DEĞERLER	ÇIKARILAN ANLAM	TEMSİLİ ALINTILAR
Grup kimliği	Grup üyelerinde bulunan, kendilerini grup dışından ayıran bir aidiyet duygusu	"….birçok sektöre sonradan giren kesimler de var, mesleğin dışından gelen, bu iş kolaymış bunu yaparım gibi gelen insanlardan şikayetçiyiz." (Görüşmeci 2) "%80 dışarıdan gelenler bozdu. Tabi ki bizim içimizde de var ama… bozma ağırlığı dışarıdan gelen. Bizim mesleğin dışından insanlar." (Görüşmeci 4) "Sektör zaten kendi içinde dinamiklerini oluşturmuştu yani dışarıdan çok fazla insanı kabul etmiyordu. Yani mutlaka referanslı olacaksınız veya tanıdıklarınız olacak veya belirli süre piyasada çalışmış insanlarla o işe ortak olarak gireceksiniz. Başka türlü girme yolu o dönemde yoktu." (Görüşmeci 5)
Dürüstlük	Insanları aldatmamak	"…şu anda gerçekten ayarına, milyemine, gramına dikkat eden, titizlik gösteren esnaf sayısı bir elin parmakları kadar azaldı." (Görüşmeci 10) "Kimseyi kandırmayacaksın, yanlış söylemeyeceksin, kendini onun yerine koyacaksın…" (Görüşmeci 3)

SEKTÖRE YÖN VEREN İLKELER VEYA DEĞERLER	ÇIKARILAN ANLAM	TEMSİLİ ALINTILAR
İç tahkim mekanizması	Kuyumcuların resmi yollara başvurmadan sorunlarını kendi arasında halletmesini sağlayan bir sistem	"Kendi içimizde kendi dinamiklerimiz var. Bu tip olmusuz hallerde biz şeriat mahkemesi diyoruz. Şeriat nedir Allah'ın koyduğu ilahi sistemdir. Bu sektörün de kendi içinde bir şeriatı var. Bu tip yanlışlarda, uygun olmayan hallerde, hemen sektörde büyük tabir ettiğimiz bu işte birkaç deneyimi olan abi biraraya gelirler. Alacakları borçları birararya getirriler sistem kurarlar eşit şekilde herkesin dağıtımını yaparlar. Kendi içinde mahkemeye intikal etmeden çözüm üretirler." (Görüşmeci 5)
Sözünü tutmak	Sözlü iş anlaşmalarını ihlal etmemek	"Mesela müşteri diyor ki şu fiyata aldım diyor, parasını yarın getiriyor. Fiyat yarına kadar çok değişiyor. Zarar da ediyor, kar da ediyor, değişiyor yani o anki piyasaya bağlı. Yani söz ağızdan çıktığı için onu getirmek zorunda oluyor. " (Görüşmeci 6) "…söz var, evrak yok, yazışma yok. Aldık diyoruz alıyoruz, sattık diyoruz satıyoruz. Fiyat ister yükselsin ister düşsün iki tarafın da bundan cayma hakkı şansı yoktur." (Görüşmeci 9)
Uzun dönem odaklılık	Uzun vadeli başarılı iş ilişkileri kurmak, kısa dönemli kazanç pahasına uzun vadeli ödülleri öncelemek	"Adama borcum varken üstüne para alıyorum. Ama bu, mesleği anlatmaz sana. O adamla diyaloğun, arkadaşlığın, 20 senedir tanışıyoruz…" (Görüşmeci 4)

SEKTÖRE YÖN VEREN İLKELER VEYA DEĞERLER	ÇIKARILAN ANLAM	TEMSİLİ ALINTILAR
		"Bir başladığın zaman yıllarca devam eden bir ilişki zincirine girmiş olursunuz ve ondan siz de öbürü de vazgeçmek istemez, çünkü bu bir değerdir yani. Çinkü siz bir sipariş veriyorsunuz, onun en iyi sonuçlanmasından siz en iyi sonucu alacaksınız. Onun için de güvendiğiniz, ilişkileriniz olan, geçmişte üretim yaptırdığınız bir firmayla niye bağınızı koparıp yeni bir maceraya giresiniz ki?" (Görüşmeci 2)
Ahlaki değerler	Bilgi asimetrisiyle karakterize edilen durumlarda kuyumcuların sahtekarlık ve fırsatçılık yapmasını engelleyen değerler	"Yapılması gereken şey… yeniden başta kuyumculuk esnafı olmak üzere bütün esnaf kesiminin, aynı zamanda tüketici kesiminin yeni bir ahlaka kavuşması gerekebilir." (Odak Grup 1) "…terazi çok önemlidir mesela. Kur'an ayetinde terazinin ne kadar önemli ehemmiyet verilmesi gereken bir husus olduğu belirtilir. Bu meslekte gramla santimle uğraşıyorsun, yani bu gram santim paradır. İşin öyle bi cazibesi var ki seni para çektiği anda….helal haram ver Allah'ım... Ama dik durursan başkasından belki daha fazla iş yapmayabilirsin, çalışırsan belki çok fazla zengin olmayabilirsin. Ama

SEKTÖRE YÖN VEREN İLKELER VEYA DEĞERLER	ÇIKARILAN ANLAM	TEMSİLİ ALINTILAR
		hakikaten mesleğe devam ederken de biz bunu görüyoruz, yaşıyoruz. Mesleği bıraktıktan sonra da birileri birileri hakkında diyor ki bugün bu esnaf gerçekten iyi ve dürüst biri esnaftı, yanlışını görmedim.” (Görüşmeci 9)
Karşılıklı fayda	Iki tarafın da ticari mübadeleden kâr sağladığı bir kazan-kazan durumu	“Önemli olan karşılıklı iki tarafın birbirinden para kazanması. Ben senden kazanayım da sen bat olmaz.” (Görüşmeci 5)
Referans sistemi	Kuyumcuların, güvendikleri kişilerin tavsiyelerine göre iş ilişkilerine girmeye karar verdiği bir sistem	“Yıllardır böyle çelışıyoruz. Yıllardır tanıyoruz birbirimizi. Sen şimdi kalktın geldin benle çalışmak istiyorsun. Benden mal alamazsın. Sana kefil olacak birisi lazım.” (Görüşmeci 1) “İyi bir referansının olması lazım ki siz o kişiye güvenesiniz.” (Görüşmeci 7)
Din	Dürüst ticareti salık veren İslami kurallar	“Yani ticarette ciddi olarak bizim işimiz başta olmak üzere Allah korkusu, tevbe baya zedelendi. İnsanlar tamamen para kazanmaya endeksli. Nasıl kazandığın hiç önemli değil, yeter ki o para benim cebime girsin. Onun vebalini ciddi olarak hiç düşünmüyorlar.” (Görüşmeci 10)
İtibar	Bir iş adamının güvenilir ve kabiliyetli olduğunu sinyal veren pozitif bir imaj	“Sektörümüz gerçekten çok itibarlı, sözüne güvenilen ve sözle işlerin bittiği güvene dayalı bir sektör.” (Görüşmeci 2)

SEKTÖRE YÖN VEREN İLKELER VEYA DEĞERLER	ÇIKARILAN ANLAM	TEMSİLİ ALINTILAR
		"…bu kredinin oluşabilmesi için bir pişkinlik lazım, sektörde bi tanınmış olman lazım. Toptancı sana gelmeden önce görüşüyor diğer arkadaşlarıyla, 10-15 kişiyle. Kimdir bu, nasıl çalışır, hızlı mı döner eli ağır mıdır, bakiye takar mı, söylediği sözü tutar mı araştırıp da geliyorlar. Herkesin bir kredibilitesi vardır aslında." (Görüşmeci 11)
Büyüklere saygı	Anlaşmazlık durumunda grubun daha tecrübeli üyelerine başvurulması	"…eski yaşlı abiler olur, iyi kötü racon bilen biri olur… kendi içinde böyle bir düzen herkes buna riayet etmek zorunda." (Görüşmeci 5)
Sosyal yaptırımlar	Grup kurallarını ihlal eden üyelere uygulanan gayrıresmi yaptırımlar	"Denk gelse öyle bir şey ticari kariyerin biter. İsmin lekelenir. Düşük ayarlı satıyor derler." (Görüşmeci 11) "Kimse borcunu inkar etmiyor. Herkes de alacağını biliyor yani. Hani inkar ettiği takdirde o adam piyasadan silinir yani. Bizim şeyde bir şey vardır bir laf duyulduğu anda hiç kimse tarafından kabul . adama mal vermez yani." (Görüşmeci 8) "Kapalıçarşı sistemi böyledir. Kapalıçarşıda sözünü yiyen çarşıya giremez ve o toplumla iş yapamaz." (Görüşmeci 1)

SEKTÖRE YÖN VEREN İLKELER VEYA DEĞERLER	ÇIKARILAN ANLAM	TEMSİLİ ALINTILAR
Sosyalleşme	Mesleki kuralların ve adap kurallarının daha genç nesillere öğretilmesi	"Sektöre girişimiz, bizim atadan dededen gelen bir meslek olduğu için.. Ben urfalıyım. Urfada bütün atalarımız dedelerimiz kuyumculuk yaptığı için bizim de işte oradan" (Görüşmeci 7) "Her şeyi bizim işte öğrenerek gelirsin paspasını yaparsın ilk başta sonra kalfalığa yükselirsin sonra usta olursun." (Görüşmeci 8) "Dediğim gibi en önemli şey çıraklıktan başlamak. Dediğim gibi sonradan başlayan insanlar bunu yapamıyor." (Görüşmeci 8) "Yani yetiştirmediğim adamı sevmem ben, kendin yetiştireceksin." (Görüşmeci 4)
Örtülü bilgi	Sadece belli bir mesleği yaparak elde edilebilen bilgi	"Ben birçok mesleki bilgi ve tecrübemi kapalıçarşıda edindim. Kapalıçarşı kültüründen geçmeyenlerin kuyumculukla ilgili bilgilerinde bir eksiklik vardır yani." (Görüşmeci 2)
Sıkı bağlı topluluk (Tightly knit community)	Sosyal bağlarla birbirine sıkıca bağlanmış olan bir grup insan	"Genelde bizde iş kısmında böyle çevreden alırsın." (Görüşmeci 4) "Tanımadığınız insana güvenmezsiniz, sözlü alışveriş etmezsiniz, al götür sonra ver demezsiniz." (Görüşmeci 5)

SEKTÖRE YÖN VEREN İLKELER VEYA DEĞERLER	ÇIKARILAN ANLAM	TEMSİLİ ALINTILAR
		"Kaç tane kuyumcu varsa hepsinin durumunu az çok biliriz. 30 yıllık mesleğimiz yani." (Görüşmeci 1)
Gelenekler	Sektörün tarihinden gelen ilkeler ve uygulamalar	"Şu da bir gelenektir mesela, aldatmamak bir gelenektir, saygı duymak, paylaşmak bir gelenektir." (Görüşmeci 2) Yani o kültür devam ediyor. Ahilikten gelen kültür…" (Görüşmeci 5) "Ahilik sisteminin ortaya koyduğu insanların birbirleriyle olan dayanışması, birbirlerine olan güvenleri birbirlerine olan sarsılmaz itimatları idi.Osmanlıdan sonra bu sistem ortadan kalksa da; hala o algı toplum üzerindeki algı devam etmiştir." (Focus Group 1)

APPENDIX C: Raw Codes From Which Guiding Values and Principles are Derived

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OR VALUES	RAW CODES
Apprenticeship	Growing up in the sector, acquiring the sectoral culture, work experience
Benevolence	Helping colleagues, providing credit, easing debt conditions
Code of conduct	Unwritten rules, not harming colleague's business, payment conditions
Collective action	Price setting, agreements, punishing wrongdoers
Community values	Trusting colleagues, protecting jewelers from opportunists,
Group identity	Separating jewelry from other professions, jewelry language, Grand Bazaar culture
Honesty	Being cautious against adulteration, not lying to customers, not lying to business partners
Internal arbitration	Appealing to elders, dispute about debts, solutions outside courts
Keeping promises	N/A
Long-term orientation	Close relationships, familiarity, friendship
Moral values	Honest trade, resisting to corruption, resisting to opportunism
Mutual benefit	Win-win
Reference system	Being trustworthy, credit sales, smooth business
Religion	N/A
Reputation	N/A
Respect to elders	Learning from masters, seeking help from elders
Social sanctions	Disputes related to debts, exclusion from the group, informal punishment

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OR VALUES	RAW CODES
Socialization	Working with peers, learning business culture,
Tacit knowledge	Learning from masters, commercial experience,
Tightly knit community	Disseminating information, familiarity, friendship
Traditions	N/A