FAHRETTIN ERSIN ALACA

Globalising a Design Heritage Strategy

From Finland's Artek to
Turkey's Grand Bazaar

A! Aalto University

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Acknowledgements

Last but not the least, I would like to acknowledge the unconditional patience of my family. Without their precious support, it would not have been possible to conduct this research. I dedicate this study to my family.

Abstract

This doctoral study argues that the historical assets of design, engraved in living forms of collective memory, can be effectively engaged in the service of the appropriation and promotion of slower modes of consumption as opposed to the dominant and systematic novelty mechanism of fast fashion. The hypothesis is that a sustainability strategy employing design heritage and encouraging durable consumption can be helpful to avoid conflicts of interest between the transforming business community and its customers. Therefore, a heritage management strategy is proposed that emphasises feasibility and taps into existing socio- and politico-economic networks while suggesting positive changes in consumer behaviour.

Due to the commercial and cultural popularity of permanent valorisation in design, this special design phenomenon is chosen as a specific field of design heritage. The potentials of enduring artefacts are recognised, and the study proposes further that these artefacts may become vehicles to achieve the strategy identified. To this end, the study employs an interdisciplinary review of several relevant literatures, transferring concepts and categories into the context of design heritage management. The findings of this review are further engaged in the analysis of a real-world case: the 2nd Cycle project by the iconic Finnish housewares company Artek. The analysis illustrates how the long-established company's cultural and historical products are reproduced and capitalised in conformity with emerging consumer aspirations and needs. Drawing links between permanent valorisation, product longevity, and ultimately sustainable consumption, Artek's project provides inspiring results how design heritage may lead to enhanced social good while taking advantage of new economic opportunities, know-how, and human capacities.

Subsequently, special attention is given to the potential cross-cultural transferability of the heritage management strategy represented by this Finnish case. For this purpose, Artek's case is taken as a cultivation of new sensibilities capable of translating a diversity of historical capital possessed by different cultures into heritage. Considering the constant growth of economic capacities and alarming levels of consumer spending, developing countries, known as emerging markets, are chosen as adaptation areas. Turkey, for example, whose historical, social, and cultural structure is distinct from that of Finland, provides a favourably challenging test environment for the thesis' applicability. Discussing the feasibility and necessity of the growing heritage-oriented ethos in Turkey, the country is presented as representative of large emerging market segments with a theoretical application case, that of Istanbul's monumental Grand Bazaar.

Inspired by the Finnish case and developed further with additional insight from cultural heritage management studies in tourism environments, a specific design heritage management strategy is outlined for the bazaar. Following in-depth interviews with a range of professionals who make their living in the bazaar, and responding to their insights, the hypothetical strategy is aimed to synthesise the various interests

of the bazaar's large network of stakeholders while promoting durable consumption. Finally, a list of guiding principles of cross-cultural adaptation are drawn for future adopters attempting to apply this study's findings to different heritage contexts on a global scale.

Özet

Bu doktora çalışması, modanın baskın ve sistematik yenilik üretme düzeneğine karşı, tasarımın müşterek hafızaya kazınmış tarihsel varlığının nasıl değerlendirilebileceğini tartışıyor. Durağan tüketim biçimlerinin topluma tanıtılması ve benimsetilmesi üzerine yoğunlaşan çalışmanın hipotezi, tasarım mirasını kullanarak uzun ömürlü tüketimi cesaretlendiren bir strateji gelişimi üzerine kuruluyor. Bu hipoteze göre strateji, sürdürülebilirlik dönüşümü geçiren iş dünyası ve müşterilerinin, bu süreçte doğabilecek menfaat çatışmalarını önlemeyi hedefliyor. Bu hedefe bağlı olarak çalışma, var olan sosyoekonomik ve siyasi ağlarla uyumlu, uygulanabilirlik prensipleri üzerine yoğunlaşan ve tüketici davranışlarında olumlu değişimler öneren bir miras yönetimi stratejisi tesis ediyor.

Tasarımın daimi rağbet görme fenomeni, ticari ve kültürel anlamda gördüğü ilgiye binaen, çalışma konusu olan tasarım mirasının spesifik araştırma alanı olarak belirleniyor. Çalışma, bu anlamda, zamanın erozyonuna dayanıklı ürünlerin sunabileceği imkanları teşhis ediyor ve bu ürünlerin tanımlanan stratejiye ulaşmada bir araç olarak kullanılabileceğini ileri sürüyor. Bu amaçla çalışma, bazı ilgili yazınlar üzerine disiplinlerarası bir inceleme yürüterek, bu alanlardan aldığı kavram ve kategorileri tasarım mirası yönetimi bağlamına katıyor.

Bu incelemeden edinilen bulgular ise gerçek bir vakanın çözümlenmesinde kullanılıyor. Finlandiya'nın ikonik marka değerine haiz ev eşyaları üreticisi Artek Firması'nın 2nd Cycle adlı projesi üzerine odaklanan çalışma, köklü firmanın kültürel ve tarihi ürün yelpazesini yeniden nasıl, gelişmekte olan tüketici istek ve ihtiyaçlarıyla uyum içinde pazara sürdüğüne eğiliyor. Bu çözümlemenin sonuçları, tasarım mirasının hangi biçimlerde toplumsal faydaya dönüşebileceğini gösteriyor. Yeni ekonomik fırsatlar üreterek, bilgi, birikim ve insani sermaye kullanan Artek projesi, çalışmanın tasarımda daimi rağbet görme fenomeni, ürün ömrünü uzatma, ve nihayet sürdürülebilir tüketim arasında bir bağ kurmasına yardımcı oluyor.

Müteakiben çalışma, Finlandiya'daki alan çalışmasının temsil ettiği miras yönetimi stratejisinin kültürler arası karşılıklı aktarmaya uygun olup olmadığına yoğunlaşıyor. Bu doğrultuda, Artek örneği, farklı kültürlerin sahip olduğu çeşitli tarihi sermayelerin mirasa dönüştürülmesini sağlayabilecek yeni duyarlılıkların yeşerdiği bir vaka olarak kabul ediliyor. Sürekli büyüyen ekonomik yeterlilikleri ve korkutucu boyuttaki tüketim harcamaları göz önünde bulundurularak, gelişen ülkeler, diğer adıyla yükselen pazarlar uyarlama alanı olarak seçiliyor. Örneğin, tarihi, sosyal ve kültürel yapısı ile Finlandiya'dan pek çok ayırt edici özelliğe sahip olan Türkiye, tezin uygulanabilirliğini test etmek için olumlu anlamda zorlayıcılığa sahip bir çevre olarak belirleniyor. Türkiye, dünyadaki geniş ölçekli yükselen pazarlara bir örnek olarak sunuluyor ve Türkiye'nin sahip olduğu miras odaklı değerler sisteminin, tez konusu stratejiye olan uygunluğu ve gereksinmesi tartışılıyor. Tartışma sonunda, İstanbul'da bulunan anıtsal Kapalı Çarşı, kuramsal uygulama alanı olarak gösteriliyor.

Finlandiya'daki vakadan esinlenerek ve turizm alanları için geliştirilmiş kültürel miras yönetimi gibi ek yazın okumaları ışığında, Kapalı Çarşı için özel bir tasarım mirası yönetim stratejisi geliştiriliyor. Hayatını çarşıdan kazanan profesyonellerle yapılan detaylı röportajlar eşliğinde, tez konusu strateji ile hem pazarın farklı paydaşlarının ihtiyaçlarına aynı anda cevap verilmesi hem de topluma tüketimin zamana nasıl yayılabileceğinin tanıtılması amaçlanıyor. Son olarak, küresel ölçekte bu çalışmanın sonuçlarını kültürlerarası karşılıklı uyarlamalar amacıyla kullanabilecek uygulayıcılar için kılavuz niteliğinde bir ilkeler listesi sunuluyor.

Keywords:

CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

1.1 Research Context:
Aims, Specificities, and Questions

> Heritage is not our sole link with the past. History, tradition, memory, myth, and memoir variously join us with what has passed, with forebears, with our own earlier selves. But the lure of heritage now outpaces other modes of retrieval. If our era heralds the end of history, as pundits like Francis Fukuyama contend, perhaps the eclipse of history heralds the rise of heritage. Lowenthal (2010: 7)

Design may provide a compelling arena to witness and explore "the rise of heritage" across multifaceted avenues of life. We may extend the scope of the foundations of time, unfold the layers of the meaning of the present moment, and perhaps most importantly, broaden the offerings of the past for a sustainable future. Offerings of the past have long been in demand when especially heritage meshes with design's commercial side. Since the last decade of the twentieth century, for example, diverse vintage markets have grown exponentially with a wave of stores, auction houses, and online sites that not only pop up throughout promising Western economies, but also embrace emerging middle classes from all over the world. The ever-rising consumer demand for vintage items has been accompanied by design businesses' retro practices that have pervaded the mainstream of commercial aesthetics in a great array of industries and cultural fields, from apparel to computer gaming and photography. One can easily add to this list the growing popularity of design museums across the globe, which reflects institutional interest in the historical aspects of design, such as the Shekou Design Museum which is scheduled to open in 2017 in the Chinese city of Shenzhen.

What all these phenomena reveal is that various dialogues between the present and history are being cultivated and that design dialogues are increasingly being championed in diverse cultural, institutional, and commercial contexts. They all point to emerging understandings of design heritage in various contexts that primarily explore how historical capital serves present and future needs. Nevertheless, I state in this study that these emerging understandings offer neither profound theoretical insight nor a sophisticated methodology for the exploration of the potentials of design heritage that can be employed in the service of sustainable development. However, the crux of my primary argument is that, if managed well, the role of design heritage can be pushed much further, towards a contribution to the greater context of sustainable development, thus responding to the pressing needs of humanity. Therefore, rather than exploiting design heritage in mere commercial forms or presenting it as abstract and isolated, as preserved in design museums, we can make better use of the potential of this capital to embrace more fully a sustainable future in which consumer culture addresses slow and long-term enjoyment.

This brings us to the hypothesis of this dissertation: that despite the overwhelming novelty mechanism of the fashion industry, a design strategy employing design

heritage and encouraging durable consumption can be both economically profitable and culturally compelling for the business community and its customers too. The hypothesis extends to a focus on the exploitation of the potential of design heritage to encourage changes in social behaviour related to excessive consumption, the latter being one of the most significant elements of the present sustainability crisis.

This agenda situates the study in a unique theoretical framework since design heritage remains an undefined field in the current landscape of design research. Both design and heritage imply specific perspectives for this research study. Contemporary design, for example, has been shaped by major trends with implications on design philosophy, theory and methodology, as well as education and research. The global service economy, for example, has imposed new understandings on design in light of the ever-growing acceptance of services as intangible products that can be designed with unprecedented approaches. What these new understandings have in common is the acceptance that economic productivity and human welfare may benefit from design not only in the context of end-user solutions, but also in the context of integrated assets of production, including the corporate organisation. For example, design is seen as an innovation "driver" that "[…] provides a series of methodologies, tools and techniques that can be used at different stages of innovation processes to boost the value of new products and services" (European Commission 2013: 4). Furthermore, design connotes a managerial asset for corporations. The term "organizational design", for example, addresses the structure of an organisation itself in terms of "[…] the intentional arrangement of people, principles, practices, technology, and environment so that they work in harmony to achieve specific objectives" (Connor 2015: 24).

This acceptance stretches across a wide range of services in both public and private sectors from health care, education, transportation, and telecommunications to even finance. Such a wide range, certainly, imposes the need for adoption of interdisciplinary approaches where an integration of design and innovation enable designers to penetrate into the worlds of different sectors, legislative frameworks, creative processes, businesses, and respective users. Research methods for achieving consumer insights into world views as well as brand management and marketing mechanisms are just a few who have an impact on design's contemporary *modus operandi*. New generation designers in Italy, for example, emphasise "branding and communication" in design processes to such a degree that "storytelling and brand identity" become the "central part" of these processes (Bettiol and Micelli 2014: 16). It is arguable that means of branding cut across the integration of design and innovation. Business economics and managerial expertise could also be included when considering the emerging educational programmes in the design field. Examples for this argument could be the emerging design management courses across the world in addition to multidisciplinary master degree programmes such as Aalto University's "International Design Business Management" (IDBM) in Finland and the University of Gothenburg's "Business and Design" in Sweden.

These multifaceted developments address the new challenge for today's designer and herald a new era for design in an increasingly complex and turbulent world. As Connor (2015: 23) put it, today, "[d]esigners are finding themselves with titles and roles higher up and with more influence than ever before." As a result, designers are increasingly expected to become knowledgeable and skilled actors operating at the crossroads of a growing number of professional disciplines. Accordingly, this means developing competitive managerial capacities and expertise, and flexibly adopting new roles that enable intellectual communication, knowledge exchange, and collaborative participation between multiple disciplines. These demands include design research too. Design's academic field is nourished by an intensive exchange between disciplines.

What consolidates the impact of such demands is the dramatic growth of inclusive frameworks such as user cooperation in decision-making processes in design. Social inclusivity in design imposes more demanding roles upon designers that go beyond the level of interdisciplinary exchange among professional disciplines. In the practice of co-design, participatory design techniques sometimes require designers to become pedagogic actors and orchestrators in multi-actor systems and workflows where disparate agents and initiatives meet, learn from each other, achieve consensus, and produce together (see Sanders and Stappers 2008). The term "social innovation", for example, may help not only to illustrate the above integration of design and innovation, but also the social character of design with a growing set of demands from designers and design researchers. Manzini (2014: 65–66) draws close parallels between participatory design and "design for social innovation" in terms of dynamic designer roles. For him, both notions require designers to "mediate" and "facilitate" "complex, interconnected, and often contradictory [multiparty design] processes" in which designers should make use of specific design skills and knowledge in order to achieve innovation that serves social ends such as societal transformation.

The interactive and dynamic nature of design may blur the dividing lines between professional positions. A designer, for example, may benefit from the insights, methods, theories, tools, and outcomes of consumer research. However, a dividing line still exists as design differs from consumer research in its unique complexity of thinking, performance, and production of results. In this vein, a designer holds a unique and dynamic position in the sectoral constellations. This position reflects the complexity that transcends the taken-for-granted design definitions which give sole priority to the three-dimensional realm of form, functionality, and style. Instead, priority should be placed upon a broader area, including greater insights into the fields of business economics, consumer behaviour, and managerial decision-making.

This challenge achieves an advanced level with design's growing social awareness in response to the sustainability issues, including ecology, human welfare, and resilience across the globe. As I will outline in greater detail in the next chapter, design activities are conceptualised and governed within a framework of responsibilities for global society and the environment. Therefore, alongside the above demands

for interdisciplinary productivity, designers are increasingly asked to perform their profession with a well-thought calculation regarding the societal and environmental impacts of their activities. This social realm resonates with design's growing ambitions and idealisations and tends to generate new exchange platforms between design and a growing number of disciplines. Social design, for example, is a popular term that illustrates design's role in such practices as social change programmes. The result of these programmes is to provoke new interactions between design and various academic disciplines such as political science. Designers are required to express cultural sensibilities in their social design practices to avoid, for example, "neocolonialist" patterns of power relationships (see Janzer and Weinstein 2014). It can be argued that design's discursive encounters may incrementally generate new social and cultural reflections that broaden and intensify interdisciplinary academic exchange.

This discussion involves the recognition that new economic and social developments shape design theory and practice in such a way that traditional disciplinary boundaries are transcended. Emerging economic parameters, shifting boundaries between disciplines, and nascent ecological sensibilities require cross-boundary theoretical perspectives in design research that will embrace the interdisciplinary as an integral asset.

The theoretical approach of this research study is shaped by this recognition. This approach, however, as contextualised in the notion of design heritage management for sustainability transformation, does not involve the design of new tangible products. Rather, it involves the re-contextualisation of the existing design capital within the emerging interdisciplinary design understandings and sustainability considerations. Therefore, the study's conclusions can be seen as a strategy for transformation to sustainability driven by a rich interdisciplinary exchange. These disciplines involved sustainable design, design history, brand management, marketing, and consumer research. The strategy, in other words, is catalysed by the cross-boundary exploration of these research disciplines. Finally, the study aims to reach out designers and design researchers who perform design heritage activities under the pressures of the growing demands on interdisciplinarity and the immediacy of sustainability issues.

In view of the above, industrial design, including the emerging service understandings, could be the design field that would benefit the most from interdisciplinary synergy. As mass production allows wider penetration into society and popular culture, the accumulation of cultural influences created by an industrial product/service is likely to provide rich resources for heritage management.

In design literature, there is no clear definition of a holistic heritage concept. Because of this, a specific theoretical contribution of this study might be the transfer and formulation of a heritage management concept from marketing and brand management practices to the design field in the form of a hypothetical sustainability strategy. The design literature conceptualises the heritage in the context of emerging vintage and retro phenomena such as by Baker (2013), Guffey (2006), and Reynolds (2012) among others. These studies attempt to explain their historical development

and current popularity from various cultural perspectives. Their contribution to the articulation of the concept of design heritage remains somewhat limited, however, as these studies do not involve any discussion of the management of the current popularity of vintage and retro phenomena for the sake of sustainable development. Certainly, such studies, including the research carried out within the discipline of design history, contribute in a number of ways, such as playing a fundamental role in the education of new generations of designers. However, what I particularly focus on is the capital of design heritage that has become a part of our civic culture and is passed down through generations achieving unique enduring qualities in the era of fashion and overconsumption. For example, in contrast to the well-documented *history* of twentieth-century modern design, its *future* – particularly the promising link between the enduring symbolic features of modern design and the relationship between these and slower modes of consumption – remains an understudied area.

Thanks to its outstanding life cycle and longevity, a minority of modern design can be conceptually identified as "permanently valorised" in order to highlight its escape from the erosive forces of time imposed by the harsh nature of the predominant fashion mechanism. This identification addresses collective assignment of significant values to design and their critical approval by various social, cultural, and economic actors for an extended, indefinite period. However, the identification does not have a normative purpose. Such a social construction leads to a great variety of adaptations in everyday use. Retro, for example, is known for its arbitrary everyday use (see Baker 2013). In order to avoid ambiguity, I categorise permanent valorisation and provide key definitions with an aim to offer clarity to readers and establish a common language for future adopters of the thesis' intended strategy. The categorisation arranges permanent valorisation into three distinct design statuses: iconic, cult, and classic design. The lack of research interest is somewhat surprising when one considers the academic attention given to the exploration of the *history* of these statuses. For example, those studies that are fully dedicated to exploring and articulating such design statuses with historical awareness (*e.g.* Sudjic 1985, Kras *et al.* 2004, Phaidon 2006, Lees-Maffei 2014) do not show considerable interest in methods of managing existing capital and potential future benefits with regard to product longevity.

One should recognise the new academic interest in developing broader understanding of the phenomenal status of design classics in the contemporary context, such as the study by Wahlöö (2017). But there is nevertheless a considerable need to develop greater academic focus on the relationship between permanent valorisation and product longevity as related sustainability potentials could be significant. This significance relies on the strong cultural and commercial acceptance of permanent valorisation in design that permeates mainstream consumer culture.

Permanent valorisation is featured in wide array of media, from interior architecture to glossy magazines, embedded in the representation of superior taste and an elite lifestyle. For example, in lifestyle columns, the symbolism of design which endures time registers as a conspicuous and distinctive way to display the posses-

sor's economic capacity. I characterise the actors that shape such mainstream features as discursive stakeholders. The reason for the emphasis on social construction relies not only on the multiplicity and subjectivity of consumer perspectives as to the lasting value of design, but also on the multiple way in which these values can be employed in institutional contexts. For example, institutional interest in permanent valorisation exceeds the scope of museums. In the Nordic design context, for instance, permanent valorisation conspicuously serves the promotion of distinctive national identities and authentic intellectual capacities in country branding efforts seeking advantage in the competitive tourism market. These countries may be the most visible examples of where permanent valorisation has become a significant part of national iconography. A national design aura is constructed by pursuing distinctive brand values in national marketing agendas in which design which endures time plays a significant role.

This very central role in the cultural mainstream endows lasting values in design with unique potentials that may have critical implications for consumer behaviour. Thanks to its position in the existing cultural and economic networks, enduring qualities of permanent valorisation, which defy novelty-based consumption patterns, can be effectively employed to tackle overconsumption and related social behaviour. It's strong position in the collective memory of diverse consumer groups, *e.g.* "brand communities", and national groups may also help in this regard. Its commercial significance is likely to consolidate such an influence. In this vein, according to the hypothetical design strategy, permanent valorisation in design may hold a crucial position at the crossroads of monetary concerns of business, consumer aspirations, as well as environmental needs of our ecosystems. Such a position could be crucial to avoid potential interest conflicts among the stakeholders of sustainability transformation.

But yet again, when one reviews the sustainability literature, including sustainable consumption studies, there is no study dedicated to recognising and exploring the potential of permanent valorisation for sustainability. The lack of research interest becomes even more surprising considering that the relationship between consumer memory and long-lasting attachment to an object has been recognised by sustainability research (*e.g.* Schifferstein and Zwartkruis-Pelgrim 2008). Accordingly, this study's theoretical contribution includes the context of sustainability transformation via engaging design heritage for the promotion and cultivation of more durable consumer behaviour patterns. It could be argued that permanent valorisation in design is a cultural phenomenon that has been passed down through generations, engraved in the collective memory of not only consumer groups but also national groups, as noted above. Its culturally shared access and recognition exceed the limited scope of personal or familial attachment to objects. These factors rather achieve a much more inclusive, societal scale that could highlight once again the potential of design heritage for transforming consumer behaviour.

Despite this potential, which I will explore fully in the following chapter, it appears that permanent valorisation in design is conceived in an exclusive, elitist image.

This raises concerns as we are currently wasting the unique capital of permanent valorisation by employing it only in commercial and exclusivist frameworks. Can we not engage design's well-established cultural popularity, economic strengths, and enduring qualities in the cultivation of a more sustainable consumer culture? This is the primary research question of this study. Inspired by the Finnish case study in Artek, the scope of the research question expands to involve the capital of premodern arts and craft heritage as forms of cultural entity that may be employed for the same aim in culture-specific management models. In this context, a second research question arises: whether Artek's case is able to provide movable lessons that can be applied across the globe by cross-cultural transfer to attempts to rethink heritage aspects of arts and crafts, and to link them to a sustainable future. For example, the heritage of traditional Turkish arts and crafts is already on the agenda of Turkish artists and industrial designers in commercial and educational contexts. Hence the second question involves the ambition to expand the research context and the scope of the hypothetical strategy from modern design towards traditional arts and craft capital in local cultural environments. These environments are defined through their rich arts and craft background as well as emerging economic patterns that may necessitate sustainability transformation in consumer behaviour patterns.

It should be acknowledged, however, that the notion of interdisciplinarity – the wide-ranging review of various bodies of literature, for example – does not address the reader who seeks shortcuts. The application of interdisciplinary synergy to the design context is investigated in respective chapters via case studies. However, this synergy may be case-specific such that future adopters should engage their own interpretations and conduct their own feasibility research. Therefore, the desired strategy's principles are intended to guide cross-cultural application with movable lessons rather than blueprints. The purpose of the next section is to explain how I built up the theoretical structure of my thesis chapter by chapter, including a detailed introduction of some key definitions. I start the section with a justification of the interdisciplinary construction of the thesis' theory.

1.2 Theoretical Structure and Key Conceptualisations

I have stated that this research suggests a design heritage management strategy that is constructed upon rich interdisciplinary understanding. However, it should be noted from the outset that this study is not an action research project. It remains within the theoretical context, providing suggestions for a management strategy for design heritage. In a nutshell, the strategy aims to situate the culturally rich qualities of modern design and traditional arts and craft at a crossroads where they may respond to diverse business, consumer, and environmental interests simultaneously.

As will be discussed in great detail in the next chapter, this position is considered a key advantage to avoiding significant conflicts of interest among the stakeholders of sustainability transformation. Moreover, this position is seen as beneficial to giving existing consumerist drivers and networks an advantage in the implementation of the desired transformation.

To this end, the study involved a substantial review of marketing, brand management, and consumer research literatures, transferring concepts and categories in the construction of the hypothetical strategy. I argue that these reviews and transfers should not confuse us or make us lose sight of the design context of this study. This argument and the interdisciplinary theoretical framework can be justified on three accounts. Firstly, there are the contemporary influences that shape the design discipline and demand that designers take on new flexible roles. These formative influences, as explained in the previous section, include the emergence of the service economy, the integration of business theory and methodology, growing participatory practices, and finally increasing social awareness and social ambitions in the design discipline.

Secondly, the key positioning of design heritage in the proposed strategy may provide an explanation. The aim of responding to business, consumer, and environmental interests simultaneously requires an in-depth analysis of the intersection of these interests' resources. The intersection includes, for example, consumer behaviour and the dynamics of consumer culture with a broad focus on consumer aspirations, consumer beliefs, identity construction, and consumer community building among other aspects. A second layer spontaneously emerges as these elements of consumer analysis are hardwired into business mechanisms such as branding, corporate communications, and marketing. A third disciplinary layer is added as sustainability research enters the picture with a critical approach to the complex combination of consumer and business. Hence, in pursuit of consumer behaviour change, interdisciplinary analysis and the employment of relevant theories seem to be a prerequisite.

Thirdly, the term heritage itself requires an historical investigation into design's past. Hence, the above interdisciplinary synthesis includes design history too. However, this investigation does not entitle the author to the status of a design historian. This study does not aim to illuminate blind spots in history that are unknown to the design community. Rather it seeks to enhance the repertoire of contemporary design culture and create a future-oriented agenda through revisiting design's historical roots. As outlined above, besides the practical contribution of the hypothetical strategy, the study's theoretical contribution embraces a unique conceptualisation of design heritage that is characterised by sustainability transformation. Therefore, with a special focus on the engagement of design's historical capital for sustainability transformation, the theoretical contribution of this study may be argued to address the dialogue between design and sustainability studies in the general scholarly realm rather than a specific research community. All stakeholders who take part in the dialogue can benefit from the contribution of this study. As stated above, those

adopting strategy from the domain of industrial design may benefit from the field's mass-production background.

In the second chapter, I begin to structure my arguments with a review of the critical literature on design and consumer culture. I illustrate the scale of overconsumption, a key element of the present sustainability crisis, and the inadequacy of global efforts vis-à-vis pressing climate change issues. This discussion is immediately followed by an outline of design's diverse capacities in terms of providing potential solutions. I frame the research focus as an engagement of design's established historical values in the promotion of product longevity against systematic fast fashion and the commitment to novelty that is predominant in today's consumer culture. I present the social, cultural, and political impacts of the current consumer culture, describing the complex and deep-rooted nature of present consumer behaviour. I position the research focus as a pursuit of consistent and voluntary change in the pattern of problematic behaviour.

Identifying the current consumer culture as a "social dilemma", I suggest that design can be adopted as a part of business models promoting slower consumption and long-term enjoyment. I argue that this approach may avoid intractable conflicts with existing economic and cultural interests, avoiding overwhelming societal objections of the kind that often bog down sustainability projects seeking to impose rapid and radical shifts in consumer models. This argument presents the principle of feasibility, which shapes the study's proposed strategy of transition to cultures of sustainability. I recognise that sustainable businesses may have unique capacities that can be engaged to access existing political, social, and economic networks as well as synthesizing the interests of different stakeholders in the pursuit of steady transformation of consumer culture. I support the principle of feasibility with numerous references to the design and sustainability literature, including Meadows' popular "systems thinking" framework (2008). As the present consumer economy and culture is a "complex system" characterized by certain hierarchies, elements, and organisations, I define design as a business agent with the capacity to produce genuine and bottom-up responses to transform the "system" from within. Given the complexity of consumer culture, this argument is accompanied by an epistemological analysis of sustainability that favours diverse and culture-specific solutions, rather than an all-encompassing, universal solution.

In this vein, constructing a strategy based on design and business, I integrate heritage as a future-oriented strategic element. This element links cultural durability with a notion of social distinction engaging collective dimensions of memory. In accordance with the feasibility principle outlined above, I argue that it may be possible to position socially significant historical values in opposition to fashion's commitment to novelty. In accordance with this study's proposed heritage management strategy, I define design heritage and relevant key concepts, such as authenticity and permanent valorisation, as subjective and dynamic social constructs, rather than as stable values inherent in design. Hence, the broad interactive scope of social

construction supports the above positioning of heritage at the crossroad of interests relevant to economy, consumer culture, business, and sustainability. The chapter, in this context, introduces the concept of heritage from diverse angles that I used to help me to identify heritage as an institutional formal concept and a corporate asset that promises management opportunities. Towards this end, I present an extensive literature review on classical heritage studies in addition to brand heritage management methods through references to marketing, brand management, and corporate communication studies. Further, I define design heritage as a major asset to the brand heritage for design-driven companies with an historical background.

I start this review by presenting examples from the tourism industry – where cultural heritage is effectively employed in the design of services to combine economic interests and social development with the raising of sustainability awareness – such as the touristic Mimisbrunnr Climate Park network in Norway. I will later focus on corporate brand heritage, and provide a general definition of corporate actions, such as branding, that could enrich our capacities to employ heritage in pursuit of a more sustainable consumer culture. I will attempt to illustrate, for example, the link between brands, heritage, and consumers' social needs, whose management could lead to stronger customer relationships and commercial gains for brands. For example, I will focus on brands that manage heritage, and consumers' construction of a mutual past as well as the construction of shared identities. I would like to stress that such constructions do not necessarily stem from historical fact, but from an imagined past which enables companies to employ creative and invented design elements when exploiting heritage. This discussion refers to a marketing categorisation proposed by Hudson and Balmer (2013), who coined four "heritage dimensions" for corporate brands. This reference helps to illustrate the social nature of heritage, including notions of collective imagination which may also have implications for business activities that combine financial profit with the cultivation of sustainable consumption. In this vein, I argue that brands' social capacities can be exploited with creative services where individual and brand-related shared memories merge. Informed by the literature review, I finally contend that the heritage of brands may offer designers a unique memory framework that may be engaged in pursuit of slow consumption and product-longevity strategies.

Another heritage recognition that plays an important role in the thesis' theoretical structure, is based on the difference between heritage and history when approaching the past. As I will explain in great detail referring to Lowenthal's accounts (2010: 127), for example, academic history's dominant characteristics are grounded in accuracy and integrity evidenced by "proof of origins". Heritage, on the other hand, is more focused on "present exploits" which may push history's priorities into a secondary position. This difference has important implications for the thesis' structure and the formation of the hypothetical strategy.

In the third chapter, I introduce and explain the key terms used in establishing the thesis' theoretical framework. The chapter starts with a recognition of the

importance of memory cultivation in emerging understandings of both business and design. I position the notion of memory within a dialogue between Old and New, and in doing so provide the outlines of an understanding of temporality in terms of design life cycle and heritage. I argue that the dialogue's dynamics and interplay emerge as one of the main pillars of modernity, pointing to the complex nature of the dialogue as it operates by means of "supplementation" of the past – where multifarious elements of the past are recycled so quickly that the new never has a chance to supplant the old. I use the dialogue to explore key heritage terms and phenomena that are conceived through the tenets of social constructivism.

I will start to explore the retro phenomenon in the context of the previous chapter's interdisciplinary brand heritage analysis. I identify that retro applications in business practices may be able to develop viewpoints from present to past in creative ways not necessarily bound to the limitations of historical accuracy. Informed by the previous literature review, I argue that retro allows consumers to project their own historical associations onto brand narratives. This argument highlights an opportunity for promoting sustainable consumption, however, I question whether current retro design practices fulfil sustainability potential.

This questioning allows me to separate retro applications into two categories based on their relationship with fashion cycles. Such categorisation is crucial as the hypothetical strategy, the major outcome of this research, requires a clear language for future adopters and practitioners at a global scale. The ambiguity of the term as it is used currently and generally necessitates clarification. The categories, however, do not aim to impose a normative framework as the very social construction of these key concepts escape restrictive or dictating definitions. In this vein, both to avoid future communication problems and gain insight into key concepts, the third chapter includes a categorisation of socially constructed key concepts such as retro. Nevertheless, the categorisation attempts to respect the subjectivity of the meaning of these concepts that may be adopted in diverse ways by different consumer communities or corporate applications.

Given this pragmatic decision, retro, for instance, can be categorised according to its role both in the acceleration and slowing of consumption. "Faddish retro", a term I coined to indicate its role in accelerated consumption, can be positioned in the fashion cycle as associated with ephemerality and stylistic consumer fads. Such retro applications, I argue, can be linked to the acceleration of consumption because they continuously feed nostalgic emotions within the fusion of popular culture, consumer entertainment, and commercial operations. This recognition helps me acknowledge that heritage applications that focus merely on immediate commercial gains may hamper attempts to transition to sustainability, whereas accounts of history could serve consumers' novelty commitment.

This is not to say that retro does not promise rich potentials in shaping a design heritage management model that can be employed to promote enduring qualities of consumer culture. Retro's creative reproduction of history in consumerist ways can

be linked to the promotion of sustainability through the exploitation of consumers' identity construction or community building based on a shared, imagined past. Hence, I argue that in certain managerial conditions, retro may contain the potential for slowing consumption and, therefore, attempt to incorporate it in the hypothetical strategy.

In defining such conditions, properties of design that cultivate memory and experience are foregrounded as prerequisites that play a constitutive role connecting retro's economic and social significance with an appreciation of durable consumption among consumers. This definition involves also a contemporary understanding of heritage management that embraces, for example, fiction and fabrication of historical capital in creative design offerings that refer to certain heritage categorisations adopted from the marketing literature. Authenticity is shown in this formula as the main criterion if retrospective fabrication of the past is meant to engage memorial properties and evidently promote durable consumption. To this end, I address a socially-constructive and dynamic understanding of authenticity that encapsulates the ever-changing agencies of economy, consumer culture, and business contexts, rather than a stable historical legitimacy.

I argue further that when such an understanding of authenticity become involved as socially-constructed product quality, consumer behaviour contrasts in important ways to consumption practices that are dominated by the commitment to novelty. Hence, I shift my focus to areas where such values are reproduced. Permanent valorisation, as the phenomenon of the semantic attribution of an array of symbolisms to an object, constitutes a special line in the dialogue between Old and New, one anchored and persistent, immune to the obsolescing processes within the dialogue. I use the faddish retro category to generate a contrast to permanent valorisation as a means to provide more insight into the related sustainability potential. Accordingly, I distinguish the permanency of valorisation in material culture from faddish applications of retro as a semantic process of continuous contemporaneity of artefactual symbolism and as a strong bearer of collective memory. Consequently, I associate permanently valorised artefacts with a wider and longer-lasting spectrum of symbolic reference. I add that this spectrum spans humanist values that could become a substantial part of identity construction and social display for certain social groups.

I further define the potentials of permanent valorisation, as artefacts with lasting values may become vehicles through which to achieve this study's strategy of tapping into existing socio- and politico-economic networks in order to avoid conflicts of consumer and business interest while suggesting positive changes in consumer behaviour. In this vein, I concentrate on design which endures time as a specific field of design heritage. I suggest, for example, that elitist media portrayals and public images of lasting artefacts link a patina of exclusivity to products designed to be long-lasting. However, permanently valorised artefacts ought to be considered inclusive given the obvious material advantages of their enduring qualities (*i.e.* avoiding the

need to continually spend money on replacing products that break down or which rapidly fall out of fashion). At this stage, I argue that given the existing commercial and cultural popularity of permanent valorisation, this kind of design has a great deal of potential in terms of synthesising business and consumer interests while promoting durable consumption patterns.

I begin with a consideration of enduring values in design by devising key criteria for the management of permanent valorisation. I first attempt to define permanency by referring to the roots of human relations with the temporal space, which is imagined as exempt from the erosive forces of time. In line with this, I refer to myths and archetypes and their continuing popularity from the distant past to the very heart of today's global culture. Second, I conduct an historical investigation of the role of modernist idealisations in the context of "good design" with an additional focus on the modernist anti-fashion discourse. Following the presentation of the key characteristics of modernist conceptualisations of lasting values in design, I shift my focus to the social construction of permanent valorisation considering postmodern criticism. As this shift brings the discussion to the present time, I introduce the complexities that emerge with globalisation in order to rethink the agency of a producer's conscious activity in valorisation.

Following a clarification of how a conscious design activity can be operational in today's conditions, I begin with key definitions that address permanent valorisation as the status of a specific semantic process and its dynamic relationship with the passing of time. I argue that the semantic status of permanence may emerge in certain conditions as long as an artefact gains this agency in a way that is continuously linked to the present rather than to an end point. I try, then, to conceptualise permanent valorisation as a process of continuous contemporaneity that functions as a cultural reference collectively constructed by society or by a large group. Accordingly, on the one hand, I acknowledge that permanence may not be literally permanent, forever. As an example, I show cliché as a status whose symbolic features fail to fulfil the semantic process that may lead to a stage in which permanency ceases. On the other hand, referring again to cliché, I recognise the socially constructive nature of permanent valorisation, which is structured upon the notion of the subjective assessment of various audiences. This helps me to demonstrate that permanency escapes the restrictions imposed by the dictates of "arbiters of taste" in this context. I argue that it is rather assured by the artefact's long-lasting symbolism under the influence of a great multiplicity of social, economic, cultural, and political factors.

From this point of view, it seems irrelevant whether an artefact is attributed the defining concepts, such as modernist "good design" or its opposite, "bad design". In my formulation, however, I refer also to modernist views and concepts, such as Pallasmaa's (2012a) "embodied enigma", that link permanent valorisation to an object's inherent virtues. This should not confuse the reader as I do not aim to highlight the straightforward involvement of such virtues. I rather attempt to demonstrate the underpinning theories that are promoted, mediated, and legitimised by cultural

authorities, in a form of discourse. This discourse, as I argue, may play a role in shaping the social construction of the permanency of valorisation. Consequently, I argue that the agency of design management may enter the picture to manipulate and manage the obscure and elusive nexus forming the social nature of the marketplace that endows design with sustainability. I argue that it would be an oversimplification to claim that permanent valorisation equates to sustainable design. Instead, I favour intentional design managerial involvement in shaping the social processes of permanent valorisation.

In order to gain greater insight into permanent valorisation, I introduce key categories within the overall rubric of permanency, including classics, icons, and cult objects, discussing the distinctive qualities of each and addressing their determining aspects to provide a conceptual architecture of the term "cultural icon". I borrow the term "cultural icon" from Holt (2004) in developing the theoretical framework to inform the intended heritage management strategy. The term allows me to acknowledge and express the importance of the mythological ethos and national cultural fabric that surrounds lasting values in design. In addition, discussion of this term helps me to recognise environmental consumer anxieties across the world as important components of an ideological platform to implement a specific heritage management model.

In the final part of the third chapter, I stress the role of the ideological framework in permanency in design, which can be transmitted by a sophisticated mythology. This is followed by a discussion, illustrated by well-known examples, of the modernisation of myths and the emergence of the creator (designer) as a modern hero. I strengthen the discussion by presenting illustrative examples that give insight into the critical concepts playing a key role in the further development of my thesis, such as the German car manufacturer Volkswagen's Beetle. I give special importance to Robert Capa's iconic Spanish Civil War photograph "The Falling Soldier" to illustrate the modernisation of myths and the emergence of the creator as a modern hero. Focus is given to the unique interplay of factors that illustrate the social construction of permanent valorisation. For example, I emphasise the dramatic story of the photograph and its photographer, which allows us to observe the emergence of the creator as a hero and the role of the mythical and/or heroic character in the permanent valorisation of design.

The third chapter concludes by recognising the capacities of modern mythologies in the inclusion of sustainable consumption in the symbolic ethos of permanent valorisation. In this context, I suggest the concept of designer as hero serves the thesis in a number of ways. I argue, for example, that the designer as a hero, stimulates the idea that the creative, experimental, and yet transformative nature of design can be attributed to a mythological realm. Hence, I consider engaging aspects of design mythology in addition to design history in the following case study investigation. This consideration is based on the aforementioned difference between history and heritage. In pursuit of "present exploits", I hope that delving into design's

past as a mythological construct could suit the socially constructive character and constantly changing operation of heritage more effectively. My argument contends that approaching design's past as a form of mythology may enable us to increase the capacities of the desired strategy, inspired by the case of Lowenthal's (1998) heritage articulation where myth is set above historical accuracy and adopts fiction as the "complement" of fact rather than the "opposite".

Concerning the case studies in the following chapters, this argument addresses the theoretical framing of my investigation into design's past in a mythological realm that is defined by the exploitative nature of heritage rather than the critical framework of academic history. Hence, in pursuit of creating a heritage management strategy, the historiographical accounts in the case studies are produced through a selective approach in accordance to the purpose of the thesis. This means, for example, that the virtues of Finnish Design are handled with a selective perspective prioritising the creation of desired consumer myths and beliefs in line with the strategy. The priority, in this sense, pushes a critique of these virtues towards a secondary position. The historiographical accounts of the related case study chapters, for example, focus on the historical data that is deployed in the design mythologies rather than the critique of design histories such as in the context of the national design virtues in the construction of Finnishness.

In the fourth chapter, I explore the recent business and marketing models executed by the iconic Finnish housewares company Artek. Artek is the case study that inspired the arguments set out in the previous chapters. I argue that Artek's case may epitomise the sustainability potential of design heritage management when engaging the capacities of a corporate brand with key strategic elements such as design iconicity and collective memory. I offer the analysis of Artek as a real case where readers can relate to the previous theoretical discussions of permanent valorisation. The reason why I focus on Finland is the unique national and historical importance of design and applied arts to that country, which inspires a lively atmosphere of debate and discussion about design heritage. My main argument is that the company's management of Finnish modern design ethos achieves a synthesis of business and consumer interests while promoting slower modes of consumption that goes against the grain of the predominant fashion mechanism. The chapter aims to analyse how Artek employs the Finnish design heritage through new cultural and business grounds in which customers gain access to the company's selection of special value second hand home decoration items such as furniture and lighting fixtures. This access enables customers to sell and buy items, and perhaps more importantly, to participate in the search to grow and articulate a collective memory on Finnish design as a means of supporting enduring ownership habits. I argue that through such a dialogue, customers may achieve a role in reshaping the Finnish design mythology.

Artek has a distinct historical significance and a unique design identity, an identity primarily created by Alvar Aalto (1898–1976), the internationally acclaimed architect and the company's designer and co-founder. As Artek's artefacts enjoy an

iconic status, based on the historical and social values they possess today, the company's marketing approach aims to accommodate this iconicity in order to raise public awareness on diverse benefits of enduring product qualities. Whereas sustainability is championed as a brand asset, employment of permanent valorisation in the promotion of durable consumption provides a highly interesting case in which the principle of feasibility that guides this research, in particular discussion of the synthesis of public and private interests, finds an opportunity for application.

This study scrutinises examples of the company's business practices, with a focus on the 2nd Cycle project, which competently arranges diverse monetary and intellectual gains while increasing awareness of consumer responsibility in terms of sustainability. The 2nd Cycle project provides rich empirical data for examination in its unique employment of consumables that aims to enhance the social good as well as to create new economic opportunities, know-how, and human capacities. For example, I attempt to show how Artek transforms the Finnish national design mythology, producing a more inclusive version extending the exclusive "design hero" phenomenon and allowing consumers to emerge as new "heroes". In order to support this argument, I focus on the 2nd Cycle project and the business operations of the latter and Artek's 2nd Cycle store. Arguing that the theoretical discussions elaborated over the previous chapters can resonate in the real world, I also analyse Artek's recent marketing efforts, which have championed sustainability as a brand asset.

Linking permanent valorisation, product longevity and, ultimately, sustainable consumption, I focus on how the company's long-established cultural and historical characteristics are reproduced and capitalised upon by addressing emerging consumer aspirations and needs in its 2nd Cycle store. I begin the chapter with an exploration of Artek's 2nd Cycle project and its Vintage store in Helsinki, followed by a discussion of the background and development of the operation of 2nd Cycle's resale system. I provide detailed information about the qualities of today's operations through a number of interviews with Artek employees. As the main line of argument, I stress the collective generation of diverse capacities and meanings that are sympathetic to and even activist (but not revolutionary) in addressing social needs and concerns related to generating sustainable capital accumulation. The chapter also presents an online survey on how consumers in Finland understand permanent valorisation. I discuss the survey results, which reveal the attitudes of Finnish consumers towards both permanent valorisation in design and sustainable consumption in order to show that the country's consumer culture has a mature foundation that contributes to the cultivation of sustainable patterns.

In short, the fourth chapter defines how this research's hypothesis works at a micro scale through scrutiny of the chemistry of the Finnish case, which I define as the unique cell, the functional and live unit, of the study. The fifth chapter focuses on the chromosomes of the cell, containing the matrix of regulatory genetic elements that can organise a web of interrelationships with similar cells. The chromosome authorises certain subsystems – an anatomical organ according to this biological anal-

ogy – to have a greater function. Put a different way, the fifth chapter aims to explore the potential scalability of the Finnish case, thinking about how it could be adapted and made to resonate in different cultural contexts. The essence of the Finnish case does not provide a stable formula or blueprint that can be copied and applied thus directly to different cultural milieus globally. Instead, it points to the cultivation of new sensibilities and a pluralistic ethos that celebrates and is capable of translating the diversity of historical capital possessed by different cultures into heritage. This heritage can be functional in terms of the needs of the "real world" of today and the future – including the needs of a global economy enmeshed in consumerism, but also a global outlook requiring attention to sustainability.

Following this line of thought, the thesis continues with an examination of the cross-cultural transferability of the Finnish case. I argue that the Finnish case can provide inspiration and movable lessons applicable to different cultural contexts and make useful contributions to the cultivation of a more sustainable consumer culture. In order to ground this discussion, I borrow the term "common stock" from anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (1952) to indicate that continuous intellectual interaction and cultural exchange constitute a fundamental part of humanity's social history and development. Accordingly, I claim that the Finnish experience of addressing sustainability may be able to penetrate the intellectual capital of different cultures. In this context, I focus on countries with constantly growing economic capacities, such as emerging markets, that demonstrate alarming levels of growth in consumption and spending patterns. I explore these markets as potential areas for the transfer of a sustainability strategy of the kind represented by the Finnish case.

In order to discuss the necessity and feasibility of the real-world transferability of the hypothetical strategy, I concentrate on my home country, Turkey. As an emerging market economy, I discuss that Turkey may constitute a suitable context and pave the way for further cross-cultural application cases in the context of different emerging markets. This suitability depends first on distinct cultural and historical differences between Finland and Turkey. Unlike Finland, Turkey does not possess a modern design identity, but does have a rich traditional arts and crafts character. This character has taken shape over thousands of years through constant cultural interchange in the realms of architecture, arts, and crafts. In this context, I consider these distinctive cultural and historical differences as a favourably challenging environment in which to test the scalability of the research's hypothesis in a theoretical context. I do not argue that the Turkish case is one that flows naturally from the Finnish. Rather, the argument is that Turkey presents a distinct case from that of Finland, and that it is this distinctiveness itself which will prove this research's widespread applicability. Accordingly, I suggest that Turkey may have much potential in terms of achieving a certain degree of "heritage sensibility" in pursuit of social change. Aiming to guide future adopters of this research's strategy to adopt models from different cultures, I discuss the feasibility and necessity of nurturing a heritage-oriented ethos in Turkey across economic, social, political,

cultural, and design domains. I also argue that Turkey is a representative case of some very large, important market segments globally that must be taken into account in efforts towards achieving sustainability (*i.e.* emerging markets, of which Finland is not an example).

I refer to the organised brotherhood of Turkish tradesmen and artisans of Akhism (*Ahilik*) – considered to have been founded in the 13th century by a local saint (dervish) Ahi Evran – as the institutional actor of Turkish arts and craft. Due to its humanist philosophy and teachings that show respect to all humanity, I suggest that the Akhis constitute the anonymous actor who can be mythologised in a way inspired by the Finnish case. In this vein, I attempt to outline a conceptual Akhi Myth where their creative power, life-long dedication to arts and craft, and self-discipline are praised allowing narrations in the service of contemporary understandings of design and sustainability. I ground my theoretical discussions within the study of a concrete case, that of Istanbul's monumental Grand Bazaar, within which I conducted ethnographic research in two different sets of three-month time periods in 2014 and 2016. In my investigation, I again employ the term "cultural icon" to stress, acknowledge, and express the importance of the mythological ethos and national cultural fabric that surrounds permanent valorisation in design. In addition, discussion of this term helps me to recognise environmental consumer anxieties across the world as important components of an ideological platform to implement a specific heritage management model.

The bazaar's historical and social significance depends on its centuries-long role as the Ottoman Empire's most important harbour, one shaped by the Ottomans' unique organisational trade and crafts culture. I translate aspects of the latter into a contemporary lexicon of design, policy-making, and innovation. As centuries have passed, the identity of the Grand Bazaar has been transformed under ever-changing economic and social parameters, up to the present day. Currently the Grand Bazaar largely serves a market for tourists coming to Istanbul from abroad. Through a thick description of the bazaar derived from my qualitative research, I describe the mounting problems of authenticity and sustainability that currently face the institution. This leads, ultimately, to outlining challenges and opportunities of the application of the lessons of Finnish heritage management to the example of the Grand Bazaar.

In doing so, I designate a certain myth and identity peculiar to Turkish arts and craft capital and the Grand Bazaar's foundational values, inspired by the strategies undertaken by Artek. I shape the framework to the extent of identifying a certain opportunity in light of current market-dominating commercial approaches and consumer aspirations with regards to Turkish-Islamic historical capital, one that speaks to the profound potential of the heritage design approach to the Grand Bazaar, what may well be the world's most famous marketplace. I subsequently discuss the potential of the Turkish case for a meaningful contribution to sustainability in terms of the concerns and interests of the varying stakeholders of the bazaar, from the tourists and domestic consumers who shop there, to the collaborating designers, craftsmen,

and entrepreneurs who make their living there. Special focus is laid on existing academic projects in Istanbul that seek to revive the crafts culture through seeking new forms of collaboration between craftsmen and designers. Informed by the cumulative experience of these projects and the review of the related literature, for example, the chapter suggests an implementation order for the hypothetical strategy in the case of the Grand Bazaar. The suggestion involves four hierarchical processes that develop from the initiation of the implementation to the transformation of the bazaar's local community into an "empowered" and "self-organizing" network. Each process is described through a network designation, an expansion programme with governing and facilitation tactics, and a plan for specific actions.

In the following chapter, I provide an extensive review of Turkey's economic, social, and intellectual capacities to establish a research framework for adoption by future researchers who would like to run a design heritage management programme in their own cultural context. I designed this chapter to present a guide for such research attempts. The framework investigates, for example, emerging Turkish consumer spending patterns and their complex relationships with the historical assets of the traditional arts and crafts culture. This investigation focuses on the current understanding of heritage in Turkish consumer culture entwined with current political ambitions and populist agendas reflected in governmental investments. The analysis of Turkish heritage goes deeper, into ideological consumer affiliations rooted in major historic phenomena such as the Westernisation of Turkey. Gaining a better understanding of the complexities in current Turkish consumer behaviour, I keep this section especially dense as I hope to stimulate further research in other emerging markets whose historical foundations possess equally complex modernisation processes, such as colonialism. Apart from historical accounts, the chapter gives special importance to Turkey's design capacities which range from the academic, professional, and governmental sectors to business and public domains that constitute the main arena in which this research's proposed management strategy can be implemented. I conclude the chapter by arguing the potentials of the Grand Bazaar specifically with reference to the sociocultural and politico-economic conditions presented throughout the chapter.

In the conclusion chapter, besides rounding off the arguments of the thesis and summarising the main findings, I attempt to draw guiding principles of scalability for future adopters attempting to apply the management strategy cross-culturally. I finish by issuing an open call to designers, who I hope will undertake design projects in the bazaar, exploring new avenues of experiences and services that could serve as means of implementing the proposed strategy.

1.3 Methodology and Limitations

The first case study

In this section, I discuss the research methodology adopted in analysing the case studies in Finland and Turkey. I adopt ethnographic research methods when analysing the study cases: field observations, interviews, and online survey. The field observations and interviews for the case study in Finland were undertaken between 2011 and 2016, and I continuously gathered data through numerous visits in Artek's Helsinki store dedicated to the 2nd Cycle project. For example, the thick description of the Helsinki store provided in the fourth chapter is not the result of a single visit, but rather the result of continuous observations made over three years. The data given with the description are thus valuable to understanding the company's long-term, persistent display and sell strategy in the store, rather than giving insight into seasonal marketing tactics that may have been insufficient to provide insight into the marketing and business operations of the company. Although I made only a single visit to the Vitra store in Berlin – the Swiss furniture producer that acquired Artek in 2013, offers 2nd Cycle products to the German market – I was able to collect continuous data through a series of interviews with Antti Tevajärvi, who works in both stores as an expert and salesman.

Interviews with Artek employees who played key roles in the 2nd Cycle project and store constitute the primary method of researching the Finland case study. It is important to note that interviews, as well as other research methods, were implemented in English. The language played an important role in the choice of research subjects and materials. The interviews started in 2011 with Artek's former design director, Ville Kokkonen, when I was still exploring considerations regarding case studies. During the period of early considerations, I focused on Finnish companies with strong historical capital such as Artek, Iittala, and Marimekko. Attempting to approach these companies, I first met Kokkonen in February 2011, at Artek's head office. After this first contact, interesting developments with regards to Artek's 2nd Cycle project and store led me to focus on this particular company. Consequently, to gain greater insight into the 2nd Cycle project, I met Kokkonen a second time in December 2012. As the theoretical framework of the study developed, a third meeting was necessary, and took place in September 2013. During this period the 2nd Cycle project became the thesis's case study. The reason for this choice is based on the project's long-term focus and innovative approach to engaging the Finnish design heritage, which transcends a mere marketing repertoire and establishes a comprehensive business model with unique qualifications. The first meeting with Kokkonen was largely focused on an introduction to the company's historical capital, the second and third interviews increasingly focused on the company's mindset, which shaped the 2nd Cycle and its business operations. Following the third interview, I contacted the salesman Antti Tevajärvi on Kokkonen's recommendation.

I began to make regular visits to the 2nd Cycle store and started to meet Tevajärvi in October 2013, and continued to do so until January 2016. These visits allowed me to gather up-to-date data for almost three years as each meeting involved friendly unstructured conversations with Tevajärvi on the most recent developments in the store's performance and operations. Each meeting took place in the 2nd Cycle store, which allowed me to observe customers spending time in the store and interacting with store experts. These observation periods also enabled me to witness the store's daily operation routine as well as some emotional moments such as store experts' reactions when coming across a rare collectible item. Such exceptional observations helped me to assess the store experts' commitment to the project. Despite my personal observations, the relationship between the 2nd Cycle store and its customers is mainly described through Tevajärvi's experience accumulated since the launch of the store.

I had opportunities to talk with almost all of the other store experts, but Tevajärvi remained the main interviewee for the entire duration of my visits, which included a visit to the Vitra and Artek store in Berlin to observe 2nd Cycle's expansion in June 2014. I often contacted Tevajärvi via email in the days following our conversations, to ask for details or clarification of his statements when my recordings of our conversations were unclear. In our early meetings, the conversations largely focused on in-depth questioning of the sustainability potential of the 2nd Cycle project, including the role of crucial concepts such as the project's engagement with Finnish collective memory. It should be noted, however, that our conversations focused on field experience of the operational encounters and characteristics of the 2nd Cycle project rather than the perspective of top administration, due to Tevajärvi's role as a salesman and expert. Later, we had opportunities to speculate about the future of the project and its possible implications. The duration of the study allowed me to monitor different phases of progress. As this long interview process provided a great deal of information, I have used the interview material very selectively in the dissertation.

An exception is the interview with Mirkku Kullberg, former CEO of Artek and the founder of the 2nd Cycle project. I allowed her voice to dominate the discussions of the background and early developments of the project, which dates back to 2007. My interview with Kullberg took place in the February of 2016, in the very final phase of the research, as I wanted it to fully embrace all the data that I had gathered, I wanted this interview to serve as a final check through the eyes of the mastermind of the project. My questions framed the entire progress of the 2nd Cycle. Perhaps, most importantly, the interview focused on the 2nd Cycle's administrational details which were not available in Tevajärvi's statements. This should be noted that the project's development, such as sales per year, is not supported by concrete data, as such information is considered a commercial secret and not shared by the company. Hence, the thesis' description of the store's success and popularity depends on the interviewees' evaluations.

Even though these interviews provided some insight into consumer perceptions, I also had to determine how Finnish consumers themselves understand the possible

link between permanent valorisation and sustainable consumption. To this end, I implemented a multiple-choice online survey in 2014 over three months, which was answered by 81 participants from Finland. I refer to the survey participants as "design conscious" consumers since the announcement of the survey was made by institutional channels such as the electronic mailing lists of the Finnish Association of Designers Ornamo and Aalto University School of Arts, Design and Architecture. Members of these institutions can be expected to be familiar with design and design culture, certainly relative to random consumers.

The survey used the terms "design icon" and "iconic design" instead of "permanent valorisation" as they are more widely circulated in media. In addition, I decided that the term "permanency" could unduly influence participants' opinions, for example, in questions relating to durability, as the term intrinsically implies a temporal state of design.[1] I discuss quantitative survey results in order to present consumer approaches to lasting design values in Finland. An exception among consumer accounts is that of Anne Korvenmaa, an Artek customer who is over 80 years old. In the April of 2014, I held an interview with Korvenmaa that allows me to present qualitative data such as Artek's post-war public image and Alvar Aalto's national significance in Finland. This was a rare opportunity for me to achieve such an insight into historical accounts due to the language problem. My questions did not only focus on public image, but also on more personal aspects in order to determine how Artek's furniture is positioned in her family background and integrated into her personal memory. A chart displaying these interviews is presented below:

Interviewee	Interview Method	Year
Ville Kokkonen	Semi-structured Questions	February 2011–September 2013
2nd Cycle Store Helsinki/Antti Tevajärvi	Unstructured Discussions	Regular Visits between October 2013 and January 2016
2nd Cycle Store Berlin/Antti Tevajärvi	Semi-structured Questions	June 2014
Anne Korvenmaa	Semi-structured Questions	April 2014
Mirkku Kullberg	Semi-structured Questions	February 2016

Chart 1.1: Artek's case interview chart

1   At the beginning of the survey, participants were provided with the following description of a design icon: "A design icon is a benchmark product that has the qualities necessary to powerfully and publicly represent an important idea, a thought, or a concept with greater significance. Iconic design is not described by faddish market success, but rather by its persistent existence and representativeness in the collective memory of a society. In this sense, classic design and iconic design share a number of similarities. For example, Finnish modern design icons, such as the renowned products designed by Alvar Aalto, Tapio Wirkkala, or Kaj Franck, are cultural representatives of greater values rather than mere physical pieces of furniture or tableware".

This case study has several limitations that may have influenced the findings. Operating in a foreign culture inescapably involves challenges for the researcher. A particular limitation, for example, emerged concerning the qualitative scope of interviewees. The current scope generates a relatively limited analysis of the case that is understood largely through the statements of employees. This partly excludes the wider reception of 2nd Cycle among Finnish consumers, which involves the interplay of broader consumer values and interests behind the project. Although the above online survey was mainly intended to reveal this reception, it may be argued that the design-conscious survey participants reflect different views and perspectives than would random consumers due to their relatively advanced design awareness. The major reason for my choice of survey participants was their accessibility. As a pragmatic solution, the survey was disseminated using emailing lists of people already familiar with the cultural scope of design and crafts.

On the one hand, it is likely that these participants' awareness distinguishes their survey responses from those of random consumers, which may reduce their representative power for the Finnish public. On the other hand, the same awareness may render their answers more reliable and informative. I see their awareness as a qualitative strength that could provide better reasoning and judgement when answering the survey questions. This potential greater reliability is the reason why I chose to include the survey in the thesis. Nevertheless, it is arguable that in the future another survey addressing randomly chosen Finnish consumers may reveal quite different and interesting consumer insights into the perceptual status of design classics and icons, and the 2nd Cycle project, in Finland. Such a survey, for example, could be used to test Artek employees' (creators and executers of 2nd Cycle) statements and may also provide the opportunity to critically discuss and broaden the theories concerning 2nd Cycle more thoroughly. The present thesis takes employees' statements as the major research focus in order to investigate the sustainability potential of the 2nd Cycle project as a source of inspiration and movable lessons for cross-cultural exchange of design heritage management. Accordingly, the first case study is not intended to gauge 2nd Cycle's potential influence on consumer behaviour.

The reason why I have not delved deeper into the interviews with consumers is that the research is intended to scrutinise the 2nd Cycle project from the perspective of executers/managers in order to produce managerial lessons for other design heritage contexts, such as the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul. This does not mean that I have excluded consumer views completely, however. Throughout the research, I had countless conversations concerning 2nd Cycle. Nevertheless, these conversations were held in my own cultural environment, mostly the academic circles and Artek. These conversations helped me to develop certain research perspectives on the topic which have structured the theoretical framework. A considerable limitation, however, was that this environment was framed by the use of English as the main means of communication and by my identity as a foreigner. The use of interlocutors' native languages and inclusion of other, more diverse social circles could have developed more advanced or diverse

research perspectives embracing the broader public. For example, most older Finnish consumers turned down my interview requests. The language issue may have played a role in this.

This limitation became clear when comparing my research performance in Turkey to that in Finland. As I will show below, conducting research in my home city offered a good number of advantages, such as a deeper appreciation of historical context and familiarity with the research case since my childhood. These advantages, naturally, were not available to me in Helsinki. Hence, in the future, a Finnish researcher with a wider circle of Finnish acquaintances embracing all walks of life could conduct a more comprehensive study of Finnish consumer views. Such a study is very likely to offer more advanced results with regard to underlying and critical consumer views, and perhaps allow access to radical meanings behind the 2nd Cycle project and enduring design in Finland. In a similar sense, articulation of the Finnish collective memory of design remains limited as it would require such a consumer study in addition to a broader analysis of cultural products driven by the Finnish media and various design marketing sectors with international resonance. Such a broad and deep articulation, however, could require the scope of an independent doctoral research project with a focus on the foundations and properties of a single subject culture or related cultures, rather than an exploration of the notion of exchange between two fundamentally distinct cultures.

This limitation also influenced the definition of key terms such as "permanent valorisation", "authenticity", and "retro" when structuring the theoretical content of the thesis. Given the multiplicity of related consumer-mediated meanings, ambiguous everyday use, and the subjective nature of these terms, I have chosen to employ internationally renowned design models such as the Volkswagen Beetle model rather than Finnish designs. The market research on the retro version of the Beetle (*e.g.* Brown *et al.* 2003b) provided me with consumer data to illustrate the dynamic construction of brand-consumer relations as well as heterogeneous marketplace understandings of the terms authenticity and retro. The limitations mentioned above prevented me from obtaining such data in the Finnish context, which would have required the adoption of consumer research methods engaging large segments of the Finnish public.

Despite the limitations involved, working in two different cultures may have generated advantages too. Perhaps the most considerable advantage is the capacity to test a possible exchange between these cultures.

The limitations do not mean that the Artek case was researched in an isolated fashion, however. For example, throughout the research period, I was a regular visitor to Helsinki's flea markets and retro and vintage stores. Although these visits provided me with a rich body of field observations, I decided not to include these observations for several reasons. These vintage stores, for example, are not comparable, in a variety of ways, to the 2nd Cycle project, especially in terms of heritage management as a complex branding and marketing tool, which is irrelevant to them. For exam-

ple, these stores have more flexible criteria in creating their inventory and trading methods which do not bear unique features, just like any other vintage store that can be found across Western countries. In contrast, what makes 2nd Cycle's heritage management more interesting is the combination of brand heritage with national design heritage while engaging memorial properties, such as collective memory and sustainability awareness, in a sophisticated rebranding mechanism. Moreover, I argue that 2nd Cycle may have potential semantic impact on the company's brand-new products. Accordingly, I have handled the 2nd Cycle project not as a commonplace second-hand store but rather as a unique sophisticated design managerial system with diverse implications for broader issues. These issues may vary from the implementation of corporate social responsibility to different heritage management adaptations in various cultural and historical settings.

The focus of my study was not placed on general consumer attitudes to second-hand products in Finland, therefore, but rather on one company's particular endeavours in heritage management. I argue, for instance, that 2nd Cycle may enrich the managerial lessons gained from the literature review for cross-cultural heritage management applications in emergent economies, especially in Turkey. The focus on Artek's management framework was firstly a result of this study's scope, which excludes general consumer attitudes among the larger public, which are perhaps less likely to produce relevant knowledge for the adopters of the proposed strategy in the Grand Bazaar. Secondly, pragmatic reasoning should not be forgotten as my focus on the company is an attempt to reduce the impact of the methodological restrictions specified above. Consequently, the broader cultural values and consumer interests that may be influencing 2nd Cycle do not enter the scope of this research due to its theoretical structure, expected results, and limitations. I hope that this study will encourage future design research studies on the consumer interests behind 2nd Cycle in Finland.

The second case study

I adopt a similar methodological framework when adapting the management strategy in Turkey, where interviews play a significant role in data gathering. Istanbul's historical Grand Bazaar has a special place in my own personal background. Hence, this section of the thesis grows in part from my own personal experience. As the son of an Istanbul family that has lived in Istanbul for four generations, I had personal memories and access to family memories that give a vivid picture of the bazaar's place in Istanbul's twentieth-century cultural landscape as well as current dramatic changes such as the replacement of original shopping experience by the lucrative tourism business. In light of my personal experience, that of my family, and the media depictions of the bazaar, I draw a picture of the current scene and recognise in it the potentials identified in the case of Artek.

However, achieving a more concrete dimension requires better insight from the eyes of people who spend their lives inside the bazaar. After all, these people are the store owners, salesmen, designers, and craftsmen who would become the main actors in the implementation of a transformation project for the bazaar. Their awareness of the bazaar's cultural capital and its current problems is important to deciding whether there is a substantial need to assign professional designers and craftsmen when running projects. To this end, I firstly conducted an ethnographic study over three months involving interviews with 16 store owners and salesmen in the bazaar in order to gain a better understanding of the bazaar's current problems, and to discuss the feasibility of the potentials outlined above. I also interviewed four artisan jewellers whose workshops are located near the bazaar. Interview questions focused on the store owners' historical awareness and their opinions on the ongoing stream of changes occurring within the bazaar.

When choosing interviewees, I tried to reach people from different sectors to ensure that their responses would represent a rich set of perspectives. I also ensured that I spoke to interviewees with a relatively long history inside the bazaar. To this end, the youngest interviewee had six years of active commercial experience in the bazaar, and the oldest 47. The bazaar interviews took place in stores and took the form of informal conversations. During interviews, a friend of mine, a second-generation store owner in the bazaar, accompanied me, introducing me to the interviewees. This engagement with his circle of acquaintance facilitated the process of gaining interviewees' trust, and thus aided information retrieval. It also sped up the process of choosing specific interviewees with a deeper and critical insight into the bazaar's present conditions and historical capital. Employee turnover in the stores of the bazaar is rapid. It was therefore necessary to have the help of an insider to find representative interviewees. The current problems, especially the ethical problems arising with tourism, are not a popular topic of discussion that store owners are likely to take up with a stranger. The help of an insider thus contributed greatly to the integrity of the interviews too.

My friend introduced me and my research project briefly before each interview. Due to the unique nature of each conversation, some questions were improvised. This meant that the list of prepared questions evolved after each store visit and interview. As some shopkeepers asked to be kept anonymous, I identify the interviewees by means of numbers only. The interview questions sought not only to determine the level of interviewees' historical and social knowledge about the Grand Bazaar, but also their expectations for the future.

The first meeting was held in January 2014, early in the morning, to catch shopkeepers before their busy hours and to photograph the bazaar's corridors before the crowd arrived. Before I began the interviews process, I met my friend in one of the central coffee houses to introduce my project and ask his opinion about the questions I had prepared. Our conversation unintentionally turned into an interview, for when he saw the questions, my friend immediately started to

give answers. As a second-generation seller in the bazaar, his remarks and aware-
ness of both the historical capital and present problems of the bazaar matched
the older interviewees very closely, despite the fact that he was then 36, and thus
significantly younger than most. As the interviewee accounts were homogenous to
a great extent, I am convinced that the content of the interviews is representative
of the bazaar as a whole.[2]

I formulated questions aimed at exploring the interviewee's awareness of the
historical capital of the bazaar. This included questions to determine how the
interviewee's personal history was embedded in the bazaar's current ethos. Secondly,
I asked about the bazaar's transformation across the decades, including its most
recent economic and cultural changes. Based on the interviewee's responses, this
round embraced a broad spectrum of in-depth discussions that varied from political
criticism of the governmental attitude towards the bazaar to the culture of trading
and production that shapes the bazaar's current landscape. Tourism received a special
focus, and has influenced the research outcome as a major source and economic
laboratory of the bazaar's on-going problems. Thirdly, I asked questions about the
interviewees' own definition of the bazaar's heritage. The demographic character of
interviewees shaped the discussions. In family businesses, for example, I specifically
asked questions to check whether there is a transfer of living memory among gen-
erations. Finally, my questions focused on the interviewee's expectations about the
future of the bazaar and suggestions for the safeguarding of the bazaar.

Similarly, the interviews with the artisan jewellers were facilitated by a different
friend's introduction. Each of these interviewees had been working in the jewellery
business at least 30 years. Despite the relatively small number of interviewees, their
vast experience provided a good and detailed picture of the state of artisanal crafts in
the current business culture of the bazaar. I chose jewellery for two reasons. First, I
was able to engage an acquaintance's help, facilitating the transmission of informa-
tion, as indicated above. Second, once the most popular form of handicraft in the
bazaar's business environment, jewellery making has encountered a dramatic collapse.
Hence, the interview statements of the jewellery artisans vividly present emerging
dynamics and problems. I maintain anonymity and identify these artisans as inter-
viewees 17 to 20.

Interview questions directed to artisans first investigated the historical aspects
of the Grand Bazaar. This investigation, however, developed hand-in-hand with
interviewee's personal perspectives, which combined the bazaar's past with the his-
tory of jewellery artisanship in Istanbul. Interviewees described current problems
that threaten jewellery artisanship. Statements also engaged nostalgic comparisons
between past and present conditions, and involved issues such as the degeneration

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2   All interviews were held in Turkish. The conversations have been translated into English by the
     author.

of moral values, the decreasing commitment to artisanship among new generations, and challenging market qualities. Lastly, my questions focused on the interviewee's design awareness. I evaluated whether the artisan was open to adopting contemporary design methods or not.

The final round of interviews took place between October and December of 2016 with artists from a group of design studios, an academician, and a rug company owner. I named the group "collaborators" to emphasise their relationship with the traditional craftsmen and craft production methods. The interviewed designers were chosen due to their experience of adopting craft techniques. I met first with the founders of three design agencies that operate in Istanbul. These agencies are unique in their development of new collaborative production and design skills as well as their operational know-how. These design studios include ECNP Design, founded in 1993 by Ela Cindoruk and Nazan Pak, with a professional training background in industrial design; Sasanna Design, founded in 2004 by Hülya Çelik Pabuçcuoğlu and Elif Gönenç Camcıgil, with a professional training background in industrial design; and Özlem Tuna Design founded in 2003 by Özlem Tuna, with a professional training background in ceramic arts.

I also visited a rug company, Dhoku, operating inside the Grand Bazaar and known for its collaborative design projects involving respected Turkish designers. I interviewed Dhoku's founder Memet Güreli, and I tried to encourage him to describe his insights into the current condition of the Turkish design market and to elaborate on his future expectations about design and crafts collaboration. Besides these interviews, I also consulted Aslı Kıyak İngin, an academician who has been an organiser of district-based safeguarding projects in Istanbul for over a decade.

As mentioned, the interview questions with the members of the design studios were based on the collaborators' experience in terms of their design operations with craftsmen and the Grand Bazaar. I launched each interview with a short introduction of my research on the sustainability potentials of Turkish arts and craft heritage with references to the Grand Bazaar and its iconic significance. This gave me the opportunity to lead discussions that would provide insight into the interviewees' knowledge level about the Grand Bazaar's history and the Akhi heritage. After this introduction, I asked each interviewee about their critical opinions on the current commercial employment of Turkish heritage in the design marketplace. To outline my point of view and channel the discussion, I exemplified a number of popular cases where the revivalism of Turkish Islamic roots is most present. Secondly, I focused my questions on their personal experience with craftsmen. This stimulated in-depth discussions that revolved around some critical issues, such as the awareness of the general public, design politics, gender roles, craft training, and challenges which shape the current design and craft landscape. In these discussions, almost all the interviewees addressed the Grand Bazaar as a sample case to illustrate their conceptual arguments. Their responses gave a unique picture of the bazaar and the craft environments from the eyes of professional designers who have received modern

design education, unlike the other interviewees, which were from groups of store owners and craftsmen.

Chart 1.2: The Grand Bazaar interview chart

Interviewee	Interview Method	Year
The Grand Bazaar Community	Semi-structured Questions	January 2014–March 2014
Jewellery Artisans	Semi-structured Questions	June 2015
The Collaborators	Semi-structured Questions	October 2016–December 2016

A distinctive part of this line of interviews was seeking advice. I asked how, in their opinion, a transformation could be achieved in the Grand Bazaar that would enable effective collaboration between designers and craftsmen. I also asked for their advice on the foundation of a possible governing body that might lead and manoeuvre the proposed transformation. In response, each interviewee pointed out a different aspect of the projected change. In response to the interviewee's perspective, I improvised questions. ECNP Studio, for example, stressed the importance of governmental inclusion in the domain of craft training in proper educational institutions. Memet Güreli from Dhoku also suggested a similar governmental inclusion as he addressed legislative frameworks that could govern design transformation in terms of protecting intellectual property rights. Aslı Kıyak İngin has perhaps been the most influential in this domain thanks to her substantial social project management experience. Her statements on project administration and execution have played an important role in the shaping of this study's strategy implementation proposal for the Grand Bazaar.

I begin the next chapter by introducing Turkey's emerging market characteristics and economic parameters with statistical information provided by national and international institutions such as the Turkish Statistical Institute and the World Bank. I also address Turkish social studies to show the historical significance of consumerism in Turkey. When demonstrating design's capacities as a profession in Turkey, I refer once again to statistical data provided by state institutions. I also include information about design events published by national newspapers as well as private companies that announce design awards for corporate achievements in order to illustrate design's status in governmental, public, and business domains. This section presents an example of a community-based design establishment in one of Istanbul's most populous districts that seeks to establish design collaborations between local residents, NGOs, and the municipality. In parallel with my investigation of public awareness of design, I investigate Turkish design literature that analyses design's development as a discipline and industrial tool in Turkey from an historical perspective. In the final section of the chapter, I analyse current governmental and commercial approaches to design heritage by casting a critical eye on a number of architectural and design offers in the market and public space.

CHAPTER 2:

Introducing Heritage as a Research Agenda in Sustainable Design

2.1 Design as Cultural Heritage

> The word "design" shares a linguistic position along with the word "freedom"
> as one of the mightiest whore words of the twentieth century. There is no
> longer any doubt that the word "design" is a prostitute. It has been sold on the
> commercial marketplace, passed from hand to hand, and has been hammered,
> re-formed, and stretched to aesthetically justify everything from dehydrated
> cow manure – to disposable diapers. As a verb it has been prostituted as
> an artistic substitute for everything from sewing (designing) a dress, to
> formulating (designing) a political theory. Willcox (1973: 13)

The analogy in the excerpt above might seem extreme, yet it provides a good insight
into a growing level of discontent and criticism that began in the 1960s as design
began to take its place as a predominating set of practices in the intersecting worlds
of art, manufacture, and commerce. Willcox's avowal followed Papanek's (1972: xxi)
seminal judgment that "[t]here are professions more harmful than industrial design,
but only a very few of them." Despite the fact that social design—industrial design
imbued with social consciousness – is over 40 years old, unsustainable commercial
design tactics seem to have gained an ever-greater role in our lives. We may, indeed,
have fallen in love with the "prostitute" in the context of an ever-growing passion,
referring to Willcox's above attempt to define design's victimisation in a perhaps
cynical, yet clear and vivid way.

Design has become the dominant business lexicon and cultural language of our
lives, the grammar and syntax of design hammered into the collective memory and
forming a shared consciousness for the global society not only towards our past, but
also to our future. Today, as one would expect, we have found a rapidly-growing baby
sleeping in our arms who desperately needs our help to liberate its future from the
fate of further abuse by capitalist production and consumption. This baby is nothing
but 21st-century design, the fruit of our late-20th century entanglements. Saving this
baby means radical change, reformation, or rather revolution in the ways design
is practiced. This itself calls for critical reflection and independent reasoning that
can break the colonisation and misrepresentation of the activity and discipline of
designing by means of a system of structural unsustainability. In this struggle for
emancipation and establishment of a new ethical order, the sword of Democles is
hanging over the practitioners and academia whose intentions and actions define
the very "meaning" of design. Addressing Papanek's (1972: 5) motto that "[d]esign
must be meaningful", the contemporary design community seeks and establishes this
"meaning" from within the imperative of sustainability, with growing momentum.

The criticism of the 70s paved the road for contemporary theories of sustain-
ability. In this dissertation, I approach the unique case of 20th-century iconic design,
an approach to production and consumption that has survived the particular market
pressures of the fashion system that seeks to increase the pace of mass consumption.

Irrespective of the social and moral stigma of "prostitution", our love with design has established an historical capital that links one generation to another at multiple levels varying from the basic consumption practices of everyday to lofty ideals of human dignity and political reflection. Embodied in the very heart of our material culture, the historical aspects of design today may provide an aura of heritage.

Understanding heritage is not an easy task, a helpful conceptualisation when embarking on an analysis comes from David Harvey (2001: 327), as he defines heritage within the context of human agency: "[…] a *process*, or a verb, related to human action and agency, and as an instrument of cultural power in whatever period of time one chooses to examine." Heritage has been explored by a variety of scholarly disciplines, including sociology, marketing, and tourism, that concern this study's design focus. The challenge is quite obvious here, as the broad sense of "human action and agency" implies an interdisciplinary approach in the attempt to theorize the concept of heritage for the purpose of this research. Of course, not all human action easily falls under the category of heritage. Inheritance is a key concept when understanding heritage as connecting "human action and agency" with other actions and agencies of past and future generations. And such a broad time stratum goes beyond the levels of the mundane. For example, Lowenthal (2005: 81) describes the significance of heritage as the following: "Although not all heritage is uniformly desirable, it is widely viewed as a precious and irreplaceable resource, essential to personal and collective identity and necessary for self-respect". Indeed, not everything we inherit is desirable. However, as Lowenthal (2005: 81) continues, he stresses our appreciation of heritage and the extensive efforts taken to sustain it: "[…] we go great lengths, often at huge expense, to protect and celebrate the heritage we possess, to find and enhance what we feel we need, and to restore and recoup what we have lost."

Would we really go the same great lengths to protect and celebrate design? Perhaps, to start with, a link between design and heritage can be established on a formal level, via the international conservation terminology manifest by organisations such as UNESCO. Although a link is possible less formally due to how design's intangible assets are forged with social life and transmitted with memories. Secondly, the link is possible thanks to heritage's conceptualisation through the development of the particular terminology disseminated via international charters, recommendations, and resolutions that represent the growing intellectual capital behind the operations of conservation. During the span of the last half century, the scope of the term heritage has become broadened from individual buildings and sites to more abstract and comprehensive cultural concepts (see Ahmad 2006). In consideration to this broadened scope, design can be comprehended and appreciated within the greater sphere of "intangible cultural heritage". This concept, as defined by UNESCO (2003), encapsulates

> […] the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith

– that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environments, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (4)

The term does not refer only to traditions inherited from the past, but also to "contemporary rural and urban practices" adopted by cultural groups (UNESCO 2011: 4). Thanks to this institutional heritage perspective, we can appreciate design as a part of communities' and groups' identity, a provider of a sense of intergenerational continuity, and a result of human interaction with nature and history. In this context, the critical question is whether we surrender to passing whims and fads or rather cherish the rich heritage of design in a new light, serving the benefits of future generations.

2.2 Managing the "Social Dilemma" of Consumption

It has been long acknowledged by various disciplines that overconsumption imposes an urgent and grave danger to the world's diverse ecosystems and life support systems. Warde (2014: 277), for example, when challenging our understandings of consumer behaviour from a sociological point of view, argues that "[e]xisting patterns of personal and domestic consumption constitute a major, perhaps the primary threat to human well-being on Earth." Ironically, this threat is not imposed by a systematic failure, but by an emerging sense of affluence that can be seen as a success story from an economic or industrial vantage point. For Baudrillard (1998: 25), there is a sense of "fantastic conspicuousness of consumption and abundance" that leads to a "fundamental mutation in the ecology of human species". When he focuses on the changing human ecology by the pervasive ethos of goods, Baudrillard (1998) stresses a peculiar temporal dimension that distinguishes the "age of affluence" from all the previous ages:

> We live by object time: by this I mean that we live at the pace of objects, live to the rhythm of their ceaseless succession. Today, it is we who watch them as they are born, grow to maturity and die, whereas in all previous civilizations it was timeless objects, instruments or monuments which outlived the generations of human beings. (25)

Living by "object time" may well amount to the imposition of an essential "mutation" that has an impact not only on "the ecology of human", but also on the ecology of the entire globe, the critical order of nature. Shorter life cycles of objects means

greater numbers of production and consumption, as well as an accelerating burden on the Earth's resources. From extraction of raw materials to global transportation and production lines, or to landfills overflowing with massive volumes of waste, each phase imposes diverse burdens including, for example, toxic emissions. A well-known burden that affects the entire global population is the warming of the planetary surface caused by the radiative gases that surround the atmosphere. This can be best observed as the phenomenon of climate change. For example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released the "accepted" version of the final draft of the *Fifth Assessment Report Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability.* Bearing a large catalogue of risks, the report not only harbours hypothetical future projections, but also outlines observed impacts of climate change on real-time situations that reach "natural and human systems on all continents and across the oceans" (IPCC 2014a: 6).

In light of this, one can easily realise that climate change is not a question that concerns distant future generations or some certain local communities only, but rather the present public at a global scale. According to the Global Risks Report 2017 edition, for example, "environment-related risks" including "failure of climate change mitigation and adaptation" have reached the most significant position in the publication history of the annual Global Risks Perception Survey (World Economic Forum 2017). Today, human activities are seen as the primary cause for the environmental degradation such as the dramatically increased rate of extinction of mammals and marine life species that is estimated to be 100 to 1000 times more than the rates shown by fossil records (Rockström *et al.* 2009). The previous IPCC report (2013: 60), relying on the rapidly growing body of climate science literature, increased the likelihood of human influence on global warming from "very likely" (as characterised in the 2007 report) to "extremely likely [for] more than half of the observed increase in global average surface temperature from 1951 to 2010." It is almost certain for the scientific committee that the global climate change is stimulated by human activities causing changes in Earth's atmosphere. Hence, the final version of the *Fifth Assessment Report* (Synthesis Report) states clearly that limiting the impact of climate change requires reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in a substantial and sustainable fashion (IPCC 2015). Given increasingly commonplace extreme weather events and the growing recognition of its reality, pressure continues to grow on policy makers to address the problem.

2016 marked the third year in a row breaking the global average surface temperature record since modern recordkeeping began in 1880 (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration [NOAA] 2017). Despite the urgency of the situation, governments have been slow to commit to binding targets while sacrificing short-term economic rewards. The difficulties faced by the Kyoto Accord, which had experienced the withdrawals of Canada, Japan and Russia, are a case in point. Announcing its withdrawal, Canada noted the lack of cooperative capacities of an environmental accord that does not involve the largest two emitters of greenhouse

gasses: the United States and China (*The Guardian*, 2011). These withdrawals and the reasoning behind them indicate that governments wasted precious time struggling with a Prisoner's Dilemma[3], with mutual distrust and self-interested action that together damage rational cooperation. This all seemed to be changing with the Paris Climate Agreement signed in December 2015 by 195 countries adopting legally-binding programmes due to 2020 to reduce emissions rapidly (European Commission 2015). Hopes were strengthened in the late 2016 as the United States and China ratified the Paris Agreement (United Nations News Centre 2016). However, it came out that it may be too early to adopt an optimistic stance about the potential impact of the agreement.[4] As a matter of fact, in 2017, the announcement of withdrawal of the United States from the Paris agreement by the Trump administration indicates how far we are away from achieving effective capacities for world-wide climate action.

It would be convenient to blame governments as self-serving systems estranged from public opinion. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that political agendas simply reflect the fears and short-sightedness of average voters, the greed of corporate-controlled businesses, and the wider competitive dynamics of international affairs.[5] It amounts to "willing blindness" as Orr (2002) diagnoses it, a form of ecological denial that provides superficial solutions in order to escape the challenges of the real problems involved. Yet if there is someone to blame, the circle is very large, large enough to comprise great segments of society in economically privileged countries. In short, climate change, as well as broader environmental issues, are of societal concern and necessitate inclusive social behavioural change Such change includes commercial agents. Corporations, for example, are required by consumers to conduct business more responsibly for the environment and the society within the environment (Blombäck and Scandelius 2013). The idea of a shared future recruits society as a whole, addressing individuals within the society. In a circular market economy, where every stakeholder interacts with each other, personal consumer ethics are an integral and indivisible part of corporate sustainability. Both sides need to establish a rational and balanced relationship in every single phase of consumption from purchase to disposal of no-longer-needed products.

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3   In this context, the Prisoner's Dilemma means that governments' decisions and actions in pursuit of their own best interest prevent cooperative behaviour and lead to a worsening situation for every party involved.

4   A survey, held among global business leaders attending the World Economic Forum 2016, for example, reveals that "climate change and environmental damage" remains at the bottom of the list of key threads to business growth prospects. Falling far behind economic concerns such as overregulation and exchange rate volatility, environmental worries of the business world still remains to be secondary despite the momentum of the Paris Agreement (*The Guardian* 2016).

5   A valuable exception is the Sweden's Green Party, the minor partner of the Swedish coalition government. The party created an initiative to become one of the world's first fossil fuel-free nation (see Romson 2015).

Questioning my own individual ecological footprint, I find myself impaled upon the horns of a dilemma between the costs and risks of environmental issues and an appetite for mobility and consumption. I am hardly alone; most people face consumption-related dilemmas every day when it comes to selective behaviour. For example, a common dilemma occurs between long-run health benefits and the immediate convenience of fast food or alcoholic beverages; decisions about these can be traced in the everyday behaviour of individuals. Yet, the pressing environmental problems impose a "social dilemma" with relation to consumption that goes far beyond the scope of individual health concerns. Dawes (1980: 170) points out the crucial paradox of such dilemmas when they cross over between the level of the individual and that of larger groups of people: "(*a*) the social payoff to each individual for defecting behavior is higher than the payoff for cooperative behavior, regardless of what the other society members do, yet (*b*) all individuals in the society receive a lower payoff if all defect than if all cooperate."

A "social dilemma" occurs in the context of calls for cooperative behaviour that will benefit actors greatly in a relatively distant future in comparison to short-run self-interests. In terms of climate change, as the above reports clearly indicate, the rapidly impending crisis and the global phenomena being experienced close the gap temporally between present behaviour and the consequences of that behaviour in the future, thus increasing the perception of benefits to be derived from cooperative behaviour. From an optimistic point of view, this can be seen as the advantageous side-effect of the emerging climate change phenomena, one that may crucially facilitate the creation of an atmosphere where the desired behaviour can be fostered. The growing awareness of climate change, for example, is well illustrated in Kvaløy *et al.* (2012), who found that public concern for global warming is as widespread in poor countries as it is in affluent countries. In the same vein, the IPCC's (2014b: 2) report underlines, in light of "robust evidence", that people from major climate change contributing countries "highly" agree that "[a]daptation to climate change is transitioning from a phase of awareness to the construction of actual strategies and plans in societies." The report also highlights that this awareness has arisen due to the increasing number of cases in both developed and developing countries where people have had to adapt to higher temperatures. One can claim that a more responsible understanding is in the process of maturing among people globally, as is evidenced by the 83% of people in the U.S.A. who demand action to reduce global warming despite the potential economic costs (Leiserowitz *et al.* 2014). This awareness resonates with the 72% of Europeans who have said that they are willing to pay more for products that are "specifically environmentally friendly". In the meantime, 69% also think that their own contribution to the protection of natural resources is not enough (TNS Opinion and Social 2011: 2).

The latter finding suggests that despite the growing motivation for adaptation and consumer willingness, increasing environmental concerns are not developed into substantial sustainable consumer behaviour (World Business Council for Sustain-

able Development 2008, National Geographic Society and Globescan 2014). The lack of consistency between positive attitudes and actual behaviour can be traced to a substantial catalogue of barriers, the multiplicity of issues itself indicating that a sophisticated approach is required. Price obviously plays a role, yet there are also less obvious, deep psychological issues at play as well. For example, a Greendex survey of consumer environmental attitudes in 17 countries illustrate that one's perception of one's own consumer behaviour is not grounded in objective reasoning. Individuals develop a more critical approach to the consumption patterns of others, while avoiding self-criticism (National Geographic Society and Globescan 2012).

The catalogue of barriers also includes complex countervailing forces that underlie the adoption of Western-style resource-intensive consumption behaviour among densely populated Asian countries such as India (Gupta 2011). As Gupta highlights, in emerging consumer traits such as credit card use, impulse buying, and the cultural transformation of shopping into a means of enjoyment, one can see the great variety of factors involved in consumption from new technology to new structures of socio-cultural needs shaped by the impact of globalisation. India is a striking sample as it is expected to become the fifth largest consumer market by 2025, exceeding Germany (Jackson 2008). India is not an exception; with burgeoning middle classes, for example, in emerging BRIICS economies[6], consumption patterns increasingly emulate developed countries (WWF *et al.* 2012).

The spread of consumerism and the emergence of consumer-capitalist nations are expected to become a global phenomenon in the twenty-first century (Gardner *et al.* 2004). The rising global population, now exceeding 7 billion souls, could be seen as playing an important role. However, as Pearce (2010) put it, the focus should be put on rising consumption and growing ecological footprints rather than mere population growth. To this end, Pearce refers to the poorest 45 per cent of the Earth's population who are responsible for only 7 per cent of the greenhouse gas emissions whereas the richest 7 per cent alone produces 50 per cent. Excessive consumption not only has implications in terms of climate change, but also on the depletion of the Earth's capacity to sustain life. For instance, as the Global Footprint Network (2013) reports, human consumption has been overshooting global ecological resources since the middle of the 1970s. Today, human demand requires the exploitation of resources equivalent to that of more than 1,5 Earths. And the costs are unequal between developed and undeveloped countries. Biodiversity levels in high-income countries, for instance, have actually increased by 10 per cent in recent years, whereas low-income countries have faced a decline of up to 58 per cent (WWF *et al.* 2014). Such discrepancies further exacerbate global inequality and marginalisation.

Furthermore, excessive consumption can be associated with various self-destructive social contexts beyond environmental and ecological spheres. The spread of

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6   The BRIICS countries are: Brazil, Russia, India, Indonesia, China, and South Africa.

consumer culture, for example, displays clear symptoms that involve not only nations, regions, or economies, but also generations of people. The soaring interest of companies in the youth market has drawn young people to the very centre of consumer culture resulting in a profound commercialisation of childhood (Linn 2010; Schor 2004). Another negative aspect of consumerism is in the decline of sociocultural diversity as the latter become hampered by rampant consumer culture's totalising effects (Barber 2007). People's psychological well-being, in this context, also suffers by means of the adoption of materialistic values and desires that grow in close synchrony with consumer culture (Kasser 2002). And certainly, declining work conditions globally as workers supply the needs and desires of consumer societies is a major issue. Escalating cases of human rights violations from child labour, and reduced job security to starvation wages in production processes demonstrates the bond between social justice issues and consumer culture (Leonard 2010). These crimes are rampant and not committed in secret. The outrageous symptoms of systematic exploitation of cheap labour include the rise of massive human tragedies including, for instance, the 2013 collapse of the *Rana Plaza* garment factory in Bangladesh. Over one thousand people were killed in this disaster, exposing how world-renowned companies distance themselves from responsibility and take advantage of the conditions of the developing world.

In light of the dire consequences of consumer culture today, consumption is increasingly subject to criticism. This criticism has marked an increase in the level of awareness of the multiply ramifying issues involved, criticism which asks for more social responsibility, control, and commitment. As a result, "traditional consumption behaviours" are increasingly challenged by companies and consumers as new methods and relationships in all levels of consumption emerge. This includes slow consumption, for example, that is achieved when consumers resist perceived obsolescence through developing a focus on enhanced personal gains rather than material ownership (Luchs *et al.* 2011). This embryonic attitude may mark the emergence of a new consumer profile called "responsible consumers" and latent inflections of "industrial mode of production" and "ordinary consumers". As Ruwet (2007: 144–152) defines, "[...] responsible consumers are aware of their power to act and the need to regulate it politically and/or to give it a social meaning." In her analysis on responsible consumers, Ruwet proposes a typology with a number of profiles including "the inspired consumer" as an emerging consumer profile. In the eyes of this profile, for example, industrial mode of production is associated with meanings such as "death, soullessness and meaninglessness, dependence, unawareness, manipulation", whereas ordinary consumer is seen as "dependent, compulsive, [and] unaware". Sustainable consumption, however, is associated with meanings that fully contrast the industrial mode, such as "life, meaning, awareness, freedom of choice and autonomy".

As we can talk today about an increasing level of environmentally informed consumers at a global scale, the inspired consumer profile may yield insight into how design may take a role in the creation of access to the ethos of sustainable consump-

tion, in other words directing consumers to "life" instead of "death". Despite this increasing criticism of the current consumerist paradigm and emergence of responsible consumer profiles, whether burgeoning awareness can be turned into adequate action remains an open question. Stehr (2008: ix) acknowledges, for example, that we could be witnessing the emergence of "consumers' sovereignty" as one can increasingly illustrate contemporary consumers as "well-informed, knowledgeable, and sophisticated". Over two decades ago, perhaps more importantly, hints of such a sovereignty was given by Winward (1994: 88) who argues that consumers are able to show "organized" resistance to manipulative marketing techniques. For him, such consumer resistance goes as far as pushing for "structural change" in business. However, we do not have supportive evidence to claim that the increase in the consumer independency necessarily results in consumer responsibility. In strong contrast, as Stehr (2008: ix) put it, consumer sovereignty could lead to "a strengthened pursuit of narrow self-interest". This suggests that bridging the gap between consumer awareness and ethical consumer behaviour (attitude-behaviour gap) requires diverse capacities operating at the nexus of social and economic conducts as well as motivations and drivers behind business and consumption.

To develop such capacities, it is crucial to examine how consumers deal with their unethical lifestyle choices and manage their consumer behaviour. Justification, based on economic rationale, for instance, enters the stage to excuse unethical consumption habits despite the awareness of sustainability issues. In an international investigation to find out why ethical consumption remains at a low level, Eckhardt *et al.* (2010) categorise justifications in three main consumer strategies. Especially common in the U.S.A. and Australia, for example, consumers generate economic rationales where product utility and price play the prime role in shaping the consumer's decision to purchase, despite ethical concerns such as unfair labour issues. In developing countries, such as in Turkey, consumers' justification strategy employs the idea that these countries' lower income rates compared to privileged economies constitute an excuse to consume in unethical ways, as in the buying fake products. Another strategy for justification involves putting all the responsibility on institutions and governmental regulations thereby avoiding self-criticism, sacrifice, and personal responsibility. This study shows that conflicts of interest, such as rising costs, generate self-defensive and resisting mechanisms among consumers in the form of justification strategies.

Although these strategies involve rationales, such as price and utility, consumer culture goes beyond the level of economic realism where the non-rational nature of possessions and brands emerge. Belk (1991a) argues that we establish "mystic" relations with objects that cannot be understood by the theoretical perspectives shaped by the rationality principles of classical economic models or consumer and marketing research. For example, possessions gain extraordinary meanings and perform as "magical vessels" in object-person relationships. Such a magical role is strengthened and constantly reproduced by marketing communication methods such as advertising and shopping mall displays. However, the transcendence of utilitarian status of

possessions and adoption of magical and mystical meanings cannot be only under-stood with marketing methods. Belk (1991a) introduces theoretical accounts that involve insights into possessions' symbolic universe through not only a person's con-tacts with the outer world, such as interpersonal relationships, but also the person's inner relationship with self. Such interlinked complexities render objects "special" that may even lead to a "sacred" status in the eyes of consumers. As these theoretical accounts employ feelings, emotions, experiences, memories as well as phenomena such as fetishisation and gift-giving, they offer a deeper perspective to understand the complexity that one must face up to transform consumer behaviour.

In light of this complexity, awareness alone is far too inadequate in the imple-mentation of any effective sustainability transformation. An effective transformation strategy should embrace theoretical and methodological frameworks that simultane-ously respond to the consumer's inner voice and economic rationales. In other words, consumers' volunteer contributions to transformation may require strategies that generate a synthesis of emotional and economic consumer interests. In this context, the challenge may seem overwhelming; however, we are equipped with conceptual models that offer insight into consumers' evaluation process when purchasing prod-ucts. Marketing research, for example, may offer strategic implications that can exert some control over consumer behaviour.

The marketing discipline provides such a model, which can be used to illustrate how we can imagine synthesising diverse consumer needs. As the model suggests, from a cognitive point of view, a consumer's willingness to buy a product is based on a "trade-off" between a cognitive construction of "perceived quality" and "perceived sacrifice" informed by the price level. The trade-off is translated into a "perceived value" that directly influences purchase decision (Dodds *et al.* 1991). Accordingly, if quality becomes more important than sacrifice perception, purchase becomes more likely. Certainly, these perceptions are influenced in a variety of ways by a complex body of factors. Low price, for example, may mean low sacrifice perception. However, as consumers associate low price levels with low quality, low price cannot be expect-ed always to influence perceived value and buying decision positively. Importantly for this study, Dodds *et al.* suggest that a brand's or store's name may affect quality perceptions. This may affect the value perception at varying levels depending on the method of display of brand and store information as well as their image in the eyes of consumers.

Conceptually, a consumer faced by a lifestyle decision simply trades off percep-tions of quality and sacrifice in order to generate the best value and behave accord-ingly, including decisions on slow consumption and anti-consumption. The above consumer justifications for unethical behaviour can be seen as strategies to dodge sacrifice and achieve the best value possible. Hence, despite the great complexity, one could simplify a successful transformation programme as the elevation of the per-ceived quality of sustainable consumer behaviour to such a degree that the perceived sacrifice remains ineffective or at least less important for value production. In such a

scenario, if satisfying levels of quality perception are crafted (*e.g.* enhanced personal gains through slow consumption), it may be theoretically possible to avoid justification strategies even in developing countries where the strategies are associated with high costs of ethical consumption. The complexity of Belk's above object-person relationships should not be seen as a barrier; on the contrary, such constructs of consumer culture should be utilised as instruments serving to enhance perceived quality, thus shaping more sustainable consumer behaviour.

Through such a perspective, drivers of consumer culture, such as brands, could be turned into an advantage for transformation. Would it be possible, for instance, to employ brands' well-established influence on quality perceptions to encourage slow consumption? Brands sound like a promising resource to explore ways to make slow consumption profitable for businesses and valuable to consumers. Brands are embraced in today's context as "living entities with personalities that act as extensions to the self, offering aesthetic identity and meanings and structure to life" (Ballantyne *et al.* 2006: 348). This strongly highlights how brands could become effective tools and how avoiding such economic, cultural, and social significance would be wasteful.

The failure of the Kyoto Accord is disheartening, yet we should not let the goodwill represented by the awareness of the downsides of consumerism go to waste. Rather than an adversary to be dealt with, we should see the complexity of person-object relationships as a diverse resource where one can employ innovative methods that operate deep in the psychology and sociology of the consumer. A highly promising link, for example, between "special" possessions and more environmental consumer behaviour may reside in how consumers are attached to objects that represent memories. Such an attachment could be so powerful, for example, as Belk (1991a) stresses, "memory-laden objects" may achieve a "non-commodity" status. Preventing consumers from discarding objects prematurely, such deep symbolic values could be translated into consumers' perceived quality that are worth to research in designerly ways to cultivate a more sustainable consumer culture.

Increasing the difficulty of the task, however, is the tight timespan involved before environmental catastrophe, not to mention that it will run against the grain of institutional promotion and the appeal of consumerism. In a future scenario, if restrictive sustainable consumption agendas take effect that threat "freedom to consume", one can expect in North America for instance, a large package of counterarguments circulated in public discourse by advocates of "free markets, personal freedoms, economic individualism, and infinite growth" (Wilk 2014: 332–333). This is why we need a paradigm for behavioural change that emphasises feasibility, meaning one that will not generate undue resistance among interlinked stakeholders of the economic and social order and the myriad interests involved therein. We need a deeper understanding of this context, one that recognises the capitalist economy and consumer culture not only as drivers of structural unsustainability, but also as an important resource for a solution towards sustainability. This can be reasonable, then, to investigate further how to promote products' symbolic values that encourage

durable consumption, in capitalist methods responding to both consumer and business interests.

An array of radical changes is needed in the global production and consumption systems to achieve the aims of sustainability, as is frequently noted in the relevant literature. As Perrels (2008: 1204) argues in the context of policy making with regards to sustainable consumption, in some limited areas, radical and rapid shifts may bring short-term achievements, yet these are highly prone to risks of "significant opposition" due to emerging conflicts with entrenched interests, thus becoming counter-productive in the long-term. Instead, Perrels (2008: 1204–14) suggests a need for more "fundamental change" that occurs through "long-term commitment" in a "consistent steady" fashion. Such a transition in perspective emerges in this research through a rich dialogue between the *de facto* forces of capitalist consumption and ideals of sustainability instead of *tabula rasa* models that aim to organise society around a strict binary opposition between consumer culture and sustainability. Hence, the research does not characterise a transition to sustainability as having a causal, linear, and static nature where forces of the dialect exclude each other completely. Rather, it is conceptualised as a multi-layered and complex structure that allows both reference points to clash, intertwine, and transform each other in a variety of contexts. Following this line of thought, I will outline the potential of design in terms of generating such a long-term commitment, one harnessing the potential of voluntary shifts in practices of consumption, rather than coercive modes seeking to damp down on consumption, strategies that are subject to resistance and, ultimately, failure.

2.3 Framing a Research Domain: in the Face of Emerging Responsibilities and Opportunities for Design

Perrels' argument can be inspiring in terms of producing realistic ways of overcoming the challenges of the "social dilemma" and for a transition to cultures of sustainability. First of all, attempts to tackle excessive consumption should recognise the importance of "the object" for human culture beyond current impacts such as on the ecology. For example, Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1999: ix) begin the preface of *The Meaning of Things* by paying attention to the role of materiality in how Western cultures tend to define broad stages of history. From the Iron and Bronze ages to the Industrial Revolution, the production and utilisation of objects constitute the major consideration in defining these periods. As the object is deeply embedded in our ways of understanding and making sense of our culture, I recognise that the object itself is an excellent candidate to think about when trying to imagine how to

transform culture itself. To me, seeing object ownership only through a lens onto its unsustainable aspects undermines related potentials of socially-constructed symbolic values. In thinking this through, I am inspired by Manzini's (1995: 239) suggestion that we should acknowledge objects not as instruments for human use, but rather as "plants in our garden" that require care in order to gain benefit: "Think of objects that are beautiful and useful as trees in your garden, objects that endure and have lives of their own, objects that perform services and require care […] It implies a new ecological sensibility – caring for objects can be a way of caring for that larger object that is our planet."

Manzini envisages the garden in a context of integrating culture with nature where the human needs are distinctive. His garden is aimed at producing "flowers and fruits" that serve human needs. In other words, Manzini consciously pursues an integrative strategy of culture and nature when he likens objects to trees in a garden, rather than in pristine nature. In this sense, with the "new ecological sensibility", Manzini stresses a development model that allows the human intellect to take a certain control over nature. Flowers and fruits resemble the turn of care and love spent on objects into a sense of sustainable development responding to human practical and emotional needs. Particularly inspiring in Manzini's analogy is the positioning of human needs in such a way as to serve sustainable development despite the common belief that such needs are necessarily satisfied at the cost of ecosystems. Care for objects leads to product longevity and this, in turn, is translated to care for the planet. This view is thought-provoking as it implies that consumer care for objects could originate from consumer desires such as social acceptance, status display, and expression of lifestyle. Such desires, currently serving unsustainable consumer patterns, may be positioned in such a way as to feed sustainable development.

This kind of approach, embracing consumer interests and active involvement of the human intellect in the web of nature may have obvious advantages compared to radical ecological approaches that reject any sort of human control over nature and downplays the importance of economic development and related welfare and socio-cultural orders. Such approaches, defining human ontology as completely subordinate to the biosphere, are classified as the "ecocentric paradigm" by Gladwin *et al.* (1995). What they favour is the "sustaincentric paradigm" allowing human actors, such as economic institutions and political agencies, to be involved in complex ecological issues where technology can be applied in appropriate ways. The sustaincentric paradigm has also been inspiring in the sense suggesting a synthesis of human centred welfare and preservation of nature. I do not attempt to promote here an idea of turning the entire globe into a garden that is at the disposal of human benefit only. However, it may be possible to consider that societal transformation can be achieved feasibly within this paradigm without causing major conflicts in prevailing interests, aiming at improving human welfare within the boundaries of nature's carrying capacities. Manzini's above analogy provides guidance for thinking about product longevity as a means of promoting a synthesis between sustainability and consumption.

Obviously, in the gardening of our planet, design has a critical role as a set of human skills, instruments, and intellectual capabilities. As I will focus on in this section, what makes design special is its capacity to synthesise human creativity with economic and natural capitals, directing needs and desires towards a sustainable path. In this vein, we can begin to develop some ideas within the domain of design research to show design's increasingly important role in the transformation of society, eventually pointing to an appropriate framework that will allow design to fulfil this potential. The boundaries of such a research domain are grounded in the fact that, according to all annual IPCC reports, the time scale to transition to a sustainable economy is shortening. Thus, feasibility and efficiency will be continually highlighted as the arguments for the capacity of design to address the social dilemma of sustainability proceeds.

The importance of Perrels' argument for a fundamental, steady, and long-term approach to social change lies in two wide-reaching and sophisticated accounts: in the first instance, the adoption of consumerism by "a majority of societies today" has happened to such an extent that for these societies "a different cultural model" does not even seem "imaginable" (Assadourian 2013: 115). I do not mean that consumers are passive receivers who are entirely manipulated by companies. Today, consumers are increasingly seen as individual agents who can pursue their own interests in ways that assert a level of control on the marketplace and its offerings.

However, such an agency itself has become a marketable product. Consumer sovereignty is questionable in the sense that consumer agency can be "constrained" and "market-driven". Even the rejection of consumerism itself, for instance, is marketed and advertised as a lifestyle where one can sell simplicity, as Schor (2007) puts it. There seems to be no escape from consumer culture as a way of life. The emergence of consumer culture in Euro-American societies dates only to the latter half of the 20th century as an aspect of material culture (Lury 1996). This perspective could be misleading since the philosophical ground can be traced back to the 17th century where the individual's "nature" and its position within the organisational and functional structures of society are defined through qualities of ownership and exchange among proprietors. Political society, under these influences, becomes the guardian of property and organiser of systematic exchange relations.

The concept of possession, in this historical context, plays an important role in shaping 17th-century concepts of "freedom, rights, obligation, and justice" in the works of Enlightenment thinkers (MacPherson 2011: 3). As this leads to the emergence of possessive individualism, with the emergence of the foundations of the modern economy in the following centuries, the individual has developed deeper psychological mechanisms based on possessions. The complexity of object-person relationships includes, for instance, as consumer research has suggested, that possessions may be employed when consumers define and maintain their sense of identity. To give an example from Belk, to whom I referred above when introducing the complexity issue, he argues that possessions are held as extensions of self. If these

possessions are lost or stolen, sense of self diminishes (Belk 1988). Concerning this study, what can be added here is that the extension of self may be influenced by temporal dimensions, as Belk (1990) argues. Possessions, for example, can connect consumers to different temporal stratums where capacities from the past and future can be selectively incorporated into an extended sense of identity for the consumer. As Belk (1990: 674) put it, "a sense of past is essential to a sense of self". He (1990) defines this aptly by addressing how possessions connect people to "a sense of past" and how they establish a sense of who the individual really is:

> We fervently believe that our past is accumulated somewhere among the material artifacts our lives have touched – in our homes, our museums, and our cities. And we hope that if these objects can only be made to reveal their secrets, they will reveal the meanings and mystery of ourselves and our lives. (674)

Meanings we attach to possessions can have not only individual significance, but also relational significance, such as those in the context of intimate dyadic relationships. Olson (1985) recognises the role in communication that domestic artefacts in marriages play in addressing different temporal orientations. As he argues, young married couples, for example, can project future-oriented values via their display of domestic artefacts, whereas older couples use artefacts to reflect their past of shared experiences. Despite the tentative tone of his arguments due to research limitations, Olson's arguments give interesting insight into the powers of commodities and the nuances of their temporal orientations, like those found in long marriages where the communication role of artefacts may ultimately function as a "substitute" for other means of communication.

Today's pervasive driving forces of consumerism, however, seem to transcend beyond the scope of our self-perceptions and intimate relationships. Consumerism is a "moral doctrine", where its practices are seen as a "vehicle" for high ideals of "freedom, power and happiness" (Gabriel and Lang 1999: 8). This association with ideals invalidate "moral bases" for any attempt at resistance through constant processes of "self-rationalization and self-justification" performed by the "*ubiquitous*", "*omnipresent*", "*self-replicating*", and "*omnilegitimate*" (emphasis in original) market (Barber 2007: 222). Moreover, for Baudrillard (1998: 81) consumption is a form of "social control" of "productive forces" that dominate the "private space" where one can act out one's own will. He describes consumption as "[…] something enforced, a morality, an institution. It is a whole system of values, with all that expression implies in terms of group integration and social control functions." In light of the cultural, social and ideological operation of consumption, why a dramatic and rapid shift in the consumerist and capitalist model is inevitably prone to generate confusion and resistance becomes clear.

Secondly, as a reflection of the social dilemma, despite the recognition of real immediate threats, the long-term societal benefits of cooperative environment-

friendly behaviour are perceived as temporally and socially distant and vague in comparison to the immediate and direct pleasures of consumption. This helps to explain how consumer behaviour is determined by a complex and interconnected grid of socio-psychological factors, such as convenience, habits, and scepticism, besides the systemic economic and political drivers of the capitalist world order. A key strategic agency is needed here that is able to simultaneously address these factors, inclusively engage actors and develop new roles translating environmental awareness into sustainable attitudes and behaviours.

At this stage, it is useful to refer to Baudrillard again. First of all, in the Baudrillardian sense, it is largely signs and symbols rather than material forms and functions that are the objects of consumption. In modern consumer societies, consumption is largely about the collective construction of meanings and symbols that are used in social formations such as establishing distinctions or status groups. My argument throughout this dissertation is that there is in fact a way out that such signification can be turned into an advantage in terms of reducing the pace of consumption and the flow of waste. The aim is here not to limit consumption itself, but manipulate it to a slower and less waste-producing state through engaging in creative ways of signification and thus consumer interests themselves.

I argue, in this vein that design presents a great deal of potential to route around the problems outlined above. My arguments build on Chapman and Gant's (2007: 6) "redirective behaviour" geared towards offering consumers "greener and sustainable alternatives" since they recognise the dominance of consumption in the contemporary social order, and that, thus, "[…] asking people to stop consuming is a pointless endeavour." In this sense, "redirecting" social behaviour should fundamentally be conceived, problematised, and realised within the sphere of disciplinary approaches and principles of design whose inherent capabilities can manage a voluntary cooperation in an enlightening and inspiring way, ways which will enhance quality of life. In light of Perrels' argument, as a strategic approach, design methodologies may be engaged to reduce the level of possible opposition and conflicts of interest among stakeholders within processes of both production and consumption. Specifically, design's creative affordances may be geared toward the generation of a synthesis between immediate and long-run benefits. In this context, design may bear the potential to employ certain mechanisms and dynamics of consumerism and execute change from within the consumerist model, turning the drivers of the problems into an advantage. Instead of creating new networks from scratch, such a change can recruit existing and well-established economic and social frameworks, which will save time and reduce possible opposition while promoting a slower mode of consumption and reducing material flows.

This potential can be explicated further through articulating design within Rothschild's (1999) well-known framework of social behaviour management. In the context of public health management, Rothschild points out three management tools, "education", "law", and "marketing", whose combination can be effectively used in the

construction of desired social behaviour even in cases where the target public might be "unable" or "resistant to behave". In Rothschild's articulation, education refers to informative activities that aim to persuade people within a mechanism of free choice. The above IPCC reports, for example, can be seen as an educational tool that presents societal goals. However, educational activities are not sufficient to initiate desired behaviour when self-interests are not consistent with these goals. Legal sanctions present themselves as an alternative, using coercion; using sanctions and punishment, that is, to minimalise inappropriate behaviour. Whereas law reinforces order in an involuntary manner, marketing aims to encourage social behaviour towards societal goals by means of incentives that accommodate the satisfaction of self-interest with greater societal good.

Design's broad practice area and qualitative capacities can empower designers in becoming skilled actors in the implementation of the management tools articulated by Rothschild. The most moderate sample can be shown in the area of communication, as educational activities can benefit from the design profession in terms of graphic and digital design skills.

It is in terms of "marketing", however, that design's potential can be realised at its best in a great variety of ways, from the creation of services, to the design of culturally compelling experiences that aligns self-interested behaviours with societal goals. In pursuit of voluntary adoption of desired behaviour patterns, this alignment of self-interest has a great deal of potential. Establishing a sense of self-interest, for instance, is a necessary psychological element in establishing "sympathies" for volunteering behaviour: "Lacking a self-interested account, people may feel they lack both the moral authorization and the psychological cover to act" (Ratner and Miller 2001: 16). This suggests that the self-interest motive, *e.g.* the motive of money making, is not a barrier to translating environmental awareness into supportive behaviour and collective action; on the contrary, it is a stepping stone. In a symbiotic relationship, the provision of immediate incentives and rewards may decrease the stress of change, make vague and distant benefits more directly perceivable, and facilitate cooperation. A key insight is that such a profound transformation is about politics and power in the sense that it asks for transformation on the part of the subject by means of positive cooperation rather than the negative motivation of coercive measures.

The significance of design's role in the synthesis of benefits—between individual benefits and post-individual, societal benefits – can be in part attributed to design's "extensive" influence on "contemporary life" which takes place by means of four areas of practice and expertise, according to Buchanan (1992: 9–10). These areas span from the design of "*symbolic and visual communication*" and "*material objects*", and expand to the greater spectrum of the design of "*activities and organized services*" and "*complex systems or environments for living, working, playing, and learning*" (emphasis in original). In these all-encompassing areas, design's agency becomes woven not only into the economic fabric, but also within the convoluted psychological and cultural aspects of human activity. This has strong implications in terms of social issues in the

sense that design is not confined within the context of mere pragmatic utilitarian approaches. Rather, it names a territory that expands towards the greater dramatic and literary aspects of life through the catharsis of time. Reserving a precious space in the body of collective memory, this unique position links the most elusive and individual thoughts that occupy our minds, with the most complex and social outcomes changing life as a whole. This is why industrial design has found a significant space in museums, among precious pieces of art. A striking example of the product qualities that vibrate with the same frequency as modern art is The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, that has collected works of design that date back to the 1930s (Sudjic 2008). Therefore, one may highlight the notion of social and cultural forces exerted by design beyond its utilitarian qualities. These forces, such as heritage and iconicity, deserve meticulous exploration in the sense of the mobilisation of myriad social interests, particularly the establishment of symbiotic relationships between immediate concerns and long-run societal goals.

The inherent ability of design to foster voluntary shifts in behaviour is joined by the fact that, in recent decades, the profession of design has become more concerned with problem-solving in terms of environmental and wider social issues. The recognition of design's significant role in the environmental degradation of the 70s stimulated also an understanding that design can have an equally substantial role in the problem-solving strategies of environmental and wider social issues. This requires not only a theoretical shift, but also a cognitive exploration across different "fields" asking professionals and students to "redefine the relevance of the designer to […] society" (Papanek 1972: 135). In the following decades, this critical reflection has gained substantial academic acceptance and become increasingly subject to exploration in design studies (Margolin 2002). As a result, one can see a rapid emergence of a shift in consciousness that transforms the design world into one that has increasingly aligned itself with greater acknowledgement of environmental responsibilities. This consciousness makes a great deal of sense as, as Tischner (2000:9) puts it, "[m]ore than 80% of all of all product-related costs and environmental impacts of a product during its manufacture, use and disposal are determined during the product-planning phase."

In a way reminiscent of Chapman and Gant's (2007) above "redirective behaviour", Fry (2009: 55) associates design, in contrast to its historical establishment as an activity involved in "defuturing" with the politically strong concept of "redirective practice". The latter, as a "meta-discipline", leads to the "practical transformation of knowledge in action", redesigning design itself towards gaining a principal characteristic of "futuring". In this vein, seeking an intellectual and ethical grounding for design, for example, Buchanan (2001) suggests the constitution of "human dignity" and "human rights" as the main principle of design. With the rising recognition of the social resourcefulness of design, a sustainable design agenda has grown in parallel with an understanding of the "sustainability crisis" as a "behavioral issue, and not one simply of technology, production, and volume" (Chapman 2009: 29). In the same

vein, sustainable consumption is addressed by putting an emphasis on lifestyles and behaviour change, rather than technologies of efficiency within industry (World Business Council for Sustainable Development 2008 and Thorpe 2010).

Hence, design emerges today as an expression of the industrious side of humanity that gains a voice oriented towards an achievable sustainable future, rather than one that gives in to fatalistic thinking, speaking, and acting with relation to climate change. In this framework, IPCC's adaptation to climate change and risk mitigation can be extended across a number of concepts such as a transition to a sustainable economy or transforming sustainable communities in a way that employs the notion of design and innovation as an indispensable asset. The Kyoto Design Declaration, signed by the Cumulus Association[7] 11 years after the ratification of the Kyoto Climate Protocol, recognises design's global potential for "fundamental improvement" in "economic, ecological, social, and cultural" aspects of life when "human-centered design thinking" is "rooted in universal and sustainable principles". The declaration acknowledges design's contribution to "a global responsibility for building sustainable, human-centered, creative societies" (Sotamaa 2009: 51–52).

In fact, the interest of design in broader social and economic issues has been reciprocated by political and economic leadership too. As addressed by the European Design Leadership Board (2012: 16), design is situated at the crossroads of the "quality of life of the citizens of Europe", "quality and efficiency of the public services", and "competitiveness and growth of Europe's and its regions' economies". This effort reflects an all-encompassing network that engages actors of economy and society in an open design environment. Hence, a tight synchrony is cultivated among the terms of sustainability, research, design and innovation, as it has never been before. These terms have become inseparable from any future-oriented formative understanding or strategy for development, well-being, and prosperity. As a source of innovation and design policies, the European Strategy for 2020, for example, underpins three "mutually reinforcing priorities" for growth in the current decade: "smart", "sustainable" and "inclusive" (The European Commission 2010: 3). In the same vein, when the Design Leadership Board (2012: 15) has made recommendations to the European Commission, the board has encouraged the integration of innovation and design, and translated design into "[…] an activity of people-centred innovation by which desirable and usable products and services are defined and delivered […] In addition to its economic benefits, design also encompasses sustainable and responsible behaviour contributing to an innovative society and improved quality of life." Inextricably linked, design, innovation, and sustainability possess status and currency in an ever-broadening social and political framework that includes governance and policy-

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7   The Cumulus Association is an international organisation of universities and colleges of art, design, and media that embraces art and design educators and researchers. As of 2015, the association has 226 members from 49 countries (Cumulus Association).

making fields. These fields bear critical importance due to their strategic foresight and formative nature that aim to shape the future.

Aside from governmental decision making, one can observe the emergence of bottom-up organisational agency for sustainability. The growth of the global Transition Network (TN) movement, which aims to re-localise the economy and generate resilient low-carbon communities, presents a set of public initiatives that demonstrate that such movements can achieve maturity quite rapidly.[8] A key project of the TN movement has been the establishment of Transition Towns. In only seven years, from a humble start in Kinsale (Republic of Ireland) and Totnes (England), the number of Transition Towns has reached to 1120 initiatives in 43 countries as of April 2014 (Transition Network 2014). In addition to this kind of bottom-up, community initiated social awareness, the business world, too, has explored sustainability as an issue to which it can make a key contribution. As Kiron *et al.* (2013) shows, there is a clear link between profitability and sustainability-related business activities such as sustainability-driven innovation and business model changes. Certainly, sustainable business is still in its infancy, when considering the same study's survey outcome that shows that only 37 percent of respondents profit from sustainability activities.

However, the link between economic prosperity and profitability and competitive advantage promise rapid development for corporate agency which can facilitate the empowerment of a greater circle of societal stakeholders. If design, particularly by means of its aforementioned socio-economic integration and popularity, is intended to be actively used as a means of transition and social change, it should be employed along with strategically appropriate channels allowing accessibility, feasibility, and productivity. For example, despite the truism about commercial activities being the major contributor to continuous reproduction of structural unsustainability, MacKenzie (2013) draws attention to branding and marketing activities that can actually promote sustainable consumer behaviour. For MacKenzie (2013: 169), marketing may have three "specific" roles serving to cultivation of sustainable consumption. Firstly, marketing offers "deep understanding of people and their needs and aspirations" that can be engaged in the generation of appropriate consumer motivations for sustainable consumption. Secondly, marketing may embrace sustainable products and services in branded value and benefit systems helping to "normalize" sustainable offers in the eyes of consumers. Thirdly, marketing can use its communicative capacities to make such products and services more "appealing".

Brands have already been framed as key social actors in sustainable development. Champniss and Rodés Vilà (2011), for instance, coin the term "social equity brands" to define brands that build "social capital" in order to achieve gains concerning

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8   Founded in 2005, the Transition Network is composed of local grassroots initiatives called Transition Towns. These towns build community resilience through collaborative action in response to global challenges such as climate change and peak oil.

symbiotic private and public interests including solutions to sustainability issues. Social capital is widely used to describe the scale and productivity of one's ties to social networks ranging from exclusive club memberships to family ties, friendships, and even social media. For Champniss and Rodés Vilà (2011: 112–119) social capital has three forms. As they articulate, a social equity brand may be able to achieve and further develop all three forms. Such a brand, for example, may develop dialogue and build "bonding social capital" not only among "homogenous groups" with "shared practices, norms and general similarities", but also build "bridging social capital" among "distinct groups" where different communities with distinctive "norms, codes and practices" get familiar with each other. Perhaps more importantly, a social equity brand can build "linking social capital" where the bridging capital achieves greater extensions. These extensions may link, for example, remote communities separated with wider distinctive cultural elements via "governmental or international trading platforms" leading to collaborative relationships.

The frame of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital may help us to articulate a detailed list of characteristics that expresses why sustainable business is the appropriate field and channel to engage design methodology for feasible social behaviour change in terms of consumption and wider cultural patterns. This can also be seen as a constitution of a research domain from where a specific management strategy can be derived. In this context, the following list describes the research domain and strategy:

- Reaching the existing socio- and politico-economic network: the field of business involves well-established economic and consumerist network elements such as multi-layered mechanisms, interests, drivers, and motivations. In the context of a search for feasible societal change, these elements provide design with deeply-rooted channels and a rich set of tools, such as a rich palette of branding techniques, to reinforce the desired change. Considering the dominating forces of economy and consumerism, they offer not only commercial vehicles and technological infrastructure, but also socio-psychological and socio-cultural veins to penetrate into the collective mind of society. Hence business can be associated with greater intellectual capital and related human capabilities establishing new synergies, as well as political implications that reach far beyond the spheres of economic and financial capital. This fact dramatically increases the amount of available tools and infrastructure to stimulate cooperation with a bigger and deeper influence area providing inclusive, holistic, and effective change.

- *Interest synthesis*: in pursuit of feasibility, seeing design as a synthesiser of interest, the business field offers design a greater variety of operational fields in terms of the temporal balance between immediate self-interests and long-run societal goals. Immediate interests can be taken from the sides both of

production and consumption in a way promoting each other. In this sense, business motivations can attract wider sections of society. To be more precise, as design agency can use the impetus of commercial attraction to encourage business endeavours, it can also simultaneously involve consumer agency in the same agenda through stimulating immediate consumer motivations such as belonging and social display.

The latter may be a crucial step to prevent risks of resistance in the long term: in the prevention of public opposition to change, business tools, such as marketing, strengthen design practices when building a synthesis between the interests of different stakeholders under conditions of shortened time frames. These tools may help design to avoid conflicts among the parties that will be affected by change. More importantly, these tools can be critical in maintaining public attention and appetite afresh while executing change in the long run.

In sum, this discussion suggests that embracing the concepts of design and innovation as inclusive and quintessential assets, sustainable business can be a key ground for design to pursue a realistic and holistic change in social behaviour with far-reaching and long-lasting effects enabling a less-disturbing and smooth transformation to a sustainable society. Achieving sustainability "fundamentally" requires "cooperative" and "societal ambition" that involves all-encompassing participation (Fuad-Luke 2007: 37). In this light, it should be underlined that sustainable business should not be seen as a field where only corporate endeavour operates, but rather as a network that encapsulates the wider interplay of communities and professionals, all growing economic, social, and eventually human capacities together. However, this neither re-imposes nor justifies the conventional assumption that links economic growth or rising per capita GDP with increased well-being. The foundational recognition of the link between the finite resources of Earth and the limits to economic growth as articulated by Meadows *et al.* (1972) have paved the road for today's alternatives that clearly dissociate rising prosperity from arithmetic GDP or economic growth (Jackson 2011).

Actually, when one looks at the concept of sustainable development, whether from the standpoint of business, society, or policy making, one can see that initiatives are interrelated in a process of cross-fertilization. For example, in one of the early studies that attempts to generate a comprehensive definition and set the theoretical framework for sustainable business, Hawken (1994: 159) puts special emphasis on the "business community" that "coevolves" with "natural and human communities" with "cooperation, mutual support and collaborative problem-solving". In this sense, Lovins *et al.* (1999: 158) goes as far as to claim that "natural capitalism" has the capacity to "reintegrate ecological with economic goals", creating a new paradigm for industries in a way replacing traditional industrialism, much as agrarianism was incorporated by industrialism previously.

Although this refers to a profound socioeconomic and environmental transformation that may shake the anthropocentric foundations of our contemporary culture, going back to the roots of sustainability is a short historical journey. Sustainability, as a term and concept, has gained popularity and scrutiny to such an extent and pace in a relatively short span of time that it has inevitably become affiliated with fluid and shifting values and practices with no clear boundaries. This generates complexity not only in terms of coping with problems in the context of sustainability, but also in identifying, assessing, and understanding the very nature of sustainability. Therefore, before introducing the specific design research focus in the domain of feasible social behaviour change, design and business' potential for sustainability shall be clarified from the point of view of complexity.

2.4 Recognising Design and Business within the Complexity of Systems

Almost all studies refer to the ecological awakening in the 60s when presenting the origins of sustainability. With the growing popularity of environmentalism in the following decades, one can see the exploration of the multifaceted scale of human influence on nature and human systems that includes not only observable environmental aspects, but also far-reaching and implicit relational processes of social and cultural conflict chains. Embodying this vast range of concepts, sustainability emerges as an organising principle that can sometimes be too fuzzy due to its dynamic parameters and great complexity. However, it would be theoretically accurate to say that the short history of sustainability is marked with an emphasis on the provision of balance between the needs of present and future generations, an emphasis present in the definition of sustainability by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (The Brundtland Commission) in 1987. Even today, after more than two decades, the emphasis on this balance remains the most-cited definition for sustainability, as well as a guide to further define sustainability related concepts. For example, Luchs *et al.* (2011: 2) define sustainable consumption "[…] as consumption that simultaneously optimizes the environmental, social, and economic consequences of consumption in order to meet the needs of both current and future generations."

In light of this definition, sustainability provides a lens to re-interpret and re-conceptualise the relationship between nature and culture within an ethical understanding of human affairs in the context of any given life activity. The infinite variety of human endeavours embedded in non-linear and dynamic systems, in this sense, generates limitless aspects and qualities constitutive for sustainability. As nothing exists in isolation, the involvement of multiple and ever-changing variables complicate the drawing of an epistemic map of sustainability. As a result, there are neither solid

parameters nor ready-to-apply prototypes, but an abstract principle that highlights a constant stabilisation among a great variety of ever-changing and conflicting needs across a network of natural, cultural, social, economic, and temporal factors. Billions of individuals make different consumption-related decisions every single day across different parts of the world, across different cultures, conditions, and circumstances. In this vein, attempts at stabilization may differ dramatically from one culture to another, due to methods of integration, specific factors, and billions of different actors who pursue their own self-interests. Hence, there is no such a thing as reductive, central, and linear sustainability with one-size-fits-all recipes that would suit all instances. As Wahl and Baxter (2008: 72) note, "[…] in a constantly changing environment, sustainability is not some ultimate endpoint, but instead is a continuous process of learning and adaptation."

Today, attempting to go along this "process of learning and adaptation", we have yet to form and develop a decentralised epistemology for sustainability that comprehends this complexity where diverse practices and theories could fertilise each other. As the debates on climate change illustrate, our knowledge is not yet developed in the sense of forming a comprehensive paradigm of sustainability that will effectively shape systematic attitudes and behaviours. Such an on-going epistemic construction shall allow hybridisation and a tight synchronisation between culture-specific realities, codes, and the local fabric of social issues. This certainly presents challenges that turn sustainability into an elusive concept in many instances that might look, at first sight, indeterminate, ambiguous, or contradictory as it carries along according to the vagaries of different cultural, political, and economic criteria.

At this stage, design may be able to create trajectories to solve this complicated puzzle, advancing and processing a culture-specific episteme into theoretical, practical, and tacit knowledge, which would in turn follow on to sustainable products and cultural entities. In this light, design may have a critical role to play, especially in forming an inclusive and mutual basis to mobilise the myriad of actors in their everyday operations of societal consumption and production. These capacities, suitable to this pluralist, micro-scale approach, are not necessarily originated by special professionals, but by the public in their basic vernacular practices that today shape constantly changing and moving lives. Design is able to embrace such a dynamic and inclusive attribution, spreading the epistemic development to the very atom of society, the individual. As Simon's (1996: 111) well-known definition highlights, "[e]veryone designs who devises courses of action aimed at changing existing situations into preferred ones." Simon's view is paralleled by Papanek (1972: 3) as he says that "[a]ll men are designers […] The planning and patterning of any act towards a desired, foreseeable end constitutes the design process."

This accessibility is important since design is not only about a change in the material world; it is about that, yes, but it in turn has a deep-seated influence within the human itself. Design's transformative qualities are hardwired to the human mentality, its capacities concerning knowledge and experience. Papanek (1972: 21)

expresses that "[t]he ultimate job of design is to transform man's environment and tools, by extension, man himself." The transformation of the "man himself" cannot be only perceived on an isolated account that such a transformation is limited with only a personal development of capacities for technical problem solving. Rather it implies broader cultural production capacities that involve individuals as interacting parts of a collectivity and constitutive elements of the dimensions of the "process of learning and adaptation".

The characteristics and level of complexity is the basis to start thinking about how to engage design's instrumental and thinking capacities in facilitating voluntary behaviour change in consumption. In pursuit of characterisation, "wicked problems" seems highly useful in creating a better understanding to map the complexity of most global sustainability issues, including climate change. The term was coined by Rittel and Webber (1973) in the context of social planning, indicating problems that cannot be formulated and solved in a certain, quick, and linear fashion since the scale of these problems incorporate a myriad of socio-cultural and politico-economic domains with no regular boundaries. Moreover, any inadequate mitigation attempt is likely to cause unforeseeable empirical consequences with the potential to trigger chain reactions leading to worsening circumstances. In this light, from the recognition and explanation to the resolution of problems, social planning, or rather the planner, is enmeshed in a constantly changing network of dynamic complexity and various interdependent phenomena, as is possibly best illustrated by climate change. The challenge this presents is the emergence of a constrained and fractured epistemology that defectively grounds the planner's information analysis in organising and reproducing knowledge that fails to establish a comprehensive understanding of systems.

Design's integration in the discourse of sustainability brings design to the same position of social planning in the face of open systems and wicked problems. This position also brings greater responsibility; in the case of planners, they have "no right to be wrong" as their actions impose great and irreversible impact on subject communities (Rittel and Webber 1973: 166). Design bears similar responsibilities, and in order to avoid such impacts, must deal first with the constrained or fractured epistemology that necessitates improvement of thinking capabilities that can coordinate with the dynamics of systems and phenomena. This may, for example, necessitate interdisciplinary collaboration and rigorous implementation with effective feedback loops that create dynamic, diverse, and delicate grassroots solutions which are specific and unique to the context of each single community or region. Operating in such complex circumstances requires first of all a "cognitive transformation" for design as it operates explicitly within the greater framework of pluralism. In this vein, given large interdependence and complexity when dealing with sustainability, Gladwin *et al.* (1995: 899) suggest major shifts, "from linear to cyclical, analytical to synthetic, reductive to integrative" human thinking. This imposes profound challenges for human capabilities that account for a "willing blindness" towards issues of sustainability and the escalation of this blindness to "epidemic proportions" (Orr 2002: 85).

In this project, I seek to conduct design research at a cellular level, a level that constitutes the basic structural and functional unit of a system and whose chemistry and relationship with other cells establish specific and greater functions. It is through this approach that I seek to take into account the myriad shifts of thinking outlined above, as well as the fact that no individual sustainable design solution can encapsulate all of the complex challenges related to sustainability. This cellular approach works through an analogy we can make between society and human anatomy. The anatomy is a complex system that is composed of subsystems such as organs, tissues, and limbs with specific functions sustaining the complex body. Cells dominate by means of their chromosomes, organising organs and tissues. It is highly tempting to deliver research or design solutions that designate a whole organ with greater functions, making a quick contribution to the sustainment of the large system at first hand.

However, in essence, coping with complex body syndromes is not different than dealing with wicked problems that require overwhelmingly complex packages of approaches and continuous adaptation to ever-changing conditions. This view can be supported by the very fact that scientific medicine focuses on cells, going to the most essential part of body when seeking diagnosis and treatment to diseases that vary from cancer to AIDS. In the same vein, in dealing with overconsumption and related social behaviour, a design research attempt to remedy a problem shall go to the cells of a particular society and specific culture, then define the very specific cell and its interrelationship between other cells in order to establish an organ; in other words, organise a greater function and subsystem. I now think, for example, that my early research attempts aimed to designate a whole organ for society. However, with the growing awareness of complexity, I realised that what I am dealing with is not the organ but the chromosome that will define the cell and its capability to adapt and organise.

At this stage, Meadows' (2008: 75–85) "systems thinking" provides a comprehensive methodology that can comprise the above transformative thinking framework with a terminological and theoretical clarity that may lead to a common understanding and language. This clarity is one of the striking reasons why systems thinking has become increasingly popular among design practices that aim to monitor and control complexity, and generate holistic approaches towards sustainable systems. Meadows' framework enables designers to map, conceptualise, and define the network of complexities through recognition of an understanding of systems that can be divided into basic "elements" and "subsystems", linked with "interconnections", serving a particular "function" or "purpose". Taking these into consideration, I thus would like to map out the complexity of the system when dealing with the wicked problems of sustainability. This will facilitate setting a related design strategy that is able to operate in complexity on a resolvable path not only by professional designers, but also by diverse agents of sustainability.

It is to the latter ends that I would like to frame my research using the theoretical framework of systems thinking, along with the terminology used in building that

framework (which I will outline, below). In this context, I acknowledge the current global economy as an overarching network of "complex systems" that is established by a myriad of deeply involved systems and subsystems that have evolved through the rise of capitalist commodity production and acculturation of consumption in recent centuries. Sustainability can be positioned here as a subsystem, *e.g.* sustainable business, within the total system of the economy, as well as an independent, large and complex system that includes a set of interconnections with social, academic, and ecological systems and subsystems.

This recognition can be developed via Meadows' characterisation of a complex system comprised of "resilience", "self-organization", and "hierarchy" among its subsystems. Resilience depends on a functioning feedback loop mechanism, whereas higher levels of feedback loops advance a system to a self-organising phase where the system can "learn, diversify, complexify, [and] evolve". These dynamics of self-organisation comprise, in fact, the very epistemological structure of sustainability and form the interconnected universal criteria for a sustainable design that can construct and deliver an architecture of knowledge. Such knowledge grows through "learning" consistently from the past, "diversifying" according to surrounding environmental and cultural conditions, "complexifying" with a growing volume of specific experience, and yet "evolving" in a way transforming and empowering life in diverse aspects.

The above sustainability problems arise as the feedback loops in capitalist production and consumption become dysfunctional and affect the whole chain of self-organisation due to manipulative interventions by power structures such as the institutional promotion of consumerism. Meadows explains the process whereby large organisations may give up "resilience" and "self-organization" for the sake of short-term "productivity" and "stability". However, this may lead to the loss of fundamental dynamics that sustain the system in the long run. The collapse of ecology, for example, will eventually cause the collapse of economy and society too. Nevertheless, as the growing awareness of the environment and the related dilemma of consumption illustrate, information links perform to such an extent that some feedback can be delivered and trigger a new economic attitude. The rise of sustainable business, at this point, can be seen as an attempt by an informed subsystem to gain resilience and evolve further into a stage of self-organisation.

"Hierarchy" enters the stage here as a specific inter and intra-systemic relationship where upper layers support the purposes of lower ones. For Meadows (2008: 84), "[t]he original hierarchy is always to help its originating subsystems do their jobs better […] If a body cell breaks free from its hierarchical function and starts multiplying wildly, we call it a cancer." Meadows' illustration of cancer in the bio-system of the human body can be linked to the abnormal and unregulated growth of capitalist production and consumption in the natural and human systems of the Earth. Therefore, in the total system of the economy we have a serious problem of hierarchical order that fails to establish, in Meadows' (2008: 85) words, "[the] central control to achieve coordination toward the large system goal, and enough autonomy

to keep all subsystems flourishing, functioning, and self-organizing." Market forces establish today a hierarchical order that prioritises short-run economic interests and channels other subsystems for the sake of these interests. Greenwashing, for example, as a popular deceptive marketing endeavour, illustrates well how the epistemic outcome of sustainability can become fractured and colonised for the excuse and promotion of immediate commercial interests. Hence, the lines between action and the recognition of its consequences are broken in a way that deeply hampers any possibility of consensus in the direction of correction. This means that sustainability, as a complex system that involves elements such as community and business, should climb to the upper levels in the hierarchy in order to secure the large system goal and the best interest of societies.

Elevating sustainability to a higher degree and eventually to the top of the hierarchical order of the natural and human systems of the Earth may be a universal principle in the midst of the bewildering degree of complexity and uncertainty of wicked problems. This will allow the agency of sustainability to coordinate the feedback loops of interspecific activity which may lead to a balance in the system and, more importantly, self-organisation that embraces, as stated above, constantly-developing capabilities of "learning", "diversifying", "complexifying", and "evolving". The inherent dynamism and strength of these capacities may enable the emergence of unique and co-evolvable welfare-generating capacities that transcend fixed for-mulations and linear solutions. In this framework, the question arises with regards to how we can position sustainability strategically in the hierarchical order.

Certainly, in the context of such a strategic positioning, design and sustainable business stand out once again. Design's capabilities, explained in the previous subtitle, become more meaningful when considering the complexity of problems and the systems thinking framework. In this context, serving to the elevation of sustainability in the system hierarchy, design's deeply rooted integration in economic and social networks is vital to the creation of dynamic, culture-specific, and yet feasible responses to the ever-changing and evolving complexity of problems and the management of the related feedback loop mechanism with rigour. The creative qualities of design thinking are embedded in the intelligence of self-organisation. The *interest synthesis*, for example, can be seen as a design activity designated to translate various feedbacks into the resilience of the large system while maintaining its integrity through the prevention of stress and possible disengagement of certain particular subsystems. In this sense, feasibility that compromises the interests of different subsystems is an indispensable quality of a self-organising system. Moreover, design enables genuine and bottom-up culture-specific responses that suit the pluralist principle of sustain-ability and the complexity of related issues.

As the concept of sustainable business constitutes the operation field for design, it provides the ethical framework as an interconnection agent that regulates the reliable means of feedback transaction and exchange between the total systems of economy and sustainability. So business functions as a systemic artery that hardwires

design to the circulation of synergies and resource-flows of life interlinked to the cells and tissues of society. This speciality relies heavily on the matter that sustainable business uniquely embraces the activities and elements that link both of the systems. To put it differently, sustainable business serves design as the intersection area where the feedback traffic of the market economy can interact with altruistic and other idealistic dimensions of sustainability. Hence, one can see that the natural tendencies of sustainable business involve the properties of design and carry the system of sustainability to the top of the hierarchy, yielding the best interests for the large system.

2.5 Formulating the Research

So far, I have introduced the growing imperative of the sustainability crisis with reference to the case of climate change. This imperative requires a high-momentum and comprehensive change in the character of consumer culture. However, the cultural significance of consumerism necessitates also that careful steps be taken in order to avoid counter-productive results in the long run. Championing the principles of feasibility and efficiency, I suggest design as a widely acknowledged discipline that can provide solutions for social behaviour change, in this case, towards sustainability. This suggestion is strengthened by the presentation of the complexity of sustainability issues and sustainability's epistemological structure that reinforces the adoption of characteristics and dynamics of a system's self-organisation. At this stage, the epistemological perspective suggests the need for a great diversity of culture-specific solutions that coexist and cooperate in pursuit of transformation towards sustainability, rather than an all-encompassing universal solution.

Given the diversity and complexity of consumption and its cultural potency, these solutions are likened to the functional characteristics of biological cells that establish a greater web with greater and distinctive functions. This web works like an organ in human body; cooperation between different webs sustains the larger system. Defining the cell structure and chromosome so far, I have shown sustainable business to be the operation field that facilitates design's intrinsic capabilities in order to synthesise various stakeholder interests and to employ its established integration across the socio-economic, socio-psychological, and socio-political frameworks. As stated before, on the one hand, it is well acknowledged today that this integration is in close synchrony with structural unsustainability and related consumer behaviour patterns. On the other, the very same integration provides design thinking with a unique source to convert the underlying social drivers and motivations in favour of the desired transformation in social behaviour. However, the landscape of design and business is very large, and we thus require a deeper look into a subfield of that landscape, specifically, that of design's cultural durability and the potential role of heritage in promoting longevity.

As Crompton and Kasser (2009: 10) put it, the more people champion "[…] values and goals such as achievement, money, power, status and image, they tend to hold more negative attitudes towards the environment, are less likely to engage in positive environmental behaviours, and are more likely to use natural resources unsustainably." The motivational dominance and broad acceptance of these "values and goals" underscores the potential that may lead us to the design thinking to use in the service of the *interest synthesis* and mitigation of resistance for a feasible transformation. From fashion to lifestyle construction, these "values and goals" have become key drivers for traditional design practice and related business endeavours. However, today, in the face of the sustainability crisis, it is the perfect time to investigate how to use their social acceptance and circulation in the development of sustainability and formation of "redirective behaviour".

When considering, for instance, the deeply-rooted history of *possessive individualism* in Euro-American societies, much as asking people to stop consuming would be a pointless endeavour, so would asking people to abandon values such as achievement or status. Consumption itself is "part of the cultural reproduction of social relations" says Slater (2002: 148), hence it is quite natural that consumption is involved in the construction and display of status and image as distinctive and formative concepts. One aspect of social relations within which consumption is clearly involved is in the production and reproduction of social strata. Historically speaking, affluent minorities have long showed various forms of consumer interests, long before the arrival of modernity, in different periods of time and vast geographies, from Asia to Africa (Stearns, 2001). Stearns indicates that these interests do not reach the level of today's understanding of consumerism, where novelty-commitment and its cultural expansion, in particular with the mediation of a massive fashion industry, plays a formative role.

In terms of consumption as social distinction, an interesting example for this research can be the Tudor period (A.D. 1485–1603) in England where the status competition was based on the *durability* of artefacts that transmit "the cult of family status" from one generation to another. As McCracken (1990: 13) defines this status understanding, he describes a value structure where "[…] newness was the mark of commonness while the patina of use was a sign and guarantee of standing." The Tudor case of conspicuous consumption obviously contrasts with today's novelty-driven fashion mechanism and provides inspiration for today's issues relating to consumption; linked to emotional attachment, status achievement and display occur through the *preservation* of consumer goods. In other words, the Tudor period epitomises that if a sense of heritage is represented by consumer goods, these goods are imbued with status value that invites the possessor to preserve rather than replace it. So, the value structure of heritage endows the past in such a way that functions in the opposite direction of obsolescence.

Deriving from Lowenthal's (1998, 2010) identification, we may achieve an enriched understanding of heritage in a cultural frame of consumption defined by

subjectivity and relativity rather than through UNESCO's formal conceptualisations. Heritage, for example, can be conceptualised as an exclusivist prestige provider that generates social distinction for a person or particular social group, including nations. For this study, however, the link between consumers' quest for status and the *preservation* of consumer goods promises a line of argument where we can nourish the relationship between consumer interests and a slower mode of consumption, which is characterised by product longevity. Can we, then, also associate heritage in a design and business context with a sustainability strategy?

In the below sections, I explain that heritage-related consumer interests might serve the greater society by addressing the crossroads where consumer and business benefits meet the needs of the "real world". I also build up a broader and structured understanding of heritage, including a specific definition of design heritage. I refer to a multiple body of literatures in an exploration of a variety of heritage theorisations, meanings, and its popular operations in diverse business and consumer environments.

Harnessing heritage

In pursuit of sustainability transformation, if we broaden our reading on Lowenthal (2005), we can see that heritage can also be conceptualised in a much broader context as a crucial component of human civilisation. In the broadest sense, Lowenthal's (2005) heritage addresses the historical results and conditions of our accumulated capabilities to shape environments and ecosystems; in other words, the cultural realm of exploiting and stewarding the earth's natural capital. This understanding mainly relies on UNESCO's formal conception of heritage, which embraces nature in addition to culture. The definition of "natural heritage" dates from 1972, and the World Heritage Convention. It includes geological, physical, and biological formations, and natural sites of "outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" (UNESCOa: 2). The importance of what Lowenthal's definition (2005) explains is the stress on the growing recognition of an interconnection between natural and cultural heritages. He (2005: 85) defines two forms of heritage as "indivisible", like "Siamese twins, separated only at high risk of the demise of both". This point of view shows the potential to link heritage directly to the conservation of the earth's resources and ecosystems, allowing this research to correlate design's historical capital, as intangible cultural heritage, to sustainability. However, such a connection necessitates a deeper look into the concept of heritage in order to establish an understanding of design within the heritage canon that may serve the purposes of this study.

Academic interest in heritage can be traced back in history to such an early period that it is a challenge for researchers to define what is meant by "early research". It is possible to go back to the ancient Greeks, for example, to trace a conscious interest in the preservation of the past and heritage (Waterton and Watson 2015).

Understandings of heritage thus stretch across periods and civilisations throughout history and depend on how the past and the future are defined, negotiated, and produced. This brings us to the understanding that concepts and definitions of heritage may differ greatly among peoples and over time (Lowenthal 2005). As Harvey (2001) sees it, for a long temporal framework, heritage has been a concept that is constantly transforming where greater societal dynamics, such as power relationships, are at play. Today, in the midst of a sustainability crisis, the social construction of heritage is tied to social and ecological concerns that result in concepts and methodologies aiming to achieve a shared future. It is hardly surprising then that a contemporary understanding of heritage addresses sustainability.

The growing scope of heritage as a multifarious concept and phenomenon could be too confusing for a meaningful application in the design sector. To avoid ambiguities and to clarify the concept specifically for the purposes of this study, allow me to refer to Harvey (2001) once again to explain heritage as a verb. Recent academic studies on heritage help us to make further connections between heritage and sustainability. For example, defining heritage as a "creative engagement with the past in the present" may help us to develop human capabilities for taking an "active and informed role" in the achievement of a shared "tomorrow" (Harrison 2015: 310). Along this line, design as heritage may here enter the trajectory of Papanek's (1972) "real world" and correspond to an agenda of "needs", and indeed, the need for balance between present and future generations (referring again to the WCED's 1987 definition of sustainability). Accordingly, I formulate in this study a specific design perspective within the heritage canon:

Ideally guided by a sustainability philosophy, creative engagement of design's historical capital, as a form of tangible product and intangible socio-cultural component.

The philosophy of sustainability also involves the balancing of political, cultural, social, and economic factors. Indeed, heritage exerts economic significance, which may be an important aspect in the engagement of heritage for sustainability. This aspect, most important when pursuing the interest synthesis between various consumer and business benefits, is extensively studied in the corporate marketing, brand management, and tourism research literatures. Heritage linkages with these perspectives may be useful in extending our interdisciplinary framework for design heritage. Heritage, in the context of designing tourism services, for example, may offer operational insight into how heritage bridges the gap between diverse economic benefits and sustainability.

Heritage in tourism sector

Heritage was a "buzzword" in tourism even before the 20th century but the past several decades were marked by exponential growth in the heritage tourism sector (Chhabra 2010: 1). This over-a-century background may offer opportunities to explore various business settings where design heritage can be employed to respond to symbiotic monetary and societal needs with a focus on sustainability. The massive economic impact of tourism illustrates how the sector can be a strong contributor to achieving this ambition. In 2015, for example, the travel and tourism sector represented almost 10 percent of the global gross domestic product (GDP), supporting 284 million jobs, representing one in 11 jobs worldwide. Moreover, over the next decade, the sector is expected to outperform the global economy's annual average growth by 4 percent (World Travel and Tourism Council [WTTC] 2016).

Certainly, such an economic impact brings up severe and well-recognised sustainability issues. Sustainability and sustainable development have entered the tourism lexicon following a string of international conferences, reports, and action plans, notably the aforementioned Brundtland Report in 1987, the United Nations' Agenda 21 action plan in 1992 and, in response to these, several tourism organisations' own Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry in 1995. Since then, sustainable tourism has been subject to various crucial adaptations and conceptualisations in the tourism sector and literature (Hardy *et al.* 2002).

With a focus on not only economic factors, but also social and environmental ones, sustainable tourism could be employed to dramatically expand the volume and diversity of consumer audiences beyond restrictions of locality to promote sustainability through design heritage. As design's historical assets are appreciated and commodified in activities with a touristic appeal, the management of design heritage sites enters the theoretical and methodological frameworks of heritage tourism in terms of place and event-branding perspectives. Heritage sites have long been employed in tourism activities with aims that go beyond economic ambitions such as the promotion of domestic patriotism and international propaganda (Timothy and Boyd 2006). When applied to design heritage – I will focus on this issue in the fifth chapter – this may mean that the global phenomenon of tourism can become an instrument to promote sustainability. As mentioned above, popular design museums, for example, have become a strategic element of touristic cultural management programmes not only to craft an attractive destination image, but also to promote the cultural competencies of a given country. The growing experience and popularity of combining tourism instruments and design heritage may offer a rich set of campaigning and organisation strategies, tactics, skills, and lessons. To this growing body of experience one may add design auctions and exhibitions, and events, such as design biennials and weeks, which generate dynamic design heritage sites and phenomena in addition to serving contemporary tourism-related functions.

Reservations about this suggestion may be raised due to the heavy reliance of tourism on human mobility. It is a well-known fact, for example, that touristic travel increases atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases. In this context, then, heritage tourism contributes negatively to climate change (Hall 2016). However, valuable efforts to turn the popularity and economic capacities of tourism into an advantage for sustainable development are promising. Human mobility could be translated into information exchange and opportunities for environmental education. The touristic Mimisbrunnr Climate Park network in Norway, for example, has an ambition to educate tourists about climate change while attempting to establish a collaboration between scientific research and local business. The park was established after the discovery of ancient human remains revealed by the retreat of melting glaciers as a result of climate change. As a natural and cultural heritage site, the park provides space for human history and glacier archaeology. As a result, this heritage environment is engaged in interconnecting various stakeholders from the private and public sectors in a space where local tourism development is combined with an environmental education including cultural education regarding ancient Norwegian culture. Perhaps most importantly for our study, tourism is employed to make publicly accessible research results on the influence of climate change in an effort to raise sustainability awareness. Visitors are informed about research results via guided tours on the impact of climate change in the very presence of endangered glaciers (Vistad *et al.* 2016). Another study on Antarctic tourism points out that the historical context of heritage sites, strengthened with "explicit explanations and demonstrations of landscape change", can be used effectively not only to generate awareness of climate change, but also to affect tourists' future travel behaviour (Powell *et al*. 2016: 84).

Such efforts may help tourism activities to achieve greater sustainability in addition to operational and managerial solutions aiming to have a positive impact on the environment, society, and the economy. In short, tourism's networking capacities could be key to engaging this study's strategy in terms of reaching existing socio- and politico-economic networks, and facilitating interest synthesis among business and consumer stakeholders. Design heritage tourism, in this context, may provide opportunities to involve tourists in campaigns leading to behaviour transformation. Design's touristic engagement in current country branding activities addresses a maturing ground for this suggestion.

It is also important to note that the term "design heritage", as used in this thesis, does not refer only to modern domains. Pre-modern or indigenous arts and craft heritage can be upcycled in a specific geographical or cultural context towards the desired transformation. Obviously, in this context too, tourism may play a facilitating role in reaching people from different cultural backgrounds, such as consumers from highly populated Asian countries which are increasingly adopting Western patterns of consumption. This understanding has crucial importance for the ambitions of this study when considering that China, a country with a rich arts and craft heritage, is expected to overtake the US in terms of travel and tourism investment by 2026.

Other countries with similar pre-modern design heritage capacities, such as India, Indonesia, Mexico, and South Africa, are expected to enjoy the fastest GDP growth among the G20 group in travel and tourism (WTTC 2016). As tourism is expected to play a more significant economic role and to hire larger cohorts of employees, the sector may offer a critical opportunity to raise sustainability awareness in line with this study's strategic approach to exploit the strengths of socio- and politico-economic networks.

The relationship between heritage and branding is not limited to the context of tourism. To achieve a broader analysis, we should acknowledge this relationship as a corporate mechanism. Illustrative examples of such corporate mechanisms can be found in Western European constitutional monarchies, such as the British monarchy, that need to conduct corporate communication and manage brand reputation to ensure public support (Greyser *et al.* 2006). Modern countries, from this perspective, act like corporations too when managing heritage, whether it involves tourism purposes or wider politico-cultural ambitions for future competitive advantage. Of course, corporate actors are not necessarily giant institutions such as monarchies or countries. Heritage is adopted by commercial actors (*e.g.* companies) in a great variety of sectors that pursue branding actions, corporate strategies, and competencies. The interlinked literatures of corporate marketing, corporate communication, and brand management offer pragmatic insight into the interconnection between heritage, markets, and consumers. Exploring this interconnection can be of critical help in operationalising the aforementioned significance of brands in pursuit of desired behaviour transformation.

Heritage in corporate marketing and brand management

Corporate brands may possess unique heritage features that distinguish them from other market players. Heritage is well recognised as a corporate marketing resource that can be adapted to business purposes or embraced in corporate activities and strategies. Wiedmann *et al.* (2011: 190) demonstrate that in turbulent times, when consumers face uncertainties, heritage may represent "a feeling of security and well-being". Moreover, the same study presents "significant causal relationships" between brand heritage and consumers' "cognitive, affective and intentional attitudes". Consequently, it is stressed that these relationships could work to strengthen brand reputation in such a fashion that consumers demonstrate "a lower price sensitivity", "higher willingness to buy", and a higher likelihood of "recommend[ing] the given brand".

Informed of these advantages, let us recall the previous discussion on the consumer trade-off process generating product value perception. Referring to the conceptual model of Dodds *et al.* (1991), I have previously argued that consumer perception of quality and sacrifice may be manipulated to encourage sustainable consumer behaviour. In this context, the study by Wiedmann *et al.* (2011) clearly

illustrates that corporate brand heritage may provide critical resources for reducing consumers' perceived sacrifice, including perception of cost factors. At this stage, then, I can argue further that heritage can be employed to support the desired sustainability transformation avoiding conflicts of interest among both consumers and business. Clearly, if consumers' perception of cost factors is less sensitive, this may mean that ethical choices can be offered by business through employment of brand heritage while sustaining a satisfactory level of profit.

It may be critically important, then, for a business enterprise to be aware of its history. It is perhaps even more important for a business to identify methods to turn that history into heritage that responds to relevant consumer demands. The marketing literature provides some insight on this point. For example, as Hudson (2011: 1541–1542) puts it, a brand's "historical themes, narratives and images" are operationalised successfully in an informal manner that seeks marketing benefits. This success promises such potential that a brand image with heritage and authenticity is seen as a "key" for thriving brands in the future. Brands that utilise heritage may be more likely to achieve "symbolic and emotional attachments" with customers (Ballantyne *et al.* 2006: 349).

This ambition may require adopting heritage as a strategic corporate asset as an essential part of brand philosophy that determines actions of "market positioning" and "value proposition". The resulting brands are defined by Urde *et al.* (2007) as "heritage brands". A point to consider here is that not all "brands with heritage" necessarily pursue the above strategy or heritage-related competencies. Accordingly, a brand with heritage does not always establish a heritage brand that employs heritage as a "strategic decision" in value proposition (Urde *et al.* 2007: 5). Another crucial factor that determines the construct of a heritage brand is the temporal foundation of branding actions. The temporal position of heritage, synchronising all time frames, is also recognised by the marketing and brand management literatures.

Unlike "retro marketing", for example, "heritage marketing" does not focus on a particular period of time. As Urde *et al.* (2007) put it, heritage "draws from and clarifies the past" in a way that makes it "relevant for contemporary contexts and purposes". This temporal dimension is further clarified by Balmer (2013: 305) through a heritage identity criterion as a state of "omni-temporality" wherein "[c]orporate heritage identities subsist in temporal strata (multiple time stratums)." In Hudson's (2011) analysis of the historic Cunard Cruise Line's branding and operational actions, the temporal dimension of heritage is explained in the context of cruise passengers' travel experience as follows:

> Cunard passengers find themselves simultaneously in past, present, and future. While they may be admiring history, they are not observing it passively or exclusively, but rather participating in an historical experience with modern relevance. They are also creating new traditions that will be honoured in the future. (1548)

For Hudson (2011: 1550), what assures this synchronisation of all time frames to shape customer experience is the "comprehensive and integrated use of historical themes", such the "durable nature of nostalgic design" and "conscious use of historical references in marketing communications", which are evident in decorative elements and exhibit design in cruisers. For example, the ocean liner Queen Mary 2 hosts an exhibit of "historical narratives and reproductions of images from vintage photographs, advertisements, and brochures" including references to Cunard's first transatlantic voyage in 1840, such as the original silver trophy presented by the people of Boston to commemorate her very first arrival (Hudson 2011: 1547). In Hudson's (2011: 1550) words, these propositions offer to customers an "historical experience […] an opportunity to connect with a common legacy and re-live their imagined past".

It would be wise, I believe, to use the example of Cunard as an opportunity to clarify the distinction between corporate brand heritage and design heritage. As defined in this study, the term design heritage addresses the creative and designerly engagement of design's historical capital as a tangible product or intangible socio-cultural component. A crucial aspect to my definition is the possibility that such engagement be guided by a sustainability principle in response the contemporary environmental conditions and social needs. Accordingly, similar to the difference between a "brand with heritage" and "heritage brand", as defined by Urde *et al*. (2007), design's historical capital does not necessarily imply design heritage. There should be a sense of strategic engagement of capital in creative and designerly ways in search of present and future benefits that may positively address sustainability.

For design-driven companies with an historical background, design heritage is no doubt a fundamental part of brand heritage. Even for those companies for whom design is a secondary feature supporting major services, such as Cunard, design heritage seems to be exerting a considerable amount of influence. I shall discuss this topic referring to Hudson's (2011) study.

In the case of Cunard, tangible historical design capital relates to the interior design elements of the liners, such as art deco motifs and decorative material as the stylistic décor. The exterior design elements are also involved, as in the "black hull", "white superstructure", and "red funnel" of Cunard's historically distinctive colour scheme. The intangible historical design capital involves event design, such as distinctive cruiser events (*e.g.* formal dress nights, tea services) that relate to the Victorian British origins of the brand.

These historical capitals of design become design heritage once such tangible design elements and activities are reproduced in a consistent fashion to create a consumer experience in modern cruisers. Obviously, the transatlantic voyage could follow the same route as in 1840, however, without these creative reproductions and re-enactments of tangible and intangible historical design capital, the link to brand heritage would not have been offered to customers as a brand value proposition. Hence Cunard's handling of heritage shows that design heritage can be integral to building or managing a company's brand heritage.

Could Cunard have also included a sustainability agenda in their cruiser events? As I have shown in the above section, where I reviewed tourism heritage studies, such agendas can be effectively operationalised. In Hudson's (2011) analysis, there is no such agenda in Cunard's heritage activities. However, inspired by the case of Mimisbrunnr Climate Park, I can logically speculate that cruiser events could be creatively crafted to involve awareness-raising methods linking the landscape changes in the ocean, such as watching disappearing glaciers on the ocean surface as a consequence of climate change. In this sense, further possibilities can be explored in designerly ways, such as a possible transformation of current heritage management. The exhibitions, for example, could display environmental transformations, with archival photographic comparisons of the historically relevant transatlantic routes. Such heritage activities could support Cunard's communication of social and environmental commitment in commercial operations, such as sustainable consumption, emissions, and waste management on cruises (Carnival UK 2014). In such a scenario, design heritage would address greater societal benefits with a greater focus on the future through building connections with the past.

As I have attempted to conceptualise above, I position design heritage within the corporate brand heritage that may achieve integral status and become indispensable in heritage management processes depending on the character of the company. Another lesson to be taken from Cunard's case is that there are strong parallels between heritage and the notion of collective memory. Heritage and collective memory operate together, reshaping a mutual past that fits present and future benefits. The brand offers an opportunity to "re-live an imagined past", an idealised version of the past that is enthusiastically connected with, accepted, and interacted by audiences. This case helps us to recognise remembrance as a creative and social engagement rather than an archival system characterised by historical accuracy. Collective memory thus emerges as a promising cultural ground that could enable heritage-driven projects to cultivate a sustainable consumer culture.

The notions of "common legacy" and "imagined past", used regarding Cunard's heritage management, lead me to discuss the promising link between brands, heritage, and the formation of group identities among consumers in line with this thesis' strategic approach to employ existing socio- and politico-economic networks in pursuit of behaviour transformation. To begin with, Lowenthal (2010: 60) defines heritage in general as that which "we hold jointly with others – the blessings (and curses) that belong to and largely define the group". A very similar definition emerges from the marketing discipline: as Balmer (2013) put it, corporate heritage identities may be able to define group identities (*e.g.* national identities), where collective memory plays a significant role. Given the aforementioned significance of brands in contemporary societies, Balmer's mention of corporate heritage identities brings in capitalist institutions, in other words, commercial agents.

Accordingly, in this context, the marketing discipline provides additional material to show that brands too contribute to national identity through offering

common consumption grounds, such as shared consumer practices and shared brand appreciation, to provide consumers with "feelings of belonging, and of being part of a national community" (Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver 2010: 204). As Muniz and O'Guinn (2001: 412) put it, brands are actually strong entities which establish their own communities through a "commercial and mass-mediated ethos", communities in which shared consumer experiences achieve the status of "rituals, traditions, and a sense of moral responsibility". Consolidating what I already have said of brands as "social capital" builders (Champniss and Rodés Vilà 2011) and "living entities with personalities" (Ballantyne *et al.* 2006), "brand communities" construct brands socially (Muniz and O'Guinn 2001). It seems that brands, as social constructs, offer large narrative structures within which consumers can locate their own personal stories, thus enlarging the construction. The narrative structure involves nationhood too. The above study by Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver, for example, reports that even though brands do not communicate extensively by means of advertising, they constitute a "strong" contribution to national identity.

This point offers an opportunity to remember Lowenthal's (1998, 2010) afore-mentioned definition of heritage, which links heritage with exclusivity leading to social distinction for persons and social groups. This may have implications for our study. The close parallel between a heritage brand and shared identity gets us one step closer to proving that consumers' interests in exclusivist distinction and identity seeking could be operationalised to eliminate the attitude-behaviour gap in sustainable consumption. For example, if applicable in a given cultural setting, the significance of heritage brands for collective identity making can be used to offer market value in support of the desired consumer attitudes and behaviour. This may lead to an interesting conclusion: that exclusivist consumption could result in pro-environmental consumer behaviour.

It is important to note, however, that heritage cannot be necessarily dominated by a single hegemonic framework of memory or identity. For example, this is relevant when Balmer (2013: 305) analyses the "postmodern significance" of herit-age in a review of the postmodern literature on it. This review allows Balmer to argue that the individual can "define heritage in any way [he] deems to be fit". It is clear from this perspective that heritage is not a fixed and stable construct, but rather a dynamic social construct that is in constant transformation in response to ever-changing variables such as social norms and needs. Moreover, it could be argued that different interpretations of such variables by different social groups may allow the coexistence of different subjective meanings and interpretations of heritage. Following this avenue may allow us to benefit from a larger operational space and richer resources when managing heritage creatively, rather than being restricted by the ambiguity of disparate and potentially contradictory understand-ings of heritage. For example, a transformation strategy via heritage management should embrace target-oriented design manoeuvres, rhetorical devices, and com-munication tactics for different age groups, ethnic communities, or social segments

in consideration of the different ways in which these groups, communities, or segments understand heritage.

As this argument proceeds, it highlights that heritage is bound to public imagery of a selective and socially constructed past that could push literal truth or objective history to a secondary position. Lowenthal (1998: 7) perhaps puts this most bluntly when he highlights the difference between history and heritage, associating the exploitation of heritage with the notion of fabrication: "Heritage should not be confused with history. History seeks to convince by truth, and succumbs to falsehood. Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error." As he continues, he feels the need to underline that "[f]iction is not the opposite of fact, but its complement, giving our lives a more lasting shape" (Lowenthal 1998: 18). But could fiction, that is, myths, grant design and consumption "a more lasting shape" and a more lasting life too?

At this point, the marketing literature provides some useful insights into how fact and fiction can be categorised in heritage. Applying George Herbert Mead's (1863–1931) sociological analysis of the past to the corporate communications sector, Hudson and Balmer (2013: 349–354) articulate four dimensions of heritage that can be separated into two "metacategories": "innate heritage" and "projected heritage". Innate heritage is based on the dimensions of "structural heritage" and "implied heritage", where "[h]istorical elements of the brand serve as signals regarding the attributes or benefits of the brand itself." These dimensions "[...] convey permanence and perpetuation and generate associations with stability and strength". The foundation date of a corporation, for example, is a typical structural heritage element that cannot be altered and which provides information about the "origin and precedence" of the company. This may serve the brand as "prospective" material of its own history and "inherent characteristics", providing, for instance, "operative factors" such as "longevity and development during the interim".

In the metacategory of projected heritage, however, one can see the adoption of brand history by consumers as a surface upon which consumers' personal history is reflected. Hudson and Balmer (2013: 349–354) explain that a "[b]rand becomes an instrument of existential definition upon which consumers project their own historical associations." One of the dimensions where this projection takes place is "reconstructed heritage". This relies on the "interpretive" and "interactive" understandings of the relationship between the past and the present, unlike the dimensions of the innate heritage metacategory, where the present is seen as a result of linear progress through past events. The second dimension of projected heritage is "mythical heritage". In this dimension, the interpretation of the past may achieve such an imaginary level that it is partly or entirely "fictitious" and consumers can project their personal past onto a "romanticised and idealised" history as an escapist and nostalgic activity. This firstly implies that these dimensions of heritage may rely on personal experience, which differs from person to person. Secondly, projected heritage involves a retrospective perspective in which a certain view of the past is contemplated

through the lens of the present. Accordingly, the dimensions of reconstructed and mythical heritage exemplify a "retro phenomenon". What concerns design heritage specifically in retro is, as Hudson and Balmer continue, the notion that constructing an imagined past allows brands to use "stylistic" design features to create customer experiences linked to an idealised period in history. Such features need not embrace historical integrity as long as they denote a relevant historical context in the mind of consumers.

Hudson and Balmer's (2013) study shows that heritage is not necessarily bound to factual history but to broader accounts that are collectively imagined, remembered, and constructed. Potentially, transcending the limits of fact, popular retro operations may equip brands with greater capacity to employ design heritage in pursuit of profits and sustainability. Furthermore, Hudson and Balmer acknowledge that a single brand may possess and operationalise all four dimensions simultaneously.

At this stage, a new question emerges as whether current retro practices fulfil heritage's potential. Applications focusing solely on immediate commercial gains may do more harm than good with accounts of history that serve consumers' desire for novelty. Hence, we should acknowledge that the synthesis of business and consumer interests on the basis of design's historical credentials does not necessarily lead to sustainable consumer behaviour. I aim to focus on popular retro adaptations and activities in the following chapter. However, the above heritage categorisation, which allows interplay between fictitious historical characters, may permit us to explore new qualities of heritage management.

As mentioned above, the consumer attitude-behaviour gap in sustainability is a major issue that must be addressed as soon as possible. In order to eliminate the gap, we must embrace all available possibilities, including retro practices, in an unbiased fashion. Transcending restrictions of factual history and chronological action sequence may feed creative design solutions. These may simultaneously generate competitive advantage for business and respond to emerging consumer aspirations while exploiting consumer fantasies in which durable consumption is encouraged. The Tudorian case, for instance, which I discussed in this chapter to illustrate a period in which preservation of consumer goods is related to pursuit of status, could offer a relevant historical context. The case could serve to stimulate designers' imaginative power such that the era's status dynamics could be "reconstructed" and translated to "mythical" consumer fantasies via fiction. Using fiction can be particularly useful when dealing with pre-modern arts and craft heritage, such as in the countries referred to above in discussing tourism's potential in sustainability transformation (*e.g.* China and India).

Lastly, we may learn more from the marketing and brand management literatures on appropriate channels through which to communicate the link between heritage and sustainability. If we continue to peruse these literatures, heritage and sustainability meet at the notions of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and brand reputation. Blombäck and Scandelius (2013: 373–375) argue that if corporate brand

heritage is communicated along with CSR messages in a planned fashion, this combination facilitates a responsible brand image in the eyes of consumers which is "more influential than the distinction of having or not having CSR communication as such". However, in order to achieve such influence, the given corporation's "core values" should include "social and environmental responsibility". Otherwise, CSR claims may not be perceived as genuine or sincere by consumers.

In the face of increasingly frequent corporate scandals, the integrity of CSR communication is a growing concern for both businesses and consumers. The merging of corporate brand heritage and CSR communication thus addresses both sides' interests. Blombäck and Scandelius' findings may have implications for the present study.

One implication, for example, can be explicated in a heritage brand scenario. For example, if a heritage brand attempts to communicate CSR through an anti-fashion and slow consumption campaign, it is wiser to combine the CSR communication with the given heritage as long as the company's "core values" genuinely include "social and environmental responsibility". In this scenario, the given heritage, combined with CSR communication, may be positioned by design in opposition to the wasteful novelty commitment. This strategy may support branding even further to encourage a slower mode of consumption and strengthen brand reputation, providing opportunities to increase profit.

To sum up, in this section, through references to marketing, brand management, and corporate communication studies, I have attempted to outline how corporate actions, such as branding, can enrich our capacity to employ heritage in pursuit of a more sustainable consumer culture. Firstly, I have referred to corporate brands with heritage in terms of consumers' diverse attitudes, which could be connected to stronger customer relationships and commercial gains for the brand. After showing the link between business interests and heritage branding, I focused on the possible links between consumer links and heritage. For example, I have drawn a line between heritage brands and consumerist constructions of a shared past as well as constructions of shared identity, such as national identity. To explore operational opportunities, I have shown that such constructions do not necessarily stem from factual history, but can also draw from an imagined past, enabling companies to employ fictitious design elements to exploit heritage. In addition to these lessons, I have drawn on dimensions of corporate brand heritage, which may help us to analyse the case studies in the following chapters. Finally, I have addressed CSR communication as an alternative means to effectively engage with heritage if sustainability-related responsibilities are part of a given brand's DNA.

In the next stage, I aim to explore a strengthened causal perspective combining all the above strategic and operational potentials of heritage with product longevity and slow consumption. So far, we have seen the potential of heritage to influence consumer behaviour, but what capacities does slowness possess that might be employed against the predominant fashion mechanism?

Heritage on slowness

An advantage that heritage has versus the novelty commitment is that the latter became a wide-spread and substantial phenomenon only after the emergence of modernity, with the rising prosperity and the maturation of capitalist cultural, economic, and industrial conditions. This means that the novelty commitment corresponds to a much smaller time scale in comparison to other consumer interests related to status display (Stearns 2001). Furthermore, emerging movements such as *Slow Cities* (*Cittaslow*) and *Slow Food* reveal that a consumer appetite for slowness is currently maturing among developed countries as well as in emerging markets of developing countries such as Turkey.

At this point, it is reasonable to draw the conclusion that various consumer aspirations through heritage may be able to satisfy substantial consumer aspirations to the degree that fashion currently does. This can happen with the effect of reducing material flows and facilitating product longevity, in strong contrast to the operation mechanism of fashion. In this context, new drivers of consumer culture can be engaged in order to curb and replace that of fashion and its resource-intensive novelty commitment. Heritage constitutes a strong feasible alternative to fashion in a number of respects. Firstly, it is ubiquitous; as Lowenthal (2010: 3) says "[n]ever before so many been so engaged with so many different pasts." Secondly, to repeat again, heritage allows design operations since, unlike history, it is employable in the present; in Lowenthal (2010: 127) words again, "[…] heritage is sanctioned not by proof of origins but by present exploits." It is not surprising, then, when Winter (2006) uses the term "memory boom" to describe the modern "fascination" and "obsession" with the past.

The "memory boom" emerged at the end of the 19th century with the rise of nations and related identity politics and continues today, gaining a contemporary character with the passage of time. Importantly, Winter connects the memory boom with a "consumer boom" where the articulation of memory becomes a popular commodity. This means, on the one hand, that it can function as a commercial factor to stimulate buying decisions. On the other hand, as emotional durability studies show, memory can be "the primary reason" for long-lasting attachment to an object (Schifferstein and Zwartkruis-Pelgrim 2008: 8). The connection between memory and the tendency towards preserving possessions is also acknowledged by consumer researchers such as Belk (1991b). As he suggests, we acquire and preserve possessions that signal a sense of past, since they are instruments that remind us of our roots, our history, and thus help us to define our identity and determine the trajectories of our future. Memory is fundamental in defining ourselves in all temporal stratums, hence possessions that stimulate memories are prone to gain hold attention and our care.

In this sense, memory constitutes a competitive edge for business, one that encourages the preservation of possessions. The scale of potential can be recognised when one considers that the preservation of possessions corresponds to the preserva-

tion of individuality in a deep socio-psychological dimension embedded in *possessive individualism*.

It is widely acknowledged today that the profitability concerns of business are a major obstacle on the road to sustainable consumption. However, design strategies that lead to longevity can be linked to commercial gains (Mugge *et al.* 2005). Verganti (2009), similarly, highlights longevity in his well-known "design-driven innovation" as a key contributor to efficiency, productivity, and profitability. As a result, the period of the memory boom offers perfect timing for heritage management to engage notions of both status and memory in a commercial setting where longevity is encouraged. With the emergent understanding of the potential of longevity, emotional durability is gaining greater ground in the context of sustainable design studies (Chapman 2011). In the way that Walker (2006) champions "inspirational / spiritual" product qualities for enduring artefacts in a sustainable material culture, heritage can be managed in a way to engage memorial qualities in artefacts and impose a considerable level of durability by generating or supporting voluntary consumer behaviour.

More importantly, perhaps, heritage can incorporate a greater volume of collective memory in a unique sense that exceeds relatively smaller personal and familial scales, as was illustrated above in the Cunard Cruiser Line's case, which approached heritage in terms of the "common legacy" and the opportunity to "re-live an imagined past". As mentioned above, there is a sense of co-structuring a mutual history when brand heritage is adopted by consumers to reflect their personal history. Recognising the key importance of memory in terms of product longevity could be a strategic advantage when employing heritage in addition to brands' diverse capacities.

In the previous section, for example, I introduced Hudson and Balmer's (2013) categorisation, "projected heritage", where brands are used as "instruments" onto which individual consumers reflect their own "identity" and "historical associations". As brand identities and consumer identities merge in social identity-making processes, such as in the case of belonging to a national community as outlined by Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver (2010), this phenomenon may suggest an approach to exploiting brands as the place where individual and brand-related shared memories merge. We could assume that brands may offer a unique memory framework that might be exploited as the means by which to pursue slow consumption and product longevity strategies. This logical structure appeals to the feasibility principle of this research as it provides an opportunity for the *interest synthesis* to operate while employing existing economic and business networks in the pursuit of sustainable consumption culture.
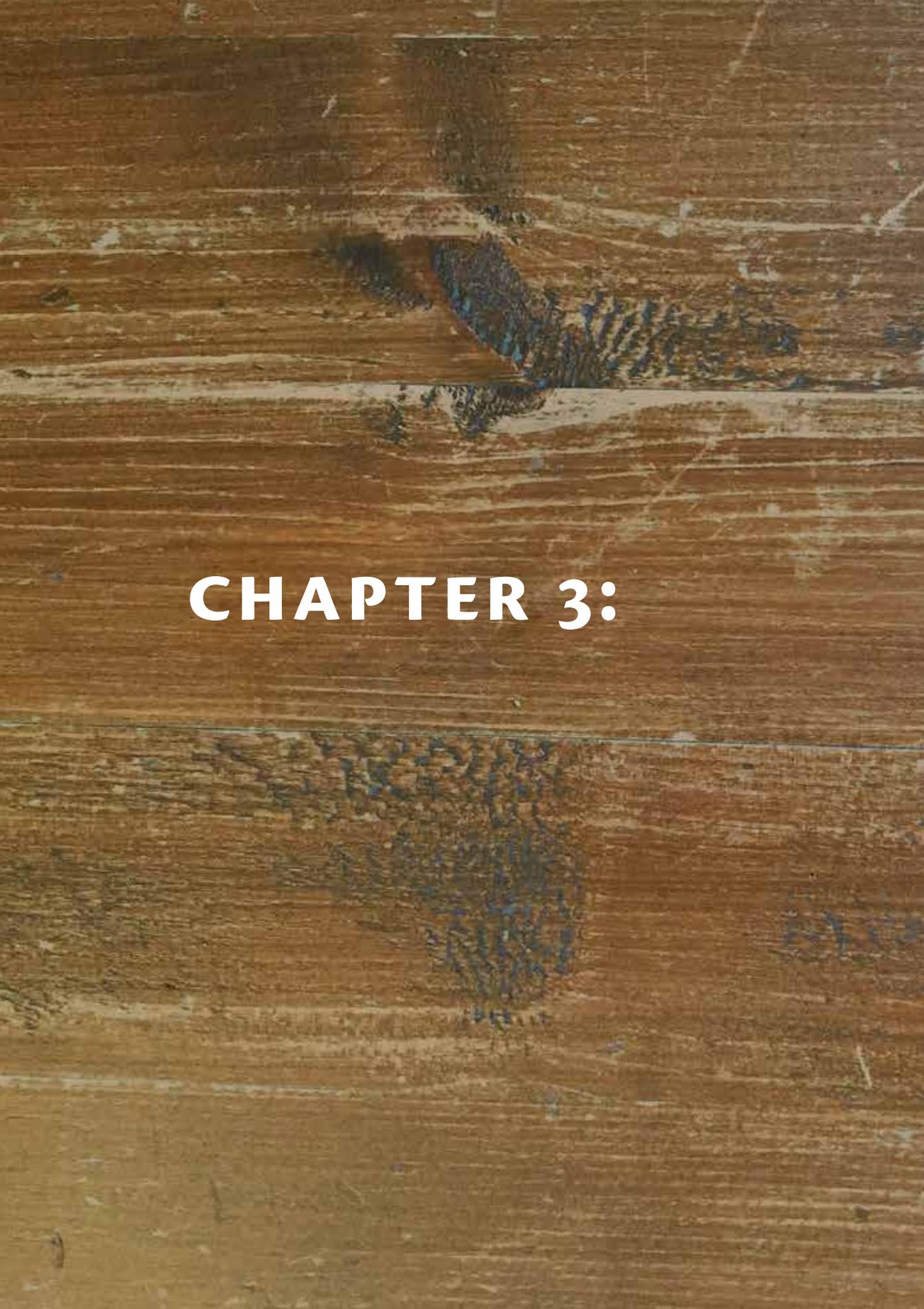
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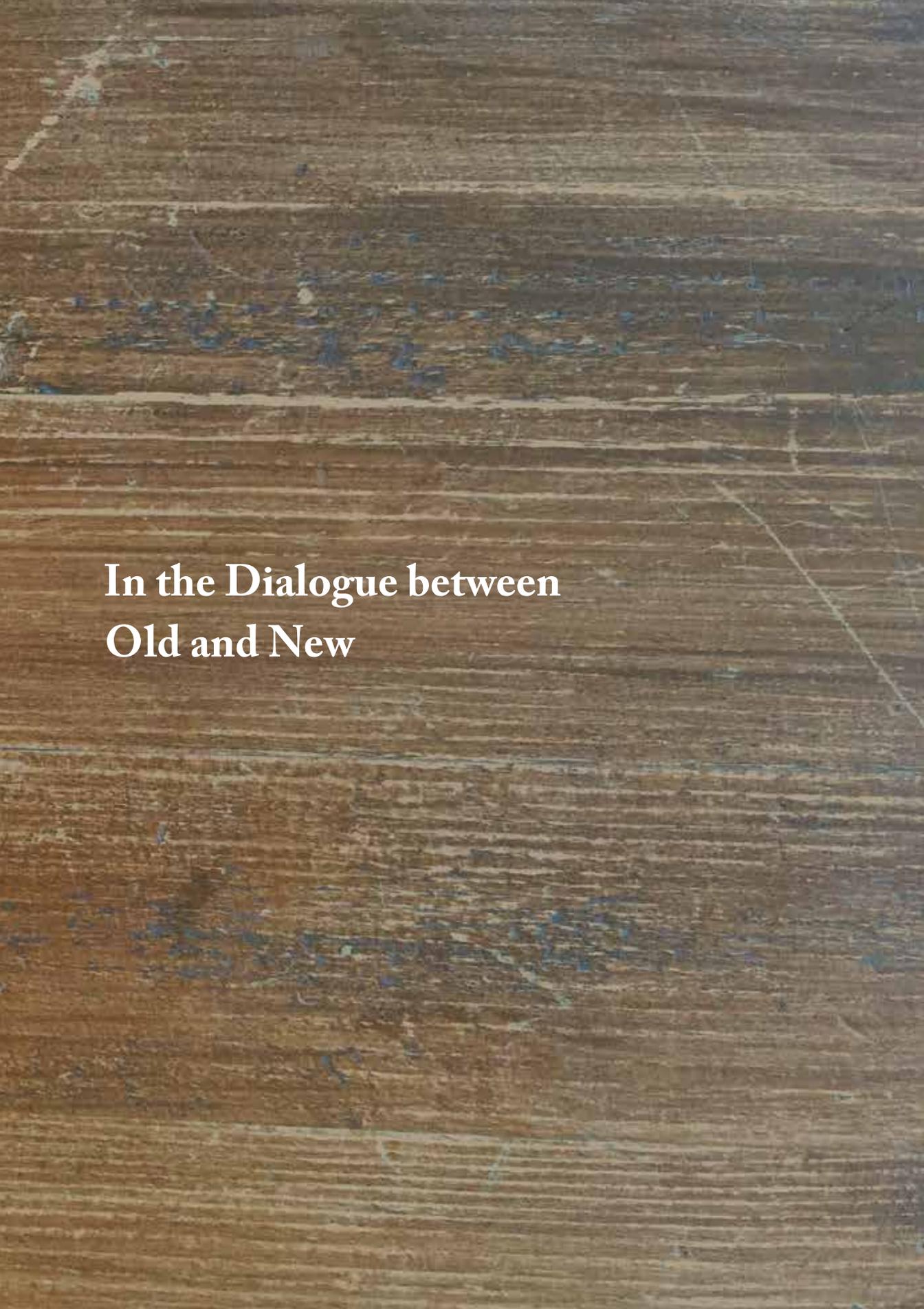
In the Dialogue between
Old and New

"All the world's a stage" wrote Shakespeare over four hundred years ago (2005). In recent decades, major business thinkers have been exploring what it would mean to put that aphorism into practice. Pine and Gilmore's (1999) influential book, *The Experience Economy*, for instance, states that "work" has become "theatre" and "every business a stage". In accordance with the rise of service economies, this new translation of the analogy portrays commodities, goods, and services as complex experiences that eventually produce customer memories. For Pine and Gilmore, companies act as "experience stagers" that manage experiences, enable interactive performances, and, most crucially, cultivate memories, all in the service of sustaining a successful business. Beyond mere economic orientations, as I suggested in the previous chapter, recognising memory cultivation and memory management as a guiding principle in design and business entities indicates practical means by which design heritage can meet cultural development, human welfare, and sustainability.

3.1 The Temporal Zone of "Supplementation"

When Huyssen (1995: 249) claims that "the ways we remember define us in the present", he provides a viewpoint from which construe how the engagement of memory may achieve wide-ranging social and cultural conclusions. Today, on the one hand, memory cultivation seems to be a complex challenge due to the self-fueling cycles of fashion that impose a short temporal horizon for design. On the other, there are factors that indicate the potential of design in seeking to cultivate memory, such as the boom of design museums and the ever-rising prices in auctions. These signify an emerging global appreciation for the historical assets of design. Whereas the domain of (fast) fashion works in the context of constant change and novelty, the former trends in design engage with accounts of the past in order to anchor a sense of identity even within the irrepressible flow of the ever-new. This dualistic operation highlights a dialogue between what we consider as Old and New, where one may position design and memories as currencies of exchange in the interplay of the dialogue. In pursuit of engaging design and memories together in a heritage understanding, the first step could be getting deeper into the lines of this dialogue, becoming more familiar with how it operates.

For Barthes (1998) the dynamics of the dialogue are critical in coming to an understanding of the world:

> The New is not a fashion, it is a value, the basis of all criticism: our evaluation of the world no longer depends, at least not directly, as in Nietzsche, on the opposition between noble and base, but on that between Old and New (the erotics of the New began in the eighteenth century: a long transformational process). (40)

Barthes addresses great forces that stem from the eighteenth century; meanwhile, Berman's (1990) "experience of modernity" is an influential concept that can help us reach a renewed understanding of the operation of the dialogue. For Berman, the essential drive for modernity is to destroy everything, from social institutions and ideas to the physical environment in order to gain space to replace and rebuild them anew. This is the paradoxical overwhelming economic and cultural order that underpins the pursuit of a sense of endless progress and profit. This results in an all-encompassing cultural current that embraces the individual, its self, its action, and its worldview. Hence, the novelty commitment cannot be seen only as a simple result of sheer manipulative power or the overwhelming fanfare of marketing or advertisement, but rather a result of this deeper cultural current seeking meaning in constant dynamism.

The consumer pursuit for the New is critical for the interests of capitalism. These interests are economic for obvious reasons, that is, to maintain the circulation of the economy through pushing consumption by means of an unceasing offer of newness. However, if we follow up the path of the pursuit of meaning by modern men and women that Berman has drawn for us, there is also a deeply-seated ideological aspect behind the pursuit for the New. In Western societies, the ideological aspect influences not only the economy, but also stretches across political and moral domains. As these societies conceptualise time as a linear entity, although ideologies are not adopted by all social groups equally in a society, the forward movement of time is largely associated with concepts of progress, improvement, and development (Fiske 2000).

Undoubtedly, tackling the novelty commitment and fast fashion for a sustainable consumer culture in a way that would meaningfully counteract this deep current is profoundly challenging. At this point, I think, the main strategy of this study becomes more reasonable. If a consistent adoption of sustainable consumer behaviour is required, the deep longing for novelty can be feasibly balanced only by exploiting other well-established driving forces of consumption. Otherwise, addressing such a deep cultural driving force with rapid and radical shifts may pose significant risks as serious opposition among consumers emerge. We can turn certain consumer motivations which could be seen as a part of unsustainability into an advantage, as I have suggested in the previous chapter. For instance, the longing for possession, bound to the historical notion of *possessive individualism,* can be positioned as a force that balances needs for novelty in the context of consumer interests. In this vein, as I have also suggested, heritage and memory in particular not only offers a business and design-friendly path for such a positioning, but also encourages the preservation of possessions. Yet the question nevertheless arises as whether such a positioning is realistic or not.

Today, despite the institutional promotion of fast fashion, design in particular can help us to understand that in the Barthesean evaluation of the world, our judgement does not merely favour the New. The relationship between Old and New is complex and multifaceted, surpassing a reductionist understanding of there being a certain and fixed notion of the New as being something simply replaces the Old in

the form of the physical nature of a product. For example, the New may arise in the form of changing social meanings irrespective of physical features of a product that already exists in the market place. Hirschman (1982: 357) explains this when categorising the concept innovation across two "major dimensions" that are "symbolism" and "technology". She defines "symbolic innovation" as the following: "An innovation that is generated primarily through symbolic changes is one which communicates a different social meaning than it did previously. Its physical form remains predominantly unchanged, but the meaning assigned to that form is novel."

Symbolic innovation may have implications for design heritage management as consumers' commitment to novelty can be manipulated by assigning new social meanings to existing products thereby regaining consumer interest and avoiding the premature discard of those products. Social meanings are social constructs. Accordingly, they cannot be manipulated by a sole market actor. However, brands, for instance, by engaging their aforementioned social capacities, may embrace symbolic innovation as a strategic approach in managing the social meaning of their product and brand categories. Hence, in addition to a brand's capacity to manage shared and individual memories, controlled change in the social meanings of heritage-driven product categories may serve to cultivate durable consumption habits. This may require brands with heritage to continuously feed the market with novel, relevant, and compelling value propositions, updating existing corporate and product heritage in relation to contemporary dynamics. The result of such an approach may help to symbolically innovate the existing set of social meanings related to the brand and product categories. Thus, this result may be expected to lead to reduce levels of obsolescence, related product discard, and material waste, if these value propositions are adopted and reproduced by consumers.

In this light, the current fashion mechanism may facilitate symbolic innovation allowing change to occur in a cyclical manner engaging collective memory. The fashion mechanism itself demonstrates that there is a cyclical change between Old and New. This takes place within the peculiar loop of collective forgetting and remembering where novelty is relational, as it is created on the basis of previous novelties. The traditional understanding of the fashion mechanism postulates that forgetting the Old paves the way to cultivate it as the New once again. This is most visible in the clothing market, as we encounter fashions from previous decades again and again in different semantic contexts. However, what marks contemporary fashion is the increasing speed of the change cycle as it is claimed that the "*modus operandi*" of fashion has changed. For Svendsen (2006: 33), the cycle has reached such a velocity that the Old cannot be "replaced" but "supplemented", leading to a fashion condition where all styles coexist in a mutual sense of contemporaneity: "The logic of replacement has itself been replaced by that of supplementation (or one of accumulation if you prefer), in which the mechanism that promises that the new will replace the old is no longer operative. Instead, the old and the new – or rather, perhaps, the old and the old."

Svendsen's point is that fashion's change cycle has become so fast that it becomes difficult to discern any more whether a fashionable artefact is new or old. Whether we define the purpose of fashion as being one of social distinction, of belonging, or of self-construction, fashion is hardwired to social interactions and consumer activities. Hence, this point could be a representative statement for how we perceive our past in general and how we construct a collective memory where a sense of the past is not only replaced by a sense of the present, but which is also supplemented over and over again. Supplementation is the nature of the dialogue between Old and New.

Certainly, fashion is not the only phenomenon within which one can monitor the speed of change. Life's speed twists previous human perceptions of the temporal foundations of life. This twist operates to such a degree that "the world sometimes seems to collapse inwards upon us" according to Harvey (1990: 240), who coined the term "time and space compression". Driven by the momentum of increased mobilisation of technologies and information, we encounter change at an astonishing rate. For some, this acceleration seems to pervade every cultivated lot in culture as a source of great concern that may disintegrate culture. For example, the acceleration of life results in an all-pervading phenomenon called hyperculture. Bertman (1998) thinks that the acceleration of life and rate of change in a hyperculture constrains us within the fleeting dimension of the present only, where one cannot develop a true understanding of either the past or the future. The past is left behind so rapidly that one cannot stock a meaningful archive towards the end of nourishing memories, whereas the future arrives so unceasingly that it escapes a genuine sense of recognition. Pallasmaa (2012a: 20) points to accelerating fashion and lifestyle changes to indicate difficulties emerging in the accumulation of tradition and memory in contemporary societies. He accepts that the "fascination with newness" is intrinsic to modernism, however, what marks the shift towards the conditions of postmodernity is the "unquestioned" "obsession" with novelty that accelerates mass consumption. This is a part of today's "collective mental pathology".

It should not come as a surprise, then, that Winter's (2006) "memory boom" coincides, in contemporary life, with the "culture of amnesia", a term Huyssen (1995) coins in addressing Western culture and its "increasingly obsessed" attitude towards memory. Forgetting and remembering are inherently linked to each other in a context where the "obsession" with memory indicates a search for stabilisation in the face of the ever-accelerating chaos of the technical processes of life (Huyssen 1995). Hence the "obsession" with memory is fundamentally tied to our "obsession" for novelty in a dualistic manner. Both obsessions feed each other in the mechanism of supplementation.

This duality and need for stabilisation accounts for the growing number of design museums, as one can easily see the accelerated pace of change in the collections of these museums. The Game Boy, for instance, a popular electronic game console from the early 1990s, has entered such collections. What turns a popular artefact from the living memory of just two decades to a museum object alongside mid-cen-

tury furniture from the Bauhaus école is this accelerated change, and certainly our need to stabilise ourselves in the flux of change. The Game Boy is just one example from the electronic world. Such examples can be easily multiplied, to include Sony's Walkman or Commodore 64 personal computer, both of which are increasingly accepted as museum objects.

Museums, of course, are not the sole operators of supplementation. Supplementation is probably best illustrated and carried out by the phenomenon of retro. Retro simulates the recent past with a distinctive nostalgic and aesthetic sensibility, and reproduces it within the fusion of popular culture, consumer entertainment, and commercial operations. I now turn to a more thorough look into retro as the archtypical phenomenon of supplementation.

Analysing the role of retro in supplementation and the potential for feasible sustainability transformation

In the previous chapter, I have addressed retro when introducing Hudson and Balmer's (2013) heritage dimensions that enable consumers to develop viewpoints from present to past where consumers can also project their own historical associations onto brand narratives. Retro is important to this study as it has entered the mainstream of commercial aesthetics to such a degree that it pervades not only clothing, but also a great array of cultural elements shaping life, popular culture in particular. The previous chapter questioned whether current retro practices fulfil heritage potential or not. I have argued that heritage strategies based on retro applications with a mere focus on immediate commercial gains may do more harm than good. In light of this argument, the overlap among retro and a sustainable consumer culture should be more specifically defined in order to allow future adopter of the proposed strategy benefit the most. We cannot simply accept that design heritage necessarily serves sustainability goals. However, this is not to say that retro does not promise rich potentials to shape a design heritage management model that could be employed to cultivate a sustainable consumer culture. Retro's current phenomenal popularity makes this argument an important inquiry topic that we should consider carefully.

Of course, there have been other cultural moments where past styles have been revived, such as 19th century revivalism or the Renaissance admiration for classism. However, for Reynolds (2012), what distinguishes retro in contemporary pop culture is the "obsessive" longing for the cultural artefacts of the "*immediate past*". There has not been a society in human history that has been so "obsessed" with its immediate past, with unprecedented capacities to instantly store, access, and share the immediate past easily and extensively. Certainly, retro has been accompanied by intensified nostalgia as Reynolds calls it. This emotion pervades markets, and can be found, to give some examples, in photography applications, architectural projects, music albums, computer gaming, and food. Instagram, for example, the most popular

photography application for mobile electronic devices, provides specific filters that simulate exactly the visual qualities of previous technologies of photography.

Via these filters, for instance, one is able to transform an image taken just a moment ago into a look that makes it seem as though it was taken in the 70s. This is a good example of how the new becomes New through looking Old. The 1970s is not the only option available from Instagram, of course; you can travel back in time even further, simultaneously, with a few taps of your fingers, sharing your retro image instantly, worldwide, in line with the logic of supplementation. Retro is about consumer amusement that takes place by means of turning past times – the Old – into new experiences that circulate in the accelerated loop of change, to be consumed instantly. In this vein, such retro applications are neither associated with a sense of continuation with the past or with the preservation of memories. Retro does not aim to archive history (Guffey 2006). Rather, to some extent, some retro applications can be associated with ephemerality and stylistic consumer fads continuously feeding nostalgic emotions in the form of pop culture. In this context, we have to face the fact that heritage, as in the case of retro applications, can be linked to the acceleration of consumption, instead of marking a slowing down. As I will try to demonstrate below, supporting a sustainable consumer culture is not inherent in design heritage, which means that this support does not necessarily take place spontaneously. Rather, it requires an interdisciplinary approach where a well-calculated value proposal and sophisticated brand communication enter the picture to bridge design heritage with sustainability ambitions.

The continuous reproduction of the image of the Old may give an impression that the Old's life becomes prolonged, and that there is thus a factor of durability involved. The retro applications that accelerate consumption, may give the impression of stabilisation in the flux of change through constantly citing and replicating distinctive images and styles from various pasts. However, such applications only help to integrate the Old into the mechanism of change and supplement it for consumption, like feeding an engine with oil. Eventually, the fashion loop requires new pasts to supplement them, with ever-increasing speed, to keep generating the New unceasingly. The result is the unceasing escalation of obsolescing fads.

In short, retro represents the contemporary consumer culture that develops between the tension of obsessions for both newness and memory, where nostalgia becomes entwined with fashion in a myriad of commercial forms. Retro has emerged and has pervaded mainstream commerce in the era of the memory boom, escalating nostalgic sensibilities, riding waves of changing technological capacities, and becoming part of a fashion loop that spins like never before. If we define such retro applications as the surface-oriented reproduction of past styles by the capitalist production system conducted in order to feed the fashion loop, there is no real sense of any meaningful construction of memory construction. This is due to the speed of change, as Bertman and Pallasmaa mention. Hence, the past's involvement in this kind of consumption does not serve to slow consumption down; instead, the very opposite

results. In the same line, the obsessive longing for memory generates a mere image of memory in the context of retro as past styles are borrowed and applied to different commercial contexts.

Despite retro's above role in the perpetuation of behaviours of unsustainable consumption, the popularity of retro shows that there is a great commercial and social potential in terms of feasible societal transformation. Retro eventually signifies how deeply and broadly the emotional longing for past-related attachments are able to reach into consumer attitudes. As Brown *et al.* (2003a) put it, almost all product categories are influenced by the retromarketing phenomenon. Moreover, as they foresee, retro can be expected to become more popular in the future due to the ageing population of the Western world and people's nostalgic yearning for an idealised past. However, retro is not only tied to demographic change; the rapid rise of retromarketing can be attributed to a combination of underlying reasons through an interdisciplinary review (Brown *et al.* 2003a). These include socio-economic and political tensions channelling consumer choices towards escapist patterns from the problem-laden present to a comforting past and shared imaginary. The well-known *fin de siècle* effect, for example, consolidates the search for an ideal past where consumers develop an emotionally engaged interest in the preceding century during its turn. When these factors are exploited by competitive business endeavours, where each success encourages others to emulate, the current proliferation of retro goods and services permeates almost the entire marketplace. This explanation by Brown *et al.* (2003a) depicts a web of consumer and business interests, and an operating economic network that seems to relate to this study's strategy in terms of exploiting readily accessible dynamics for the purpose of its own sustainability transformation.

As the popularity of retro confirms, the reconstructive and mythical dimensions of heritage have enormous potential to meet the web of business and consumer interests as well as to reach out to existing socio- and politico-economic networks. In this context, nostalgia too can be seen as a stimulant for effective heritage employment. Hudson and Balmer (2013) align these heritage dimensions with various types of nostalgia that were famously characterised by Stern (1992). They propose that reconstructed heritage, for instance, may refer to Stern's "personal nostalgia", whereby the consumer develops directly a nostalgic bond with a real event through lived experience or indirectly recalls that event through exposure to the era during which it occurred. The mythical heritage dimension may correspond to Stern's "historical nostalgia", where the nostalgic bond is formed by knowledge derived from external sources, such as collective memory and works of popular culture, rather than personal experience (Hudson and Balmer 2013). Accordingly, the nostalgia phenomenon, like retro, suggests that customers' emotional engagement with the past, be it imaginative or real, personal or collective, provides a proven ground for heritage management operations. The question emerges here as to how we can turn the existing economic significance of retro and the socio-psychological significance

of nostalgia to our advantage in order to "redirect" consumer behaviour towards an appreciation of durability.

Despite this promising suggestion, both retro and nostalgia confirm the need for a careful approach. Both demonstrate how current consumer culture operates in the general system of commerce and business. This, to iterate, means that the engagement of the past in consumption does not necessarily result in consumer attachments leading to product longevity. In other words, using referrals to the past does not necessarily result in authentic outcomes. What retro teaches us is that a mere image of the past may not be enough to establish such memories and accordingly an enduring consumer attachment. Memory depends on authentic experience that entails a certain length of time which may be never provided by the accelerated fashion system. Nevertheless, this does not mean that if you do not experience a product personally, you will fail to establish a memory about it. When it comes to the collective notions of memory, such an experience can be a social construct beyond the constraints of personal experience. In the case of Cunard, the example introduced in the previous chapter, the combining of heritage and memory allows fantasies to shape remembrance. The vintage decoration of the *Queen Mary 2*, for example, appeals not only to older generations who personally experienced classical ocean travel, but also to younger generations who fantasise about a more leisurely and gracious lifestyle and thereby open new avenues to imaginary scenarios of the past (Hudson and Balmer 2013). This is a critical notion for this study since it tells us that the social nature of memory enables us to construct or manipulate collective memories as a design activity with regards to products in order to cultivate enduring consumer-product attachments.

For example, in the literature of social memory, such as Halbwachs' seminal studies on collective memory, it is fundamentally claimed that collective memory is not a given concept but rather a social construct related to constant change. As Halbwachs put it, collective memory is the "active past", one that shapes people's identities (Olick and Robbins 1998). Belk (1990: 673) associates Halbwach's notion of collective memory with implications of an "aggregate sense of past" and points to the generation-specific character of collective memory. No doubt this temporal and cultural framework resonates closely with Lowenthal's emphasis on the socially constructive character of heritage, which I addressed several times in the previous chapter. Memory, in this sense, is neither an archival repository nor a simple mode of retrieving the past where documentary integrity is sought, but rather, it is a creative human capacity where "emotions" and "fiction" enter the stage (Belk 1991b). When we remember we engage narrative structures of the past that are continuously broken and then reconstructed with social and cultural implications that include the intertwined formation of personal and collective identities.

Identity can be crucial, since it helps to draw parallel lines between consumption and remembrance as tools of identity construction. Moreover, both arrays of lines draw closer together when considering their social nature. For instance, as has been

frequently noted in social memory studies, a social lens is active when individuals remember past events. Patterns of values and norms supported by the social group to whom the individual belongs to shape impressions in the individual mind. The mechanism of remembrance is intrinsically different than experiencing the original event. In the simplest sense, remembrance, as a process, transports the event from the past to the present and suggests an opportunity about future use. This obviously cannot be thought about in isolation from the social context that encapsulates the individual mind. Remembrance is a neural activity taking place in individual's brain and yet the reason can be as basic as remembering a friend's phone number that requires no social engagement. However, when it comes to our social memory on design and related cultural capital, there is a network of collective and abstract relationships that reconstruct the past continuously in light of ever-changing needs and benefits.

An old car model, for example, may arouse a wide array of emotion-laden memories for many people based on a shared past. Volkswagen, for instance, is one of the most significant car makers that is associated with such a shared past in the United States of America (U.S.A.), the greatest consumer society. This shared past does not only include nostalgia longing Baby Boomers who mostly enjoyed the Beetles as their first cars and younger generations, but also a wider social network convoluted with ideological and political meanings. For example, thanks to the brand's anti-conformist image, in strong contrast to the model's Nazi history in the 1930s and during the WWII, the 1960s' youth movement espoused Volkswagen cars and combined it with their worldview. The models such as Volkswagen Bus and Beetle became a symbol of humanistic values in accordance with the Hippie movement such as peace, freedom, and also eco-friendly life. For example, Volkswagen Beetle's semantic ethos achieved such a powerful state that the model was stripped off its practicality as a vehicle and became an "idealized collective memory" in Patton's (2002: 122) words. This idealisation continues today as evident in popular fan communities dedicated to the Beetle Myth not only in the States but in many countries, all over the world including Turkey that joined the Westerner consumer culture quite late. This is the power of design, more particularly design heritage that is able to influence consumer behaviour profoundly.

The New Beetle, the retro model of the original Beetle, illustrates the strength of the relationship between design heritage and current consumer aspirations. The New Beetle's full-size model Concept 1 was introduced in January 1994, as a part of the strategy to increase sales that had dropped to 50.000 in 1993 in the U.S.A. The public and media response was so positive that the company decided to put the concept model into production (Kiley 2002). When the retro model came to the market in 1998, the sales reached 56.000 between May and December and The New Beetle sold in the successive years 83.000 and 81.000, exceeding the company's expectation (Kiley 2002). Although the New Beetle's sale strategy depended fully on the original model's legendary status, the new model was based on the Golf platform

with mechanical characteristics contrasting Beetle's significance in the U.S.A. such as front-wheel drive, water-cooled and sophisticated front engine, and perhaps most importantly price policy. In spite of this distinctive contradiction, the model's new interpretation appealed to consumers. Moreover, the New Beetle attracted public interest functioning like a "magnet" to the company's other new and updated car models such as the remakes of Passat and Golf (Kiley 2002: 233).

New model's design keeping the original model's arch line and advertisement campaign tying a strong nostalgic connection with Volkswagen's image from the 1960s played the main role at achieving this success. Although 1979 had seen Volkswagen sell the last original Beetle in the U.S.A., obviously the "idealized collective memory" remained so strong that the new model received welcoming response from consumers elevating the company's general brand image. The New Beetle put into market in order to boost the company's sales. In this sense, the model is a typical stylistic, retro application. However, the success of the model excellently illustrates the capacities of design heritage with regards to consumer behaviour. Actually, Volkswagen America relied on the legendary status of the model in the U.S.A. to recover from the bankruptcy threatening sales numbers. The company reproduced the model that transforms the legendary status of the original car into economic capital. In this vein, the company designed how the model should be remembered in a way serving to the bottom line of the company. Consumers accepted this design that serves also their own benefits whether they are based on comforting emotions of nostalgia, belonging, or distinction.

Retro, in this respect, seems to be highly nourished by the tension between Old and New. Brown *et al.* (2003b: 31) describe it as "[r]etro combines the benefits of uniqueness, newness, and exclusivity (with its hints of higher functionality, class, styling, and premium prices) with oldness, familiarity, recognition, trust, and loyalty."

The updated model's business success demonstrates that the two-way benefit resonates with the economic criteria. However, its success does not represent the approval of all consumers. This is evident, for example, in how different strands of Volkswagen's global brand community have come into conflict over the authenticity of the updated model. The conflict is situated between the supporters of the update as technological progress and those who prefer to remain loyal to the original design and accuse the retro model as being a marketing trick that betrays the brand's essence and its original core values. In this respect, the Beetle's retrospective update reveals how the socially situated nature of brands is far from being homogenous and simple. The relationship between consumers and a brand is complex, heterogeneous, and dynamic, especially when paradox composes an integral quality (Brown *et al.* 2003b). It is stated in the same study that the interactive relationship between consumers and a brand is continuously contested as consumers demand new brand values in conjunction with the developing dynamics of life and the constant revision of their own identities. This, once again, testifies that a brand is a social construct that is transformed in the exchange of values and meanings between a brand and its community.

Thanks to the example of the New Beetle, one can also recognise remembrance itself as a form of heritage that is intrinsically social, creative, and emotional. In this vein, the method of how we remember is an activity that can be designed for certain consumer groups, or in other words, segments of society. Such a design management, could channel the existing body of collective memory into a direction stimulating desired consumer behaviour. This behaviour was confined in an economic context only in the Beetle example. However, I argue that such a stimulation may serve simultaneously both monetary concerns of business and environmental needs of our ecosystems. I do not mean here a manipulation of history, but rather an acceptance of remembrance as a form of consumption where the employment of collective memory fosters patterns of durable consumption. If we accept the business dynamics of *The Experience Economy*, the relation between memory and durability is more than inspiring in designating strategies that simultaneously pursue commercial and sustainable ends. In sum, this understanding can help to focus on design strategies that engage collective memories in a way that moves towards sustainable consumption, but in a way that does not fall into the commercial trap of stylistic, faddish retro.

So far, we know that pastiche and citations of past styles in new commodities are able to attract consumer interest. However, this may be not strong enough to cultivate enduring attachments to artefacts. In order to explain how a design management of remembrance is possible, retro may offer some guidance, despite its role in the current fashion regime. This guidance is based on a greater definition of retro as a general category that describing the reuse of the Old in a way that is different from currently predominant capitalist reproduction of past styles. Baker (2013), for example, notes that the everyday use of retro bears "ambiguity" since a commodity marked as retro in a particular context may allude to vintage, mid-century, secondhand, kitsch, or antique in others. So retro culture flexibly embraces original products that could bear significant memory value, as well as stylistic reproduction. Hence, in a marketplace dominated by an ever-changing multiplicity of consumer-mediated meanings, we need to acknowledge that the increasingly fast proliferation of retro goods makes it harder to achieve a fixed meaning that is valid in all conditions. However, retro may still provide valuable insight into categorical divisions in design heritage management.

In addition to the proliferation, retro's ambiguity might lay also in its history. Retro emerged in Britain in the 60's, as a part of an anti-conformist counterculture that was positioned against traditional bourgeois high culture. Its growing popularity and entrance into the mainstream took place in successive decades, as it entered youth cultures in the 70s and 80s and then reached high circulation in mainstream media and retail consumption in the 90s and 2000s (Baker 2013). Hence, depending on the period, retro takes up a position either against or for the mainstream. Certainly, today's proliferation and vague use of the term necessitate more specific definitions and distinctions. For example, Baker's study shows that there is an increasing tendency among retro retailers to distinguish originality from reproduction. In this line, her study argues that the majority of "retro enthusiasts" prefer original products.

Hence, there is not a single mode of production and consumption of retro, but multiple retro cultures that interact, develop alongside one another, and sometimes clash or overlap in multifarious layers of consumer culture. In other words, retro cultures embrace both faddish and authenticity-related practices that may bear contrasting attitudes when it comes to enduring qualities of consumption.

If we look closer at a retro culture, as evident in the above conflict among brand fans over the New Beetle case, what we are facing is a particular consumer demand for the aura of authenticity that may operate outside the loop of the mass fashion mechanism, and thus of fast consumption. Belk (1990: 671) argues that even though we fictionalise the past, as in nostalgia, we also insist upon a level of authenticity, which may look like a "contradiction". For Belk, we "[…] insist that unauthentic, faked or forged objects cannot possibly contain the powerful memories of 'the real thing'." This means that there are limits in our creative capacities when we recreate the past to reach beyond a mere "nostalgic flashback" and "carry" memories. To put it differently, retrospective fabrication of the past should stimulate a sense of authenticity in the consumer if design heritage is meant to promote durable consumption. But, do we define authenticity as a source of stability that refers only to an inherent truth of a product or service which is legitimised by history? As a response to this question, it can be argued that evaluations of authenticity are shaped considerably by the evaluator's personal characteristics as well as the context where the evaluation takes place. This argument is posed in Grayson and Martinec's (2004: 299) literature review, which states that "[…] most scholars who study authenticity agree that authenticity is not an attribute inherent in an object and is better understood as an assessment made by a particular evaluator in a particular context."

Given this statement, we may acknowledge that authenticity is shaped not only by historical criteria, but also by the variables that include actors, means of trading, and other intangible properties involved. On the one hand, this may sound challenging due to the great number and diversity of parameters, such as consumer diversity, production culture, and even tourism. But on the other hand, such a broad understanding of authenticity may help to position authenticity in the socially-constructive interplay of heritage, memory, and the diverse interests that define economy, consumer culture, and business contexts and outcomes. Heritage tourism, in this domain, may provide a fertile ground in which to explore the social dynamism of authenticity. Silverman (2015), for example, argues that our understanding of heritage goes through a dramatic change where its social character is increasingly acknowledged:

> Unlike previous scholarship that has portrayed authenticity as a *stable* value/product, current research understands it as a *dynamic, performative, culturally and historically contingent, relative* – a quality/tool that can be strategically configured and deployed according to the task at hand, be that social, cultural, economic, political, religious and so on. (69)

Silverman (2015) coins the term "contemporary authenticity" to highlight how it works in strong correlation with "active situations" generated by overarching powers such as "globalization, commercialization, mass communication and tourism":

> Contemporary authenticity works from the premise that society generates new contexts in which human beings produce meaningful acts and objects without necessarily bringing the past "faithfully" into the present. In this social constructivist view, current performances and consumptions of identity and place are as valid as those historically legitimated. (85)

Silverman's emphasis on social construction helps us to relate authenticity with fabrication, emotions, nostalgia, and yet the fictitious nature of collective memory. Silverman (2015: 84) uses the Inti Raymi celebration in Peru as an exemplary case. The celebration is an "invented tradition" based on an ancient Inca festival with a series of texts that originated in 1944. For Silverman, the importance of the event does not lie in the celebration's "inauthenticity", but rather in the celebration's role "among various sectors of the local population, among tourists, and in national tourism policy – and with what repercussions for all of these".

Silverman focuses on the functions of heritage rather than historical integrity when defining the contemporary meaning of authenticity. This enables us to analyse the authenticity of retro/heritage applications through their role as seen by all the stakeholders situated in the various contexts of business, economy, culture, politics, while evaluating sustainability and sustainable consumption. This also encourages us to acknowledge the coexistence of differing function definitions held by different stakeholders, as in the case of Baker's (2013) above note on the ambiguity of the everyday use of retro. It also applies to the ambiguity present in the debate among differing sides of the Volkswagen brand community. For supporters of the New Beetle, for example, the emphasis is put on the adjustment of the car design according to contemporary qualities where functionality is prioritised over the original model's symbolic representation (Brown *et al.* 2003b). Accordingly, we may embrace a definition of authenticity in which memory, functionality, and lasting qualities of design play a role, allowing Lowenthal's (1998: 18) above conceptualisation of fabrication and fiction that will "give our lives a lasting shape" while considering Belk's (1990: 671) assertion that "fake and forged" objects cannot "possibly contain the powerful memories of 'the real thing'".[9] If retro and relevant concepts, such as nostalgia, are meant to be supportive for this study's proposed strategy, the above authenticity definition may have a key agency that is also relevant, and heritage dimensions that include fictitious interpretations of the past, such as "mythical heritage".

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9   "The real thing" should not confuse us when remembering Lowenthal's (1998: 18) statement that "fiction is not the opposite of fact".

In light of this social constructive perspective, how consumers achieve authenticity can be multifaceted and complex, but simultaneously inclusive and accessible in monetary terms. Product longevity emerges as an essential characteristic involving not only high-end collector or antique stores, but also junk shops and flea markets. When such an authenticity is involved, we could see a sophisticated level of consumer satisfaction. The method of acquisition of an object, for instance, is a critical factor. The least available and commercial modes are more desirable for enthusiasts, retailers and tastemakers, as Baker's (2013) study shows. The value is derived, for example, from the difficulty of acquisition, the amount of effort put in finding the object. Hence, for instance, a simple internet buy from e-bay is not as desirable as a find from a jumble sale. Such value-making from the buying experience is common among enthusiasts or collectors. However, it is definitely important to note that when the factor of authenticity enters the picture in retro cultures, the dynamics of valuing the dialogue between Old and New change. McCracken (1986: 76) suggests that the fashion system is "an instrument of meaning movement" where "goods are systematically invested and divested of meaningful properties". I might suggest, then, that socially constructed authenticity integrates such powerful "meaningful properties" that neutralise the tension in this continuous meaning of the investment and divestment system. It establishes a unique temporal foundation outside the fashion-dominated loop of forgetting and remembering. The highly dense flux between the poles of Old and New and thus the erosive forces of time become less influential.

When authenticity becomes involved, so do consumers' intellectual capacities as they evaluate it, involving skills to research and find in order to achieve a sense of satisfaction from consumption, acting outside of the novelty commitment. In the case of the original Beetle, for instance, the meaning of the car resonates so much with authentic and enduring qualities that some fans demonstrate strong commitment to the maintenance of decades-old cars – including repair with "specially-engineered parts" – considering it as an experience of belonging to the brand community (Brown *et al.* 2003b). It is important to define such capacities to develop a strategy for social transformation in terms of consumer behaviour. Baker's study shows that when authentic qualities are involved, consumer behaviour presents great differences from those in consumption practices dominated by the novelty commitment. If we accept the link between endurance and these authentic qualities, the forms of capital may be instrumentalised in the promotion of durable consumption. Then, management of these authentic qualities with a focus on sustainability could generate alternative consumer behaviour.

A useful lesson for the management of authenticity in line with this study's sustainability strategy may originate from a marketing discipline with a focus on the link between sustainability transformation and the social construction of marketplace authenticity. Beverland (2005: 461), for example, argues that authenticity assertions made merely by brands probably do not result in proper perceptions of the

brand's authenticity. Instead, consumers construct such perceptions socially across the "shared histories" of the brand community. What amalgamates this community is the minimisation of the significance of the brand's commercial motives and the emphasis on "attributes of authenticity" such as "links to past, handcrafted methods, respect for traditions, or cultural links, all of which downplay commercial motives". Beverland writes that "[a]uthenticity must appear non-commercialised, as in the successful example of surfing consumers who prefer not to view their brands as brands, but rather as loyal friends and part of a wider community of beachgoers."

The inverse relationship between commercialism and brand authenticity can also be seen in the Volkswagen community debate, as some supporters of the original model criticise the fact that the update is largely based on monetary considerations which put the authenticity of the new model in question (Brown *et al.* 2003b). This may have implications for design heritage management, as it may be defendable, for example, that a brand's sustainability commitment away from commercial motives could function as a brand attribute of authenticity. A commitment to sustainability may be administrated and expressed through lasting design patterns and respect for design traditions and therefore could influence shared histories of brand communities and shape their behaviour. Hence, these kinds of authenticity attributes may help to cultivate the voluntary sustainable consumer behaviour encouraged by a concept of a "loyal friend" who prioritises its community over money.

In short, sustainability commitment can be an excellent brand value that would strengthen the proposed brand authenticity and hence expand the brand image across consumer communities. We should, however, not forget that downplaying commercial considerations in brand communication does not necessarily reduce commercial gains. On the contrary, such a strategy may serve to iterate a perception of a brand's authenticity, strengthen its relationship with its brand community, and consequently contribute to the brand's competitive advantage. In this vein, I argue that the social nature of consumerist authenticity and brand community construction may enable design heritage to feasibly serve diverse business, consumer, and sustainability interests simultaneously.

In conclusion, this section's focus on retro approach to brand design gives critical insight into the mesh of economic interests and consumerist aspirations within the web of cognitive and cultural frameworks of heritage. We have seen that these frameworks include key concepts derived from nostalgia and a collective memory of authenticity. It is part of the nature of social construction to cause ambiguity in certain realms, including the everyday use of concepts in the marketplace and consumer interpretations of specific cases within the same brand community that may contradict each other. However, these contradictions may not cause confusion, but rather make accessible rich social resources that can be engaged elegantly by brands with creative and design methods that target different strands of ambiguity simultaneously. In other words, these methods could involve meaningful properties of authenticity, nostalgia, and collective memory in consumer culture, in terms of

being managed, integrated, or reinforced in design. This may aim precisely reducing the influence of the novelty commitment in the fashion system and cultivating a more sustainable consumer behaviour.

This stage may be addressing a relevant occasion, to investigate further whether there are authentic values other than authenticity that may make such a management attempt more comprehensive and influential through increasing their presence into a diversity of product and consumer types other than those of collectors and enthusiasts?

3.2 Towards a Management of Permanent Valorisation in Design: the Social Nature

When we look at the general context of durable artefacts what we are facing is a strong sense of authenticity emancipating an anchored, persistent meaning from the obsolescing processes of the flux of the New. Such artefacts can be articulated today in the context of permanent valorisation, referring to an enduring temporal state where the strong currents in the dialogue between Old and New enter a calm, balanced magnetic space.

Demand for achieving such a space is perhaps as old as humanity. The analysis of myths from a structuralist perspective, for example, reveal that there are fundamental natural and social phenomena which go beyond temporal limitation and become parallel to human existence. Frameworks of the human experience of death, for example, may be culture- and time-specific, but death itself, as an irreversible cessation of earthly life and initiation of a posthumous journey, remains an unknown that requires explanations and theories guiding humanity across generations. Campbell (2008: 1), for example, sees myths as ubiquitous: "Throughout the inhabited world, in all times and under every circumstance, myths of man have flourished; and they have been the living inspiration of whatever else may have appeared out of the activities of the human body and mind." As time passes, these visions and sources of inspiration may be superseded by more convincing cultural manifestations, such as philosophy and science. However, again, the need to explain the unknown, to delve into the reasons behind the foundations of life or origins of existential crisis are not dulled by time.

The overarching and everlasting themes of life bring forth another dimension of permanent valorisation that influence the methods we use to understand and communicate these themes. Mythic archetypes, such as archetypal characters or personalities, have a continuous resonance that connects the ancient to the present. The age-old warrior hero, for example, is coherently transformed to the contemporary context in the form of a medal-winning Olympic athlete or members of a champion sports team, which consequently embody noble qualities such as determination and

achievement. A very recent example from the 2016 European Football Championship highlights the popularity of mythic archetypes in current cultural frameworks. The Union of European Football Associations' (UEFA) website reported the championship celebrations of the Portuguese team with a headline that directly refers to the warrior hero archetype: "Portugal welcomes home its conquering heroes" (Marques 2016). Moreover, this was not simply a news headline but a popular analogy that seemed to be adopted by the very members of the team. For example, Fernando Santos, the manager of the Portugal national team referred to the heroic image when addressing the jubilant fans in his speech: "This is, without a shadow of a doubt, a victory for the Portuguese people. Hail Portugal; hail all the heroes of Portugal that are standing here by my side" (cited in Marques 2016). This example illustrates how the hero archetype is reproduced within the triangle of nationalism, sportive competition, and popular culture.

Mark and Pearson (2001) note how archetypal themes, meanings, and storylines are transferred to contemporary contexts through media narratives in Western popular culture. They show that compelling news coverage of dramatic events, consistent Hollywood film structures and actor images are nourished by mythic archetypes. The chapters of the life story of Diana Spencer (Princess Di), for instance, are centred on "the archetypal theme of princess lover" that evolved from the Cinderella story of marrying the prince by breaking a social convention to a Romeo-and-Juliet tragedy. They argue that Princess Di's life story was so compelling and popular because it tapped into cultural references based on the evolution and collapse of one archetypal love story into another. The protagonist of the story may change to a given time, purpose, or given group of people. However, the archetypal storylines bear a cultural reference that transcends beyond the limits of the elapsing moment and temporal cultural circumstances. This is the first clue to understanding the nature of permanent valorisation.

It is not only special actors that embody mythic archetypes. Products also feature archetypal meanings that may tap into deep consumer motivations, and this has strong commercial and brand managerial implications. A simple soap brand, for example, may be linked to the long history of archetypal meanings of cleansing rituals that reach far beyond physical cleaning. For example, as Mark and Pearson (2001: 5) argue these meanings, through actions of marketing, can be associated with "the removal of sin or shame, bestowing rectification and worthiness upon the person who has performed the ritual". This could result in a competitive market advantage for such a brand, as is discussed in Mark and Pearson's study.

In particular, what concerns our study here is the link between archetypes and valorisation. The implication is that archetypes can be seen as sources of enduring meanings and values, which may be embodied by persons or artefacts. Archetypes, to be more precise, illustrate that an artefact can be valorised permanently through the symbolism of certain values or meanings that are collectively cultivated, maintained, and handed down to later generations in an enduring manner.

The example of the soap brand with archetypal references also manifests the agency of brand value proposals. It is the brand communication, *e.g.* advertisement, which offers archetypal meaning to consumers. Certainly, it is up to consumers whether they buy, change, and reproduce the proposal or not. However, the agency tells us the important lesson that the producer's conscious activity might be critical in orienting the construction of permanent valorisation, implementing such techniques as avoiding the fast-changing norms and values of the fashion cycle.

This agency has attempted to reach great lengths across the logic and activities of modernist designers who aim to explore an immutable and universal design language through achieving the universal criteria of aesthetical and functional excellence. The background of this exploration brings forth the historical roots of the modernist anti-fashion discourse, like that in the context of the German Association of Craftsmen (Deutscher Werkbund). Founded by Hermann Muthesius in 1907, the association was influential in the development of modernist design and architecture, such as in the case of the Bauhaus School.

The sophisticated cultural debate shaped by the members of the Werkbund, for example, positioned "Fashion" in antithetical opposition to "Style" in terms of temporal transience, class competition, capitalist production, and commercialisation. Fashion was seen as the dictate of the capitalist order that was "destabilizing the controlled state of Culture" through creating a "semiotic chaos" with its endless manipulation of form as well as its involvement in class conflict. Style, to the contrary, was "classless" beyond the means and ends of class struggle, or at least signalled "a stable class structure". Style was the embodiment of the spirit of a larger time setting, such as an "age", that was immune to speculative market changes and rapidly shifting demands by commercialisation (Schwartz 1996: 40–41).

The signification of Style in the intellectual climate of the Werkbund addressed the search for anti-fashion aesthetics immune to the temporal strains of fashion and resonated with the modernist ambitions for a classless society in universal terms.[10] The Werkbund continues an important phase in design, as its recognition of Style was a step towards achieving aesthetic and functional excellence in pursuit of a universal nature of design; perhaps best named as "good design". Good design is hardwired to the modernist idealisation that may draw its authority from "universalization". With "universalization", I refer to Bauman (1998: 57–58) who defined it within a family of concepts and terms from the "early and classic-modern thinking", such as "civilization", "development", "convergence", and "consensus". For him, these concepts and terms implied "the hope, the intention and the determination of order-making" for improved life standards in "global" and "species-wide" dimensions. The concep-

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10　Here, the Werkbund signification of Style should not confuse us with style's popular contemporary usage as adopted in this thesis such as in the case of "stylistic consumer fads" to indicate fashion cycles.

tual framework is predicated on better life conditions for "everyone" and "everywhere" including Utopic ambitions such as "perhaps even make [everyone] equal".

What we can add to Bauman's argument in the context of design could be a temporal dimension, if we historically follow up Werkbund's shaping of Style as a denial of faddish temporal changes. Good design, in this vein, addresses universalisation not only in terms of the modernist ambition to increase life standards inclusively for all people across all distances, but also in the attempt to stretch across every temporal dimension as a means of "order-making". To put differently, modernist effort behind good design aimed to establish a universalising design order for "everyone" and "everywhere", as well as for any given time thereby freezing erosive forces via an immutable language of form.

But, could the form of an artefact be designated as valorised by an agent or group of agents in the marketplace? Could we design any archetypal form language, such as one based on rationality, which refuses cultural relativity by uniting large segments of consumers across distances and time dimensions? In mid-century Britain and the U.S.A., for example, good design was a cultural product cultivated by a rich discourse based on the pillars and actors of economy, culture, and business. New York City's Museum of Modern Art, for example, played a significant role in the popularisation of the discourse in the United States. The museum ran a programme based on a series of exhibitions entitled "Good Design" from 1944–1956, with campaigns implemented jointly with The Merchandise Mart of Chicago, "the largest wholesale marketer" of the nation at that time. In this context, the programme was a "unique" attempt that went beyond "educational" purposes and achieved a level of influence in the American "commercial design field" aimed to "expand and transform" (Riley and Eigen 1995: 151–152). The discourse in Britain circulated across diverse frameworks, thanks to a large public exposure, such as "post-war reconstruction" where good design was evaluated by the criteria of "national efficiency" (Hayward 1998). Hayward (1998: 223) quotes from a design article published in 1933 to address the collective cultivation: "Good design is largely a matter of common sense".[11] Hayward's description of "common sense" provides a clue to recognising the close synchrony between the ambitions of good design and universalisation: "[Good design] is predicated on the idea that meanings and aesthetic standards are common and universal at any one time; this is regardless of the mediating role of subjectivity or habitus, and the complexity of the value systems that operate within commodity culture."

However, good design also assumes the position in a dualistic nature that requires an Other, which was "bad design" in the British context. Bad design was constructed and maintained, for example, as "bogus historicism" in the 1930s, or "Borax vulgarity" in the 1950s. Hayward (1998: 223) calls this duality a "tension" between the elite con-

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11   For the original article see: Carrington, Noel. (1933). Design in the Home. *Country Life*. London, p. 13.

sumption culture that good design represented and the mass culture expressed by bad design. The tension, however, results in a consumerism that underlines the difference between permanent valorisation in design and good design. Hayward asserts: "This tension between mass and elite cultures has reinforced the stylistic momentum of good design; for in spite of its professed adherence to immutable values, good design as a commodity has been subject to visual obsolescence and the fashion cycle."

Good design's involvement in the fashion cycle illustrates that despite the anti-fashion intentions of modernist agency or any kind of producer–actor, commodities are ambiguously intertwined with consumer interests. The marketplace is not fully controllable by a single agent. The social nature of the marketplace with its great diversity of involved factors, including historic, political, and economic phenomena, constitutes the body of interrelationships that entitles the market ethos of artefacts and enduring values in design. In other words, the marketplace is a powerful social platform where the ethos of artefacts cannot be controlled by a single actor or ideology, but rather is constantly negotiated and reconstructed by the interrelationships of a great variety of transitory and floating factors. Again, these factors do not necessarily represent a coherent body but an obscure convolution of diverse, elusive, and partially contradictory external forces. Hence, good design does not necessarily equate with permanent valorisation in design. Such valorisation may not be determined by anti-fashion manifestations, but instead by the obscure and elusive interrelationships forming the social nature of marketplace.

Today, it has been long since the modernist conceptualisations of universalisation and order making were severely challenged by concepts that recognised the "disorder" of the ever-changing multiplicity of interrelationships. "Globalization", as Bauman (1998: 57) defines it, perhaps most signals the "indeterminate, unruly and self-propelled character of world affairs; the absence of a centre, of a controlling desk, of a board of directors, of a managerial office".

This account of globalisation imposes a number of challenges for the purpose of this study due to the diminishing control capacity of human initiative over globalised systems. What may raise concerns about the purpose of this study may depend on Bauman's (1998: 58) further attempts to describe globalisation as he addresses the overarching force that can disable initiatives: "'Globalization' is not about what we all, or at least the most resourceful and enterprising among us, wish or hope to do. It is about what is happening to us all."

Cultural relativity and subjectivity have long gained appreciation in understanding world affairs. Bauman's description, however, suggests further that globalisation imposes a disabling power for ambitious initiatives that pursue projects with global outcomes even though these projects are based on culture-specific frameworks. Bauman's suggestion requires a clarification especially for this study as it aims to impose a transformation over consumer culture with global resonations. In this context, I consider that the limitations imposed by the processes of globalisation should not be understood in a homogenising and disabling deterministic framework, but rather "as

a dynamic and multi-directional series of flows—of people, material goods and information across geopolitical borders" as Huppatz (2015: 183) put it.[12] Huppatz makes a case in point when he engages a historical perspective towards globalisation arguing "[f]rom a historical perspective, some processes attributed to recent globalization may be merely a continuation of processes that have been active and trans-planetary for a long time (in forms such as the telegraph, inter-regional trade and pollution, for example)."

Informed by this, globalisation can be perceived as the current process of a long historical development whose future may be attributed to a "sustainabilization" of the globe through further development of information technologies, methods of trading, and ecologic ways of production and transportation. Hence, without undermining the challenges of the current conditions of globalisation, the above clarification of the concept helps to develop theoretical insights into a repositioning of sustainability as one of the future characteristics of globalisation.[13]

Given this clarification, the role of producer's conscious activity can be rethought in the framework of permanent valorisation. I argue that we can neither overestimate its capacities, as shown in the case of modernist good design, nor underestimate those capacities, as aforementioned branding examples could promise a certain operational power to manipulate marketplace interrelationships to a limited but effective degree for a target group of people in particular circumstances. The growing interconnectedness of globalisation, at this stage, may facilitate the exchange of social constructs from one community to another with decreasing limitations imposed by distances.

Next, we may proceed to a conclusion for this section on how permanent valorisation is constructed. A specific implication of all this discussion would be that valorisation couldn't be assured only by a set of universal criteria of form or functionality. Rather, it is assured by the artefact's long-lasting symbolism, which functions as a cultural reference collectively constructed by society or a considerable group of people under the influence of a great diversity of social, economic, cultural, and political factors including the producer's conscious agency. It is irrelevant, from the aspect of permanency of valorisation, then, whether an artefact is attributed to defining concepts of good design or bad design. For example, a modernist avant-garde piece of furniture and a bulky Borax piece can achieve the status of enduring object in equal terms as long as they fulfil the above symbolism and maintain it beyond the pressures of time breaking the barriers of historical contexts.

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12 Huppatz povides a personal clarification of globalisation in his study where he aims to "reposition" design history writing in a global framework.

13 Moreover, even though we employ a simplistic perspective where we solely see globalisation as the process of interconnectedness, this perspective may enable us to prioritise proliferation of sustainability solutions rather than cultural homogenisation.

Management of the heritage of permanent valorisation, in this sense, may mean that the management of the complex body of cultural referencing with its historical depth including the body of relevant collective memory. As stated in the previous chapter, collective memory is a critical feature in this study's ambition to contribute to the cultivation of a sustainable consumer culture and to the implementation of relevant societal transformation. An initial advantage of permanent valorisation emerges at this point. The collective memory associated with the complex cultural referencing of artefact symbolism provides rich cultural resources that may allow heritage managers to respond to the multiplicity and ambiguity of consumer culture in a globalised world with tailored solutions. This account fully applies to the transformation strategy conceptualisation in the previous chapter. I stated above that the heritage management should embrace target-oriented design manoeuvres, rhetorical devices, and communication tactics for different age groups, ethnic communities, or social segments in consideration of the differing heritage understandings that these groups, communities, or segments hold. The present chapter's contribution so far enriches this perspective by highlighting the complex nature of factors that form the basis for the valorisation.

Understanding permanent valorisation in artefacts

Permanent valorisation is characterised by various names depending on an artefact's social, political, cultural, artistic, and/or design significance, such as antique, classic, icon, and cult object. As these categories impose differences from each other, their mutual characteristic is self-evidently their resistance to time's challenges, and for many the deep penetration into the popular culture. However, we should not confuse permanent valorisation with modernist good design despite the latter's formative intentions to create an immutable form based on the modernist anti-fashion philosophy. To put it simply, as I formulate it, permanent valorisation may be based on the social agreement on an artefact's symbolic values that endure the pressures of the fashion cycle. It should be noted, however, that I do not reject the fact that modernist design, as a cultural and political heritage product, may achieve an enduring status beyond its historical context in the eyes of the current global consumer society. This means that permanency in valorisation may be partly established by the consumerist reproduction of good design's intentions regarding functionality and aesthetics which may achieve continuous contemporaneity in the context of current consumer aspirations.

Hence, permanent valorisation is a modern status itself that is assigned via the democratic ways of multidimensional and complex social construction that includes the public as a significant actor in addition to academics, historians, designers, curators, and critics. Hence the status of permanent valorisation is not granted by authorities but rather co-constructed, largely by the public, as well as other market actors

through the complex process of social experiences involving the object. This could be seen as an attachment to material possessions in which these objects become psychologically appropriated and gain special meaning in the eyes of certain audiences. As a result, permanent valorisation has become a tangible and enduring symbol loaded with socially or culturally important values based on the consensus and critical approval of various audiences. The crucial merit of permanent valorisation is this symbolism. From the interdisciplinary perspective of heritage management, the formulation of valorisation promises a great deal of social, cultural, and economic resources (*e.g.* collective memory and business networks) to employ enduring values in design in the transformation of consumer culture to sustainable ends.

Such a consensus, of course, is not beyond the scope of the commercial interests of consumer culture. We see today that design which endures time is aggressively promoted as a consumer trend. For instance, the status of permanent valorisation can be seen to be common feature of media-circulated images, such as those in glossy magazines, embedded in the representation of superior taste and an elite lifestyle. From lifestyle columns in newspapers to carefully articulated movie scenes, the symbolism of permanent valorisation is registered as a conspicuous and distinctive way to display the possessor's economic capacity. More importantly, the necessary cultural capital is legitimised to understand and appreciate long lasting aesthetics properly, beyond the constrained framework of novelty. Hence, media positions permanent valorisation in the market of status consumption, translating it into a sensibility of the cultural elite distinguished by the fact that everything else changes or disappears at a growing pace.

In the expanding influence area of novelty and the short temporal horizon it imposes, the media cultivates the message that endurance in design offers an elite, dignified, and safe way to communicate enhanced cultural capital to certain audiences. It is safe in the way that it does not bear the risks of any of the most-up-to-date fashion which may fail to bear the proper symbolic meaning to the right audience. An orientation to status is thus not coincidental, but rather symptomatic of media campaigns to sell endurance as aspirational. Status seems to be a passionate pursuit for many consumers. For example, Schor (2007) argues that status competition is a significant motive in contemporary purchasing patterns. Her argument depends on analyses on consumer preferences as well as monitoring the growing significance of luxury goods markets and brands. She draws attention to today's deteriorating income inequalities and decreasing social mobility whose reflections can be observed in excessive luxury consumption.

Status – which is not only related to distinction, but also association, affiliation, and belonging – appeals not only to people striving for acceptance in a fashionable society. It appeals also to companies, for example, that need to display the language of prestige, such as luxury hotels. Permanent valorisation has become the common semantic language in lobby furnishings for example. We might include greater cultural realms to the list, as well, given the means of employment of endurance in

design by countries who want to gain advantage in the competitive tourism market. The Nordic European countries might be the most conspicuous example of where permanent valorisation has become a substantial part of national iconography. With the rise of national branding of design, 20th-century modern design has become synonymous with design culture in certain countries, embedded in the promotion of advanced cultural capacities. These countries construct a national design aura and pursue distinctive brand values in national marketing agendas where design classics play a significant role. This should not be surprising in an age that is defined by the memory boom and the most intense acceleration of a fashion cycle in history. However, this popularity should not lead one to confuse permanent valorisation with the faddish practice of retro described above. A comparison between the two concepts may, at this stage, help us to define the status of permanent valorisation in design more precisely.

Unlike faddish retro applications, I categorise a permanently valorised object through its temporal status, which is not supplemented by fashion. As such retro applications largely involve the superficial shaping of past aesthetics in eclectic reproductions, the category of permanent valorisation depends on how an object's symbolic qualities persist despite the passing of time and semantic shifts. This category, then, belongs to neither the Old nor the New, like an intersection combining the past and present with a continuous relevancy. Faddish retro, however, fails continuous relevancy as its link to fashion assigns only a limited time for popularity before it is supplemented by the next retro trend. Reformulation and recirculation of such retro applications are planned and designed for obsolescence. Faddish retro can be thus unlike permanent valorisation, which is the result of a shared semantic experience on the part of a certain audience.

Hence, for permanent valorisation, the inherent meaning is secondary as meaning associations emerge during the social career of the object. This status may be attached to an artefact, persona, event, image, or an art work as a symbolic property addressing the qualification of escaping transience through a constant connection with the ever-changing present. The key point in this achievement is the attachment of a socially important value or set of values to an artefact and long-term recognition of this particular artefact as an authentic symbol by a certain and significant consumer audience. This assigns them as mnemonic agents of our collective memory, which itself becomes a landmark of past times. The artefacts as agents gain collectively recognisable meanings flexibly relevant to the needs and desires of the present and the future. These meanings help us to distinguish, synthesise, and link various frames of time in the service of placing our lives in the larger flux of time. As a result, the artefacts as agents suggest a concrete manifestation for our collective memory with which we can identify ourselves achieving a sense of continuity, a distinctive position, and a satisfying sense of progress. Hence, permanent valorisation is not an end-point, but rather the status of a semantic process and its relation to the passing of time. This semantic status emerges as long as an artefact gains this agency in a way

that is continuously linked to the present. In other words, permanency of valorisation emerges through continuous contemporaneity.

The value of utility is thus secondary for this permanency. In consumer research, it is a widely-recognised notion that symbolic features of goods may have a greater significance than their functionality (Solomon 1983). Such a significance also goes beyond their commercial value as well as their utilitarian one (McCracken 1986). As Solomon (1983: 319) put it, "[…] products are integral threads in the fabric of social life." Perhaps, permanently valorised objects are the most significant examples to monitor the importance of these symbolic features and their role in social life. Continuity of valorisation, for example, may cease to exist due to superseding technological developments. However, the nominal function of the object is secondary as long as its symbolism continues to be recognised. In such a context, we see the transformation of nominal purpose into pure cultural ethos that orients towards valorisation across generations. This is the story behind the display of Sony's Walkman and Nintendo's Gameboy in design museums. The technological development has outdated their functional properties as more advanced solutions have emerged. However, their leading role in the micronisation and mobility of music entertainment and computer games bears such an impact on technology, society and subsequent technological designs that they are cherished today in museums. Importantly, such a celebration takes place despite the fact that these designs have long left everyday life.

These examples clearly show that what is permanently valorised is not the artefact itself but the values the artefact represents, the symbolism. Otherwise, every artefact is bound to the production techniques, predominating design theories, and material capacities of its production period, which are all inseparably bound to the notion of time and cannot escape obsolescence. Hence, any disruption or termination in the semantic process may mean reduction in the status of permanent valorisation or deprivation to a certain degree. In other words, if, for some reason, the artefact's agency fails to link the symbolising value or values with the changing conditions of the present, continuity becomes hampered. In this vein, understanding endurance in design through valorisation tells us about what we value continuously and what we cannot forget. Design which endures time is thus a crystallised symbol that tell us about ourselves and our social history. But, permanent valorisation does not equate with sustainable design. However, this symbolism itself should pronounce a great potential in terms of the promotion of sustainability via the management of a culture of permanent valorisation. In this sense, such valorisation in design may provide a concrete and specific zone for design heritage management.

Mid-century modern furniture, in particular, can be envisaged in such a unique space. These furniture models are not only popular commodities of the furniture market but also permanent members of exhibitions in the growing number of design museums across the globe. They have become the durable objects of the Shakespearean theatre stage, whereas the play keeps going on, generations of actors changing with the irresistible flow of time. Perhaps more importantly, they are members of

households that outlive human generations, furnishing a lasting bond that connects generations and resists the overwhelming tides of the Baudrillardian "object time" (1998). In this line, this exceptional longevity deserves a specific design focus that may be developed in understanding manageable authentic values. Such a temporal state of the object may be critically important in promoting product longevity in the current consumer culture, engaging notions of collective memory in the context of the main strategy of this study.

Recognising the potentials of permanent valorisation

Incorporation of permanent valorisation by the consumer culture should not confuse us. Its economic potential and popularity among consumers could be an advantage in terms of engaging existing consumer motives and aspirations as well as market networks, towards the promotion of durable consumption patterns. Permanent valorisation in design already enjoys cultural acceptance, popularity, and economical circulation in advanced capitalist societies. Examples of design's recognition as permanent reaches scales at the national and perhaps even global level, leading to the emergence of fan clubs in different continents such as institutionalised Beetle fan communities. Such a consumer recognition perfectly suits this research's aim of encouraging durable consumption in economically feasible and culturally compelling ways by means of engagement with existing business and consumerist networks. In this vein, I argue that design which endures time may become a vehicle to reach existing socio- and politico-economic networks in order to avoid interest conflicts, unlike projects that impose radical changes, as I have discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

Hence, permanent valorisation of design possesses a number of capacities that can be exploited in pursuit of this research's aim. Firstly, the unique temporal foundation deserves specific attention as its orbit uniquely deviates from the fashion cycle and its vagaries, which leads to premature disposal of goods and the accelerated waste stream that results. What makes this temporal foundation subject to the special focus of this study is the unique qualification of permanent valorisation that combines durability with the economic interests of producers as well as the socio-cultural interests of consumers. In other words, in strong contrast to the fashion mechanism, where novelty is central to commercial circulation and consumer satisfaction, permanent valorisation reaches these ends by means of durability. These artefacts have already achieved a version of *interest synthesis*, where business and consumer motivations feed each other, which may serve sustainable ends. Permanent valorisation has thus already established a place in contemporary consumer culture that can be likened to the plants in Manzini's (1995) garden analogy, where human needs serve sustainable development. Curiously, the widespread use of permanent valorisation in publicity is engaged in the glorification of economic status to such a degree that the potential to grow an ecological sensibil-

ity – like Manzini's link between caring for objects and caring for our planet – at this point is unclear.

Secondly, permanently valorised objects' value as authentic, deriving from such aspects as their position in our collective memory (the result of decades-long accumulations of shared experiences and emotions), can be an excellent platform to inspire creative or innovative management models. In line with the main strategy of this study, such management models may seek to combine the existing commercial and cultural popularity of permanent valorisation in design with enduring values and thus durable consumption. Comprehending this potentiality becomes easier when considering design and business discourse wherein experience and memory cultivation have gained popularity, as I have illustrated at the beginning of this chapter by means of Pine and Gilmore's (1999) book.

Considering these capacities, I argue that despite the massive adoption of permanent valorisation by material culture, the potentials of design heritage associated with permanent valorisation are neither well defined nor managed in a way that addresses greater social needs in the face of the crisis of global sustainability. The rich heritage of the permanent valorisation of artefacts has various, complex, and promising meaningful properties that surpass current status-oriented marketing. For example, the result of these artefacts' decades-long relationship with societies offers an intriguing socio-cultural and economic context that can be re-explored with the growing recognition of the role of experiences and memories in business and design discourse. Hence, aiming at the desired interest synthesis and related feasibility of the sought-after transformation, the popularity of permanently valorised artefacts seems to be a suitable reservoir to be employed by business-friendly methods engaging existing socio-economic networks. In positioning heritage-related consumer interests against the novelty commitment, the cultural result of these artefacts' longevity can encourage great segments of society to engage in a more durable consumption culture.

In this light, when considering cultural, social, and economic aspects of permanent valorisation in design, I argue that such artefacts fit fully strategies of heritage management. I am not approaching the topic from a conservative point of view positioning my arguments against new design models. Neither is my claim that everyone should use, for instance, iconic or classic design for sustainable consumer culture. Creativity and production are inherent in human nature, and cannot be compromised. My argumentation fully relies on the promotion and realisation of a more caring use of material and towards less the generation of less waste in consumer culture. In this vein, currently, the potentiality of permanent valorisation would be wasted with a mere status-oriented marketing agenda instead of the promotion of the broader sustainability potential. As explained in the previous chapter, there is no one-size-fits-all recipe for sustainability. Given the urgency of the current crisis, sustainability is a global project where we have to engage all available resources and seek cross-fertilisation among diverse dimensions from economy to consumer culture.

This involves the very coexistence of a myriad of solutions that can fulfil the diversity and complexity of today's advanced global culture and societies. From localisation of production to introduction of new materials such as bioplastics, all potential solutions are integral parts of a whole and bear equal importance. In this vein, permanent valorisation is such a significant part of our consumer culture that we cannot afford to ignore its heritage and its related cultural, economic, and social potentials in our pursuit for a sustainable future. I argue that design heritage could provide critical resources to manage current economic and social interests associated with consumerism in a way serving sustainability.

What makes me suggest such a potentiality is the unique type of inclusivity that permanent valorisation may provide us with. Despite the elitist media portrayal and public image that generate an ethos of exclusivity, we could intellectually develop point of views to see such artefacts as inclusive entities. Their price tags might be deceiving at first sight. Due to status-related popular perceptions, permanent valorisation in design may be associated with hierarchy and the status quo. This is partly true but does not reflect the entire nature of permanent valorisation. On closer inspection, one can see that there is a sense of temporal inclusivity involving various generations of users through the resistance of artefacts to time, in other words product longevity. In design discourse, as well as architecture, the term inclusivity is widely used to indicate the accessibility of a designed product by as many people as possible, regardless of any kind of restrictions such as age, status or disability. In this vein, design which endures time can be seen as a vehicle to develop a temporal understanding in the context of inclusivity via embracing different generations and bridging them across the passage of time (see Alaca 2013).

This brings us to the potential where permanent valorisation in design could correlate with authenticity both in terms of meanings held in private, as individuals and collective agreement on the significant symbolic features. This could be the result of design's industrial production and dissemination, the latter integrated into both the private and social spheres of our lives. The same design becomes the personal possession of thousands, or in some cases, hundreds of thousands of people, such as in the case of car models. A collective body of memory emerges as personal spaces interlink and build a shared understanding of life and design experience. Even the most personal attachment could have a connection to a level that is culturally shared by others; design which endures time offers the capacity to generate uniqueness and authenticity as private memories converge with greater collective frameworks of meaning. These memory spheres may suggest not only an alternative and fertile ground to integrate design and business projects deep into consumer lives, but also enhance promotion of lasting values in design beyond the current status-oriented marketing.

To be more precise, permanent valorisation is a phenomenon that is embedded in both our personal and collective lives, establishing a bridge connecting the personal with the collective. Therefore, managing this multilayered body of memory

as a source of authenticity may mean construction of an alternative value complex that could work against the novelty commitment of the fashion regime. If you let me stress the importance of authenticity once again, at this stage, I may highlight authenticity as a cultural demand. For example, authenticity has long been a consumer demand in markets and remains as playing a key cultural role in Western culture (Grayson and Martinec 2004). Uniqueness, in the same manner, is a key critical consumer need for mainstream consumer demands such as social differentness, creation of an enhanced self-image and its social display (Tian, Bearden, and Hunter 2001). The retro culture based on authenticity shows that consumer demand for authenticity and uniqueness has already been functioning in a way contrasting to the fashion mechanism and its novelty commitment. Consequently, providing authenticity in both private and social contexts, permanent valorisation could also suggest feasible resources to manage design heritage as a means of the promotion of sustainability. I should remind, however, that with the term authenticity, I am not referring to inherent values in design, but rather the aforementioned socially constructive understanding embracing authenticity in the framework of contextual dynamics where memory, functionality, business, and yet lasting qualities of design play a role. Uniqueness, similarly, is addressed here by the agency of social construction that may involve aggregate consumer memories.

In this sense, an illustrative example for managing uniqueness and the demand for authenticity could be the agency of retro retailers, much as in Baker's (2013) study. As she has noted, retro retailers often function like narrators that inform consumers about designers and the production period of objects in an attempt to make them more "attractive". This can also involve the past lives of objects, as Baker reports, stories that help sellers to generate new offerings in terms of authenticity. This example provides a promising model for this study. In such an authenticity-based marketing paradigm, for instance, patina, such as a scratch on a chair, will not be necessarily perceived as a defect, as one would expect if committed to novelty. Rather, it could be marketed for authenticity-seeking consumers as evidence linking the present with the past life of the object. This approach perfectly suits the strategy of this study as what traces of age signify is transformed from obsolescence into authenticity, a consumer demand. In this sense, permanent valorisation in design stands out, as it can be associated with the multi-layered memory complex for heritage management activities where personal memory – the past lives of objects – receives a culturally shared access and recognition. This means that private memories attached to a design may be marketed to certain audiences that recognise the design as permanently valorised.

Tian, Bearden, and Hunter (2001: 52–53) provide us with three consumer "behavioral manifestations or dimensions" that can help to organise better how such marketing can appeal to consumers' need for uniqueness. "Creative choice counter-conformity", for example, refers to the differentiation of individual consumers from others through making a distinctive consumption choice that is considered positively

by the others. "Unpopular choice counterconformity" addresses distinctive consumption choices that break customs and norms, thus possibly causing social disapproval. Despite this risk, it may also result in an enriched self-understanding that may gain social acceptance later on. Lastly, "avoidance of similarity" reflects the loss of interest in or disposal of possession due to this possession's adoption by mainstream consumers to such a degree that the possession becomes commonplace.

Through its multi-layered memory complex, permanent valorisation in design offers rich resources for those engaged in creative choice counterconformity. For example, private memory narratives of each permanently valorised object could be offered creatively, for instance as a platform of experiences for consumers to operate their creative skills to differentiate themselves and display the results conspicuously thanks to permanent valorisation's wide acceptability in the contemporary consumer culture. Hence, Baker's above example about the narration of past lives of objects is just inspiring for the designation of experiences that may allow consumer creativity to flourish. As today's technology allows the storage and instant sharing of great amounts of information, in light of the emerging field of experience in design, for instance, the possibilities of stimulating and channelling consumer creativity are nearly limitless. As these experiences may be transformed into established services by companies, this may help to avoid similarity in cases where a permanently valorised object becomes too popular. What I am trying to stress is that the phenomenon of such valorisation is an excellent resource with which to address today's authenticity-seeking consumers by means of its uniqueness and ways of enhancing that uniqueness.

At this stage, one may question why I prefer to focus on permanent valorisation in design instead of retro culture based on authenticity. My preference depends on a number of reasons implying that valorisation may provide more comprehensive and effective resources for the purpose of this study both in cultural and business fields. Firstly, as Reynolds (2012) conceptualises, retro is "always" about the immediate past that involves living memory. This could be a limiting temporal frame for this study's strategy since design heritage could embrace pre-modern arts and craft in countries that do not have a modern design culture. Permanent valorisation, in this context, is more comprehensive in the sense that it can go back ages and help to manage whatever significant symbolic features that are currently recognised in societies.

Secondly, as Reynolds (2012) put it, retro is about entertainment, irony, and charm that "by and large" do not involve a scholarly attitude. Although amusement meets certain important consumer demands and motivations, it may be dysfunctional in terms of consistently cultivating and sustaining responsible behaviour among consumers. Permanent valorisation, in contrast to retro, then, may be conceptualised in a way that is not necessarily associated only with amusement and irony. It can be argued that in some cases, permanent valorisation emerges through significant cultural changes, turning points that have an impact on societies or social groups. Hence, such design is associated with a wider and longer-lasting spectrum of symbolic reference. In many cases this spectrum spans across humanist values that may

become a substantial part of identity construction and social display for certain social groups. Aiming at societal change, in this sense, permanent valorisation in design may be more reliable than retro in addressing consistent and long-lasting ecological approaches among consumers.

The third reason for preferring the concept of permanent valorisation in design over retro is the current understanding of status. Referring to Reynolds (2012) again, retro "generally" includes artefacts from popular culture. For him, this leaves retro out of high culture aesthetes and antiquarians. As a result, retro's environment is flea markets, charity shops, jumble sales and junk shops rather than auction houses or antique dealers. For permanently valorised design, however, there is no such distinction. Permanent valorisation may enter the areas of interest of both the most ordinary jumble sale stallholder and the most exclusive antique dealer. Inclusion of high culture aesthetes is important for this study since a certain level of consumer interest into sustainable consumption can be gained from the current status-orientations of the market. Yes, I have just stated above that the current status orientation in the marketing of permanent valorisation undermines the potentials for sustainability. However, the same status understanding may be incorporated in this study's strategy of transformation strategy, aiming to use existing socio- and politico-economic networks as well as existing consumer motivations. This may embrace status seekers as well as authenticity-seeking consumers in the promotion of sustainable consumption.

To further develop the understanding of this potentiality, Richins' (1994: 506) discussion of the personal and private aspects of meaning can be helpful. For her, artefacts develop both. She describes both "private or personal meanings of an object" as "the sum of the subjective meanings that object hold for a particular individual". The distinguishing character of this type of meaning is its very personality that is not necessarily accessible to others, as it depends on personal experience. It plays a role in consumer feelings about what they possess. When it comes to "public meaning", Richins includes the view of "outside observers" on the particular object. These observers may not agree on every meaning. However, it is "likely" that there is an agreement among members of public or subgroups that lead to a notion of shared public meaning. Public meaning is also "likely" to shape consumer desires about things people wish to acquire. To explain further the idea of shared public meaning, Richins (1994: 506) addresses the term cultural symbol: "The meanings of cultural symbols are shaped and reinforced in social interchanges, and individuals with similar enculturation experiences tend to have considerable similarity in the meanings they attach to these symbols."

Permanent valorisation in design may address a strong cultural symbol based on shared experiences and a consensus on validation. Such a widely-shared symbolism can be very productive if transformed into a channel for the promotion of durable consumption. As public meaning shapes consumer desires, it is also possible that permanently valorised design, with its significant public presence and recognition, could play a significant role in shaping durable consumption itself via consumer de-

sire. Such a change in consumer desires may be a substantial step towards influencing consumer behaviour. Put simply, we need to ask ourselves why we do not transform permanent valorisation in design into the ultimate cultural symbol of durable consumption, transforming our understanding of status to our advantage. The current marketing orientation misses this opportunity. However, the durability of permanent valorisation could be an efficient marketing platform to incorporate sustainability within the existing understanding of status. Hence, in addition to the above memory platform to engage person–object attachments in design heritage management, there is also another choice to offer durable consumption to status-seeking consumers. To this end, the necessary marketing agenda should assign a caring consumption behaviour outside the novelty commitment as a provider of cultural status. In this vein, for consumers who are not interested in the above memory accounts, the exclusivist aura of permanent valorisation in design may be enriched as appealing to the immediate self-interests of status seekers.

In this section, I have attempted to clarify the potential that permanent valorisation offers for the strategy proposed by this research. In order to explore this potential in greater depth, I would like to introduce categories of permanent valorisation in design, such as design classics and icons. As I stated above, such design involves different categories that emerge as the result of the complex semantic process that assigns design with symbolisms and the status of endurance. Understanding these categories is crucial to designate an efficient management project since these categories may be the result of strikingly different popular perceptions and design experiences. Consequently, categories may differ, addressing strongly contrasting values engaging different audiences. Even the very same design model can be perceived and adopted by different groups as permanently in different ways with contrasting symbolic roles. Hence, before proceeding to an understanding of how to manage permanent valorisation for sustainability purposes, we need to clarify how to deal with the great underlying complexity behind such a phenomenon in design. In this complexity, it is important to know categories since the inclusion of a certain category may dramatically affect the related management method and its target audience.

The purpose of the following section is to translate the complexity behind the permanency of valorisation into a manageable status through engaging a well-known terminology that could facilitate further communication and help to formulate the desired management system in a definable framework.

3.3 Categories of Permanent Valorisation in Design

In pursuit of clarifying the complexity, I categorise permanent valorisation in three main groups that are classic, cult, and icon. These categories emerge according to

a certain set of criteria. This set stretches from the scale of recognition of valorisation among public, to the depth of influence within a particular audience. They also involve design by shaping norms about market characteristics and future design offers. Above, when defining permanent valorisation in design, I highlighted the continuous relevancy of design with the ever-changing present. Contemporaneity is the result of the attachment of culturally and socially important symbolic features to a design model as a result of social construction. Hence, this attachment's continuous recognition by at least a certain social group is another critical requisite. The continuous relevancy and social attachment, as mutual characteristics of the categories, could be a starting point to approach them. For example, Pallasmaa (2012a: 21), in the field of architecture, explains such a relevancy in terms of "freshness" through a property of "embodied enigma": "Great works possess a timeless freshness and they present their embodied enigma always anew as if we were looking at the work for the first time: the greater a work is the stronger is its resistance to time."

The term "embodied enigma" suggests that a design model may be permanently valorised particularly through the uniqueness of its high quality. This suggestion seems to contradict this chapter's central notion that permanent valorisation is socially constructed. However, a deeper perspective requires that we consider Pallasmaa's suggestion as a voice within the discourse where the social construction takes place. In order to develop an enhanced understanding we need to adopt an inclusive approach that fits the nature of a social construction where all voices should be heard without exception. What I am stressing here is not the competitive product qualities or the "embodied enigma" of an artefact, but rather the creation, mediation, and circulation of underpinning theories in a form of discourse that continuously reformulate the enigma in social circles. Hence it is not the enigma itself but continuous publicity via the discourse that turns the enigma into a building block in the social construction of valorisation.

For example, in Pallasmaa's definition the enigma is offered to public as a concept that assures a certain impact which does not wear away with changing tastes. This impact is claimed to be generating continuous admiration due to its outstanding qualities. We may assume that these claims are adopted over a period of time by greater audiences, and gains a formative voice in the social construction. This particular voice airs what such great works have in common is their capability to stimulate irrepressible curiosity and desire among people to follow the same path and explore the excellence drawn by the enigma. This is the very impact that shapes successive works, setting norms forming a certain aesthetic and intellectual path towards the future. This could be the reason why we still cherish and recognise the significance of Sony's Walkman and Nintendo's Gameboy despite the fact that their technology has become outdated and that they are no longer present in the marketplace. These models have changed our understanding of the experience of listening to music and computer gaming to such a degree that they have become celebrated

foundation stones of the electronic age. The accepted suggestions based on artefact's embodied enigma, or in other words, unique and excellent product qualities, have established norms becoming seminal for successive design models.

"Classic" can be defined as an approach to permanent valorisation in design from the perspective of high product qualities and normative capabilities. If we look at the general use of the term, according to the Collins English Dictionary (1994), classic as an adjective refers to a number of characteristics such as "definitive" for works of its kind, of bearing the "highest excellence", and of having "lasting interest or significance". When we focus on design, a useful definition of the term is Julier's (2004):

> [C]lassic often refers to a design which visually or by association sums up the best of its time, and yet whose appeal has surpassed its immediate historical context. One prerequisite for its elevation to "classic" status is that the design receives the official approval of an institution or individual (*e.g.* a design historian), and/or that it has become highly popular through its mass production, reproduction or mass publication in photographic form. Posthumously or not, it may also have received the accolade of "GOOD DESIGN". (52)

Julier's definition, associating the classic with good design, provides an opportunity to touch again on the role of intentional brand involvement in the formation of permanent valorisation. I have argued above, in the context of good design, that permanent valorisation could be partly – but not entirely – influenced by modernist ambitions for functionality and aesthetics. In addition to this, I may suggest that the circulation and reproduction of modernist claims in academic, popular, and professional contexts may also play a role in the formation of permanent valorisation. An illustrative example of circulation could be the publisher Phaidon's (2006) collection of 999 design classics in a three-volume set that gives four useful definitions of the term on each volume's cover:

> […] 1 definitive models of lasting influence and enduring significance; 2 objects that are innovative in their use of new materials and unite technological advances with beautiful design; 3 objects characterized by simplicity, balance and purity of form; 4 objects that are perfect in their design and have remained unchanged since their creation.

As this definition shows, the discourse on design classics is formulated upon competitive product characteristics that achieve excellence, and thus reach the status of permanent valorisation. In my argumentation, however, I do not focus on the material product characteristics themselves. I focus, rather, on the mediation of such formulations by actors who may play a role in the shaping of the collective semantic

experience of products.[14] In particular, my focus is on the intentional efforts made by a conscious actor to pursue continuous reproduction of such semantic values as an attempt to manage valorisation. This continuous reproduction necessitates some explanation here: why is the discourse on competitive product characteristics continuously reproduced?

My point here is that, although we cannot fully argue that product qualities assure permanent valorisation, we may content ourselves that their continuous reproduction in various discourses and contexts as a means of public exposure may lead to such valorisation. Perhaps what concerns our study most here is that continuous reproduction may take the form of brands' conscious involvement in the social construction of valorisation in pursuit of their own business interests. For example, as I will show in the next chapter's sample case, permanent valorisation may be achieved and maintained in design through conscious branding activities that transform the discourse on modernist product qualities and excellent design classics into sustainability promotion.

Informed by all of this, I would like once again to underline that we cannot easily exclude Pallasmaa's formulation as it seems contradictory to the social nature of valorisation. The formulation, in contrast, addresses the discourse mechanism that may have an impact on the very social nature of the formation of permanent valorisation involving the broader context of consumer culture and business. However, it should also be noted that permanency of valorisation is a subjective element constructed by a given community that may change in different contexts and situations. Therefore, claims based on the universalisation of permanent valorisation should be approached with the utmost care.

An additional influence of the discourse should be indicated here as it could resonate with status-seeking consumers who associate their identity with competitive product qualities. Recalling the characteristics of powerful consumer-product relationships, explained in the previous chapter, it would hardly be controversial to acknowledge that design classics are symbols of excellence, prestige, and achievement in the eyes of some consumers. Thus, inevitably, they are associated with a sense of consumerist hierarchy too. A design classic, as in Julier's above definition, may not reach wide popularity and acknowledgement, but rather is recognised by an exclusive and informed group that can appreciate its excellent qualifications. Hence, the term classic does not necessarily include market breadth or impact in people's lives. However, one can approach the symbolic features of a design model from the angle of such an impact without stressing excellent product qualities. Such an approach

14   This should not be read as the complete denial of a product's functionality. It, rather, should be read on this thesis' prioritisation of the social nature of permanent valorisation. Therefore, a product's functionality may play a role in the achievement of enduring qualities for a given group of people under given circumstances.

may help to understand a different category of permanent valorisation in design: cult objects.

The term cult is associated with a number of uses that have exclusivity and devotion as their common characteristic (Collins English Dictionary). For Bayley (2000), the cult objects are defined by the way they distinguish their owners:

> All cult objects are united by claiming for their owners [*sic*] access to a sophisticated way of life, a tangible separateness and a certain view of quality, but most specially they lay to a mystic connection with some sort of expertise, perhaps military, technical, sporting or professional, beyond what may be expected from an everyday consumer. (62)

For example, Bayley characterises SONY's Walkman as a cult object in the way it distinguished its owners through providing the privileged status of having private entertainment. It speaks to an entire attitude of music listening as the user's music experience becomes totally different than the conventional modes, as the music becomes portable, attached to the body, and isolated from the outer world. This characterisation reveals, first, that the same design model may be characterised according to the particular terms of classic or cult object based on which of its qualities are prioritised. If we are talking about competitive product qualities and their impact on future market characteristics, the Walkman can be characterised as a design classic. If the focus is on how the Walkman identifies its owners, it stands out as a cult object.

When defining cult objects, Bayley (2000: 64) emphasises on the notion of consumer identification too: "The phenomenon of the cult object is not an episode in fashion but a reflection of a profound human need to identify emotionally with abstract products." Cult is not confined in the realm of objects. Atkin (2004: xix), for example, focuses on cult brands. As he defines, a cult brand does not only arouse devotion and dedication for a "well-defined" and "committed" community, but also the members of such a community act as "voluntary advocates" for the brand. In this context, artefacts, providing such identification to their owners in a continuous fashion, tend to achieve the status of permanently valorised as they respond to a "profound human need" exempt from the constraints of time. Hence, the need for identification seems to be a crucial factor in approaching consumer motivations in the strategy of *interest synthesis*. The symbolic properties of such an artefact does not only provide an identification opportunity to the owner, but also assigns the artefact itself with a personality that people accept collectively. Object personality can be defined as the design's individual character pattern. Deyan Sudjic (1985), for example, the author of *Cult Objects*, exemplifies the object personality with the Jeep:

> Jeep, aka the general purpose utility vehicle, may have been built in millions, but each one of those machines shares an instantly recognizable personality

that has the power to turn head wherever it goes. The Jeep is a character in fact, in a way that the Morris Marinas or Honda Civics of this world will never be. (9)

The object personality is a key to how the product generates devotion and reverence among consumers to such a degree that specific fan communities are established. Car models are significant examples. The Citroën 2CV and Volkswagen Beetle are other cult objects that are elaborated upon by Sudjic (1985: 9): "They are vehicles whose shapes have worked their way deep into the collective unconscious, celebrated in film, advertising and literature. They have roots and breeding: they are not simply pieces of inanimate metal."

Yes, they are active and strong symbols in consumer society, with their own personalities that stem from the dynamics of mass production that creates both exclusivity and accessibility, in Bayley's (2000) words. The term "cult" in reference to these products addresses how profound a role the object can play in a consumer's life, specifically in identification; yet it does not speak to how widely its symbolism is recognised. Yes, the above car models are considered as cult objects among wide audiences, but the term "cult" does not adequately refer to fame and popularity, as it inherently involves exclusivity and devotion. It is thus necessary to talk about the third category of permanent valorisation in design: the design icon.

Lees-Maffei (2014: 10) uses "recognizable" and "memorable" to characterise design icons. For her, iconic design often achieves these characteristics through modes of visual distinction such as an unusual and unique shape, or a silhouette, especially. She mentions Philippe Starck's lemon squeezer Juicy Salif as "arguably the epitome of iconic design". The squeezer has infamous functionality problems, however, its appearance is assertive and provides a silhouette that is immediately distinctive to people's eyes. This, of course, does not mean that design icons are necessarily imperfect. They may bear excellent product qualities. However, the term design icon is used to emphasise recognisability and memorability, and thus a high media profile and fame, rather than the inherent excellence of a product or the devotion such excellence arouses.

When looking at the general use of the term icon, although there are nuanced meanings circulating in everyday use, the defining characteristics are based on representation and symbolisation (Collins English Dictionary 1994). This allows icons to become functional bearers of distinctive meanings. Iconography, for example, is used by cult movements and cult brands to distinguish themselves from similar systems in their environment and communicate associative meanings among their members (Atkin 2004). In an attempt to define the character of iconic representation, Kras (2004) suggests the term "Platonic image" as a symbolic reference to culturally complex abstract ideas. Raymond Levy's pencil sharpener, for instance, as Kras (2004: 10) argues, could be said to be the Platonic image of "[…] the American obsession with visual symbols of hygiene and health and Freudian masculinity and sexuality." In the

same sense, the Swatch Watch is the Platonic image of "Swiss precision". Through a shared experience, these intangible, abstract ideas have become incarnated into the image of an object. This raises further questions, such as how the process of shared experience and its result, consensus-based symbolisation, could contribute to design heritage management and desired behavioural change among customers.

A useful concept in answering this question could be the "cultural icon". When Holt (2004: 1) scrutinises cultural icons, he focuses on the symbolising feature too: "The crux of iconicity is that the person or the thing is widely regarded as the most compelling symbol of a set of ideas or values that a society deems important." However, what Holt stresses specifically with cultural icon is how it serves identification: "People identify strongly with cultural icons and often rely on these symbols in their everyday lives. Icons serve as society's foundational compass points – anchors of meaning continually referenced in entertainment, journalism, politics, and advertising."

In this vein, a cultural icon bears, to some extent, the cult characteristics that provide an exclusive consumer attitude. Holt (2004: 11) describes the cultural icon as "a person, or thing regarded as a symbol, especially of a culture or movement; a person, institution, and so forth, considered worthy of admiration or respect." Hence, it is not always possible then to cast every design icon as a cultural icon. However, it may be inspiring and guiding to note Holt's stress on today's role of mass communication in the emergence of icons. Throughout the development of mass communication, beginning with books, magazines, newspapers and then cinema and TV, there has been an increasing power of cultural icons in our culture. For Holt (2004: 2), academic studies focusing on the "intensive and pervasive meaning" of cultural icons in society suggest that what those icons represent is "a particular kind of story – *an identity myth* – that their consumers use to address identity desires and anxieties." Desires and anxieties resonate with a nation's citizens since they are continuously shaped by "historical changes" that have an impact on the entire nation.

Holt's conceptualisation can be guiding for the purpose of this study when considering that growing environmental awareness among consumer communities in both developing and developed countries could be a source for such mutual desires and anxieties. As I explained in the previous chapter, the vast effects of global warming have pushed the emergence of consumer willingness to consume more ecologically. Although this willingness has not turned yet to positive behaviour, this is a sign of collective consumer anxiety over compulsive consumerism. This anxiety points to a particular contradiction in global society between the well-mediated desires of the novelty commitment and a desire to consume more sustainably.

The effects of global climate change are dramatic and major enough to trigger a major change in consumer behaviour. Hence, the cultural conventions on status-conveying permanent valorisation can be shaken if consumer anxieties are responded with the right management framework. Permanent valorisation, in this context, with its high media profile, distinctive character, and social accessibility may entitle us to innovatively design a craft heritage. It can be a source for cultural icons and identity

myths for sustainable consumption, addressing the growing contradiction of contemporary consumer culture.

This can be a critical approach to this study's strategy, which aims to reach existing networks and establish an interest synthesis between business and consumers. From the business perspective, such a management of permanently valorised design can provide brands with competitive capabilities establishing stronger and deeper bonds with customers as well as innovating new market categories. From the perspective of the consumer, it suggests an identification opportunity that would address the growing anxiety of consumption in terms of sustainability and waste, as well as contemporary consumer motivations and aspirations. These motivations and aspirations involve the aforementioned authenticity value complex and unique memory body that can also be engaged to generate an identification opportunity via the identity myth. In light of these perspectives, I aim to focus on an analysis of such a heritage management methodology in the next chapter by means of a concrete case study. However, before proceeding to this stage, there is also a third perspective concerning the phenomenon of permanent valorisation itself which is the cliché.

Cliché is a good example with which to observe how permanent valorisation is formed arbitrarily based on a particular evaluator's perceptual characteristics rather than the objective properties inherent in a product. The first time I encountered this phenomenon was in conversation with a fellow researcher during a design conference. Following a presentation, he complained about seeing Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Chair as a representation of the 20th-century modernist design and related principles. For him, the model's overuse in academic circles has become a stereotypical representation that provokes boredom instead of evoking creativity and innovation as fundamental prerequisites of both the modernist avant-garde and academic research. In other words, for his particular subjective understanding, the critically acclaimed and cherished symbolism of the chair has established a restrictive framework that provides a mere shortcut rather than a platform for design's intellectual achievement and development. If I may adapt what Grayson and Martinec's (2004: 299) literature review on authenticity reveals regarding the cliché, then I would say that a cliché is not "inherent in an object". But rather, like authenticity, it is an "assessment made by a particular evaluator in a particular context".

Accordingly, as it is in the context of the socially constructive nature of heritage and other related key concepts such as authenticity, this example addresses firstly that different social groups or individuals may contextually embrace disparate interpretations of a particular object. This may suggest, for instance, the coexistence of contradicting symbolisms. Secondly, the same example stresses once again what I have indicated above that permanent valorisation may not continue forever. Cliché is the semantic stage when an object or entity's symbolism becomes dysfunctional. If symbolic features fail to fulfil the required qualifications of semantic process, valorisation may cease.

Cliché is the critical stage for such a termination. An icon or classic may turn into a cliché when its ubiquitous symbolic features are simply copied and overused in various contexts to the degree of losing its meaningful content. There is a danger of a cliché emerging with permanent valorisation due to the media and marketing focus on mere display of economic status and prestige. Classic design, for example, has been so much overused in terms of the provision of such an exclusivity that once-innovative design models are today commonly used to refer to the status quo of existing economic hierarchies. Hence, the inclusion of sustainability, an inherently inclusive concept, in the symbolism of permanent valorisation could assure of breaking the cliché usage of design which endures time and related status quo-keeping perceptions. Providing a new understanding that addresses contemporary issues, such an inclusion may strengthen the process of continuity of valorisation. This may mean that the semantic process could be manipulated by making new value offers to related audiences through marketing endeavours. Hence, social interaction and consensus can be formed through an appropriate management methodology.

This, however, implies that overuse of the same link between permanent valorisation in design and sustainability may generate similar adverse effects that can eventually hamper the desired sustainability transformation. Hence, it is crucially important to avoid overuse and to always seek new, creative means of conveying the sustainability link of permanent valorisation in parallel to continuous contemporaneity. In other words, the design management of valorisation should adopt a synchrony with the ever-changing variables of life. This may mean in particular continuous "symbolic innovation" of such links. The hybridity and fluency of contemporary consumer culture points here to rich resources with which to update and diversify the link via interdisciplinary heritage management methods such as those briefly introduced in the previous chapter.

In the formation of such a methodology, Holt's (2004) concept of cultural icon tells us that a cultural icon emerges through its mythic qualities that lead to the emergence of an identity myth in addition to its cultural symbolism and iconicity. What these qualities have in common is their connection to an "imaginary world" that speaks to the audience's aspired-to identity, far beyond the mundane framework of the everyday. Holt (2004) explains the role of identity myths in the formation of cultural icons by stressing two critical dimensions: these are, on the one hand, the myth's comprehensiveness, and on the other, its connection to the national cultural fabric:

> Identity myths are useful fabrications that stitch back together otherwise damaging tears in the cultural fabric of the nation. In their everyday lives, people experience these tears as personal anxieties. Myths smooth over these tensions, helping people create purpose in their lives and cement their desired identity in place when it is under stress. (8)

I argue that an idea of a sustainable future can be crafted as an identity myth that rises on the pillars of the cultural signification of permanent valorisation in design. This signification differs from one audience to another. At this stage, design's increasingly acknowledged role in national awareness and marketing can help us to align with national cultural fabrics. A highly useful concept in this mythologisation is the hero, the leading actor, with whom the imaginary world can become more definable and perceivable to consumers. Permanent valorisation, in this context, may offer its own heroes as designers who achieve a heroic status along with their creations, as they resist the erosive forces of time.

In order to gain a better understanding of permanent valorisation, I analyse below, the story of an artefact. I aim to focus particularly on providing explanatory insight into how myths and heroism emerge alongside valorisation, with reflections on the national cultural fabric as well as relevant global resonations. For this purpose, I would like to introduce an image by Robert Capa (a distinguished photojournalist and co-founder of Magnum Photos Inc.), The Falling Soldier[15] that has gained a secure place in the history of photography and art. Choosing a photograph could be seen as a radical attempt to show a representative model for permanent valorisation in design. Photography is generally conceptualised in the context of art, rather than design. However, when it comes to the journalistic image, I argue that the original production is somewhere between an artistic and design performance, allowing me to stress the creator's various capacities. Moreover, the reproduction process of the image entitles my argument to stretch across the scope of design. This stretch is available as the image has been proliferated and presented through industrial means at mass communication tools. There is an editing process in each reproduction that shapes the context in which the image expresses its semantic content. Hence, the reproduction of the image involves different authors besides the photographer.

The reason why I have chosen this particular image is the unique interplay of factors providing valorisation as a social construct. The particular photograph, as an art piece, artefact, and design object is an excellent example to use to discuss the factors behind the social formation of valorisation. These factors stretch across the image's semantic representations resonating in public imagery addressing greater mythological, heroic, and ideological contexts. The dramatic story of the photograph and photographer allow us to witness the emergence of the creator as a hero and his role in the formation of the identity myth in a national context with global resonation. Furthermore, the story helps to think about other examples, such as Henry Ford, to express how a myth transmits a particular ideology to people. Hence, this story could be a model to understand the mythical and heroic halo hovering over today's permanent valorisation in design, showing the clear links between myths and ideologies. The discussion is somewhat limited as I do not aim to carry out a

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15   Renamed "Falling Soldier" later by editors.

complete semantic analysis of the photograph. In the context of this image, I rather aim to exemplify the critical concepts that play a key role in the further development of my thesis.

3.4 Understanding Heroes and Myths in Consumer Culture and Design Heritage: Robert Capa and The Falling Soldier

The photograph, taken during the Spanish Civil War in 1936, depicts the instant death of a loyalist militiaman as he collapses backwards with both arms opened after being shot.[16] What escapes the transience is not only the photojournalistic value of presenting the exact moment of death of a soldier from the Spanish Civil War, but also the dramatic impact of the immediacy of death. After almost 80 years, the image transfers the tragedy and impact of death to today's world, rife with armed conflicts. Despite the passing decades after the war, the poignant photograph maintains its place in our collective visual archive. Below, I discuss why this photograph is not an old representative of a temporally distanced, historical event, but an enduring agent of collective memory.

When looking at the historical development of Capa's photograph, one sees that the image received immediate recognition right after the first publication at the French Magazine *Vu*. The image was praised as "the most exciting and immediate shot of battle action ever taken" after publication (Whelan 1985: 100). This triggered wider publication in the era's newspapers and magazines, including *Life*, and Capa gained a reputation as a war photographer. The reason for this global praise captures the value that emerges by a photographer's competence at catching the precise but ephemeral moment of death in modern warfare in a way that has never been done before.

Taking place in the early years of photojournalism, this capturing of the dramatic immediacy of death was constructed by societal and professional actors as a pioneer when it comes to the qualities, capacities, and also potentials of the genre. In a way exemplifying the discussion presented in the categorisation of permanent valorisation, through excellent product qualities, Capa's photograph was praisedin a way establishing norms. Hence, beyond being a mere photographic symbol of the Spanish conflict, it was considered as ground breaking in terms of the understanding

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16   The Spanish Civil War took place between 1936 and 1939 between the Loyalists to the democratic Spanish Republic, and the Nationalists, led by General Francisco Franco who later became the dictator of Spain until his death in 1975.

of photojournalism more generally. Performing at the heart of high action battles, today, we witness that war photography is able to catch even more dramatic images, powerfully depicting death, pain, and devastation. Moreover, they are no less heroically taken than in the case of Capa. However, one of the factors affecting valorisation of Capa's picture could be its early position in the photographic imagery of war and thus having a sort of rhetorical presence in successive war images as if it were integrated into the lens of other photographers. This discussion clearly points to the characteristic of a classic that has been normative in its genre through the work's excellent and unique qualities.

As it is in mythologies, death has been a popular topic in arts depicted in paintings and literature. However, what Capa achieved could be seen as the reinvention of the moment of death of modern warfare in public imagery. Perhaps, it can be conceived of as imposing a turning point, where death's mythological depiction in art becomes modernised, providing a new interpretation suitable to the conditions of the present: *i.e.* capturing the speed of modern warfare. In this realm, the image does not only record a moment, but also creates a "power" relation in the collective consciousness, through documenting and presenting death in the conditions of the modern.

The "power" relation emerges firstly due to the nature of photography. The image creates "[…] a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge-and, therefore, like power" in Sontag's (1978: 4) words. Despite the instantaneity of the death, the image draws a significantly dramatic picture of the moment. It presents a new relation to the instant of death, to the nature of modern combat, offering a narrative that includes politics, emotions, morals, and ideology in a way that is real to the eye such that it "feels like knowledge". In this vein, this narrative encapsulates the discourse of the Spanish Civil War as much as Pablo Picasso's Guernica does. Through embalming a significant moment, it sets the discourse of the war across a long time span manifesting exactly how to remember the war. It positions the spectator on the side of the victim, or in other words the hero, who made the ultimate sacrifice to fight the fascist forces of Franco. This powerful semantic manifestation is well illustrated by a Spanish Civil War veteran's account, as recorded in a televised documentary program (American Public Broadcasting Service [PBS] 2003):

> You cannot talk about the war and Spain without talking about Capa and his photographs. But very particularly about this photograph [The Falling Soldier]. It portrays the moment a man dies and he receives death as our poet Miguel says: "He receives death on his feet. Fallen but on his feet. He loses his life but maintains his dignity".

This defines the iconicity of the image. The Falling Soldier's semantic implications have penetrated into public imagery to such an extent that the veteran defines the war in Spain as untellable without the agency of the image. Certainly, the image

cannot be conceptualised as providing the same pride to everyone as it does with the veteran who experienced the war. However, there is a state of national self-awareness due to the context of values involved, as Spain spent considerable time under Franco's regime. Some may read it through "dignity", like the above veteran; some may read it in ways coloured by suffering or hope. The meaning depends on the individual who interprets the image. This agency consolidates the opposition against Franco not only by survivors of the war, but also by younger generations. For example, the image could be for this veteran an anchor point that offers access to the lived past, access to the context of emotions and memories. For newer generations in Spain, the image may function as a symbol that helps to cultivate a national self-awareness against fascism and the Franco regime. Hence, this account helps us to see the cult status in addition to the classic and iconic. The image declares a distinctive identification instrument to its audience, particularly to those from the Spanish national cultural fabric. As it combines cult and iconic statuses, The Falling Soldier opens up onto a mythical dimension as a cultural icon.

The identity myth is reproduced not only with each following combat picture focused on death and warfare, but also with each narrative that tells us about personal sacrifice for the greater good. This dimension could stem from the image's unique illustration of the very subject of the photograph: the mystical moment of death, but particularly the mystery and dignity of death for an honourable cause. It disperses the mystery of instantaneity, the trademark of modern warfare that leaves no room to get to know either hero or enemy. The speed does not allow the depiction of how two sides face up and challenge each other, in the way one would during a long and difficult sword fight as the latter would be described in ancient myth. The modern hero was simply killed by an unknown soldier by a bullet that was triggered a few hundred meters away, hitting him at incredible speed. In the fight against evil, the dead militiaman is the modern Hector, the Trojan prince, embedded in our collective memory. In *The Iliad*, Homer was able to describe the tragic killing of Hector by Achilles in great detail. However, the technology of modern warfare does not allow such duels, where enemies literally face up and challenge each other in front of others. As war technology, in this sense, reduces the scope of drama through accelerating death beyond the limits of human senses, Capa's image enters the stage giving clues for our imagination to figure out the scene like never before. It is not the aftermath or preparation for combat, it is the very moment of death, the peak moment of combat: the tragic fall of Hector in the 20th century.

The caught moment includes also the story of survival of the photographer, as another hero who embodies the mythical archetype through risking his life, witnessing death, surviving perils, and offering his story to narrators to be told and retold for generations. Perhaps, this heroic image represents the "basic motif" of the "universal hero's journey" in various mythologies. As Campbell (1991: 152) describes it, within the structuralist tradition, the journey is the transcendence of given conditions towards a state of life where richer or more mature qualities reign. Campbell (1991)

argues that these new conditions point to a quest for a transformation in human consciousness:

> You leave the world that you are in and go into a depth or into a distance or up to a height. There you come to what was missing in your consciousness in the world you formerly inhabited. Then comes the problem either of staying with that, and letting the world drop off, or returning with that boon and trying to hold on to it as you move back into your social world again. (157–158)

If the hero chooses he transfers the novel insights of consciousness back into his social world, where everyone who inhabits that social world must face the very same problem. Life changes once you encounter a new consciousness, and you have to decide whether to adopt or deny it. The reason why I am stressing this problem is because of its resonance with the current dilemma of sustainability and the designer's potential role as a modern hero who unfolds a new consciousness of environment, possessions, and consumption. If we follow Campbell's argument on the meaning of this myth, designers' creative roles seem like closely related to his sense of archetypal heroism.

Firstly, design's past offers us examples: consider the specific context of the Finnish avant-garde, where modernist designers from a specific time period were designated as design heroes in popular and academic circles. Design heroism is not an imaginary concept that I have attempted to create in this study. Rather, the designer's heroic image is a phenomenon that included such concepts as designers' idealism, strength, bravery, and achievement in the context of twentieth-century modernism. A designer's heroic, intellectual, spiritual, and experimental journey is not necessarily different than mythological ones in terms of transcending limitations of the given consciousness, achieving higher levels, and provoking societies for transformation, such as in the case of Capa's image.

Secondly, when we look at the designer as a hero, it stimulates the idea that the creative, experimental, and transformative nature of design can be attributed to a mythological realm through the embodiment of a popular archetypal character. Hence, it could be wise of us to engage aspects of design mythology in addition to design history, if we aim to benefit most effectively from the past achievements of design. In other words, delving into the vibrant history of design as a mythological construct could enable us to comply with the socially constructive character and constantly changing operation of heritage. In this way, the limits of objective reality can be transcended towards creative fields of fiction and fabrication where consumers and business pursue heritage ambitions. This is not to say that history is irrelevant to heritage. This just means that mythologies enable us to increase the capacities of history as in the case of Lowenthal's (1998: 18) heritage articulation in which myth is set above historical accuracy and adopts fiction as the "complement" of fact rather than its "opposite".

Moreover, fiction and fabrication can go far beyond the consumerist purposes of entertainment and amusement. For instance, mythologies can be intertwined with political and ideological positions as in the case of The Falling Soldier. The heroic death against evil is captured by another heroic act that defeats the speed of war technology, recording the moment with compassion. In this sense, what consolidates the mythological dimension in The Falling Soldier is Capa's political position next to the militiaman, against the fascist enemy. He offers his story to others as a source to qualify higher consciousness and delve into a deeper comprehension of life as both a commodity and a political realm. This realm points to the close relationship between the modern creator (designer) and his work, as Capa's greater career against fascism becomes substantiated as a positioning against fascism stretching across the globe, gesturing from the Japanese invasion of China to the Normandy landings of the Second World War. The semantic context of the image extends also to Capa's dramatic death during the Vietnam conflict in 1954 while he was on duty. This ultimate sacrifice consolidates his heroic career and attaches a new meaning to The Falling Soldier as the creator of the image falls dead in a battlefield, sharing the same destiny of the militiaman.

At this stage, Capa's heroism constitutes a suitable context to explain the close link between the social formation of permanent valorisation of an artefact and its creator's significance in a given society. In other words, the mythological dimension in valorisation assigns an important role to the creator in producing meanings connected to the present in diverse ways. Capa took pictures of the great names of 20th-century fiction and art such as Pablo Picasso and Ernest Hemingway. This defines the hero from within a social environment like a modern version of the mount of Olympus, the sacred place defined in Greek Mythology. Such a context, including Capa's well-known love story with actress Ingrid Bergman, transcends the war context and reaches the shores of popular culture. Perhaps popular culture is the most productive sphere in terms of meanings that are attached to the modern hero. Certainly, there is no direct connection with The Falling Soldier and Bergman. However, all that contributes to Capa's public psyche may add a certain connection between the image's ethos and the present.

The image provides the public imagery with the portray of the ultimate sacrifice for the good and artistic compassion, mythologising the moment and heroising the modern creator. The image is a spectacle that involves the mythical dimension of eventual truth as the key of continuous relevancy to the present. In this context, as long as an image or an artefact constitutes the agency that enables access to the myth and participation in a narrative, it becomes endowed with the unique temporal quality of a myth. This dimension is well explained by Armstrong (2006):

> A myth was an event which, in some sense, had happened once, but which also happened all the time. Because of our strictly chronological view of history, we have no word for such an occurrence, but mythology is an art form

that points beyond history to what it is timeless in human existence, helping us to get beyond the chaotic flux of random events, glimpse the core of reality. (7)

This temporal framework offers us the opportunity to continue the above discussion on why a mythological approach to the past rather than a historical one may provide a more suitable means to achieve heritage purposes. As previously stated, a sole focus on historical accuracy may not fit heritage interests that prefer to alter and fabricate the past in order to affect the most benefits. Such an alteration includes the sequence of events. Conception and reproduction of the past in a linear chronological order does not fully correspond to the nature of heritage. For example, when Lowenthal (2010: 137) compares heritage with history he points out that "[t]he heritage realm is not a sequence of events but a timeless fabric, conjoining distinct places as cavalierly as periods." In this sense, mythology's focus on what is "timeless in human existence" beyond the chaos of events may draw a parallel with the "timeless fabric" of the organisation of events by heritage. Mythology may allow a more selective and creative temporal articulation of the past than a linear sequence of events offers. And this may have managerial implications for design heritage management as, for example, when considering the previous discussion on the temporal dimension of corporate heritage identity that is positioned by Balmer (2013: 305) in a state of "omni-temporality" and "multiple time stratums". As they share a similar temporal state with myth, brands can investigate design's past as a mythological entity rather than as an element of historical integrity, which will allow "heroic" actors from the past and the present to tap into consumer fantasies and motivations in culturally resonant ways.

Seen in this light, it can be argued that the mythologising of the past – as a design heritage management method – could channel elements of the past to the state of permanent valorisation. Then, we can recognise a link between heritage, permanent valorisation, and mythology. This could, for instance, mean that a permanently valorised artefact is a mythological agent that "points beyond history to what it is timeless in human existence" in a "timeless fabric".

The Falling Soldier may help to shed further light how this agency operates. As it has been published in numerous magazines, The Falling Soldier enables us to mythologise and continuously access the past moment of both the heroic death of the militiaman and the compassion of the photographer in the context of modern warfare. In this sense, gazing at the image is like a ritual that attaches the myth to the present, a performance of remembrance, like a commemoration of death or celebration of survival. The myth needs such an agency, to descend to the world among people from the transcendent skies, for the sake of its own survival. Ritual practices or ceremonies provide the crucial connection between human and narrative that keeps the myth alive in collective memory. It takes place through repetition and participation. Once myths lose their contact with the human, they become transient; as Armstrong (2006: 14) puts it: "[…] mythology would fail if it spoke of a reality that

was too transcendent. If a myth does not enable people to participate in the sacred in some way, it becomes remote and fades from their consciousness."

Therefore, there is a vital relationship with the agent of memory, ritual, and myth that influence the social formation of heritage and permanent valorisation. Once the relationship is broken, both myth and memory fade with the passing time. Even though myths are based on an imaginary world and divine life, their existence is vitally bound to their utility in people's ordinary lives, shedding light on human nature and its problems. This is well-recognised by Levy (1981) in terms of underpinning "consumer relevance" when the divine permeates the behaviour of the ordinary:

> If we take the idea that myths are ways of organizing perceptions of realities, of indirectly expressing paradoxical human concerns, they have consumer relevance because these realities and concerns affect people's daily lives. The issues of male/female, nature/culture, and high/low, for example, are not reserved to story-telling occasions about kings and shepherdesses but are also being acted out in everyday behavior. (52)

Rituals play a key role to bridge the divine with the ordinary. This is the very capability of design: to connect a divine universal story with the rituals of the everyday. Overarching mythical dimensions gain access to the heart of the everyday through, object personalities, functions, and rituals of consumption. This access becomes more conceivable when Barthes (2000) in *Mythologies* provides a magical realm to describe the semantic ethos of the iconic model Citroën D.S. 19:

> It is obvious that the new Citroën has fallen from the sky in as much as it appears at first sight as a superlative *object*. We must not forget that an object is the best messenger of a world above that of nature: one can easily see in an object at once a perfection and absence of origin, a closure and a brilliance, a transformation of life into matter (matter is much more magical than life), and in a word a *silence* which belongs to the realm of fairy-tales. (88)

First and foremost, then, driving the Citroën is a part of a mythological speech. Have such magical realms and myths, however, not lost their dominant position in our social affairs in the age of science? Myths have existed since the prehistoric ages as an outcome of collective human imagination bringing explanation and belief systems to untellable realities of life, such as the origins of human existence and its afterworlds. Harari (2011) argues that myths were substantially effective in building social links in archaic tribes that enabled them to grow ever-broadening social networks for mass cooperation and live in larger human settlements. Hence, the emergence of first cities and empires depends on the creation of myths, alongside the Agricultural Revolution, that unite large numbers of people who have never met. Many myths have faded, been altered, or been replaced by different

myths that suggest a more appealing explanation for the unknown. In the age of science, of course, the scope of the unknown has altered substantially. The modern world does not reproduce myths on the origins of life, creation, or cosmic disasters. Instead, there are scientific theories such as the Evolution and Big Bang that have superseded mythological explanations. Despite this, there is still a sense of the unknown that surrounds us.

The modern unknown is still about the hidden truth behind life. We do not seek angry gods, for example, behind lightning skies. But we still have perennial problems not fully comprehensible by means of rational thinking. We have to deal with our mortality and other humane limitations, maintain boundaries and psychic integrity in the face of powerful emotional demands such as anxiety and stress, aroused by the overwhelming traumas of life. The modern man still needs imagination to a certain degree to deal with love, pain, and sorrow, or answer questions such as the ultimate purpose of human existence. In modern myths, mythological figures are human beings that are visible to the human senses. They are in charge of displaying courage, compassion, strength, and wisdom for a greater good, as a hero instead of a divine creature. They may not possess supernatural qualities, however, they are able to transcend the constraints of ordinary man through excellence in the face of the intense experiences of modern life. These experiences are bound to rational think-ing of course, hence the modern hero does not make a journey to the underworld to fight with the infernal giants of darkness. Nevertheless, they fight against evil and myriad difficulties of life with noble qualities, generating exemplary models for the ordinary man. Modern myths, for example, may not revolve around Aphrodite or Venus, but instead Marilyn Monroe, the goddess of American pop culture, with whom the modern human positions itself within greater accounts of beauty, love, or simply procreation. Marilyn was indeed mortal, however, her fame and imaginary psyche have been ubiquitous and omnipresent across decades. She did not live on the Mount of Olympus with other supreme deities, but she was inaccessible to the ordinary man behind the tall walls of Hollywood. What makes her accessible is her continuous mediation across a range of media and genres, the works that speak loudly about the myth of Hollywood to the public imaginary.

In short, the modern has rationalised the myths. However, modern myths continue to be functional in contemporary life, answering to the modern unknown and suggesting solutions for present problems where science and technology remain silent. Campbell (2008: 2) addresses the works of psychoanalysts, such as Freud, Jung and their followers, to indicate that "[…] the logic, the heroes, and the deeds of myth survive into modern times." For him, we may lack an "effective general mythology" in the current time span, however, each of us has an established dream mechanism that is able to bring the divine mythological characters down to the heart of everyday: "The latest incarnation of Oedipus, the continued romance of Beauty and the Beast, stand this afternoon on the corner of Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue, waiting for the traffic light to change."

The logic of myths embraces possessions too. A key insight can be here Belk's (1991a) aforementioned argument that possessions operate like "magical vessels" in object-person relationships. Hence, we should not forget that possessions, accordingly design and brands, are intrinsic to modern myths such as permanently valorised artefacts which I call mythological agents. Certainly, functionality of modern myths is not constrained to the field of individual emotions and dreams of consumers. For Harari (2011), modern institutions such as contemporary national states, churches, and even judicial systems operate thanks to myths as people have cultivated believes in the existence of nations, human rights, and a concept of justice. Modern myths serve indeed to cultivate, maintain, and justify social systems, which are connected with ideologies in the sense of what really matters in life and of how we should lead our lives. Such a connection, and myth's functionality, is best portrayed in the context of Henry Ford, portrayed as one of the mighty gods of capitalism by Smith (1993):

> The myths of Henry Ford as the successful plain man, the engineering genius, the farmer-mechanic who worked hard and got lucky, the social prophet and philanthropist, the conservative visionary, the man whose doctrine of high wages and low prices makes capitalism work for all (that is, achieves socialism) were both wish-projections of people in a variety of political and ideological positions and the carefully cultivated imagery of Ford Company. (99)

Ford's myths serve to justify capitalism – the ideology – to the ordinary man as they narrate Ford's personal life story of climbing to the divine court of the gods, achieving upward social mobility at its best, through hardship and genial ideas. Ford convinces us that pursuing the American dream is worth trying; engaging the right capacities, everyone can catch the opportunity for prosperity and success. Ford's myths are permanently valorised, like his iconic car models, as long as they allow people to make a connection in some way to the American dream. Capitalism, certainly, is not confined to the ideals of dreams. The ideology has become a synonym of the exploitation of human and ecological resources. Nevertheless, being aware of the malaises of capitalism may impose changes on the semantic ethos of Ford's myths, but do they disrupt permanent valorisation? Responding to this question may help to illustrate how a semantic shift influences permanency of valorisation.

As the final discussion in this chapter, Capa's photograph provides a good example with which to discuss the role of the semantic shift involved in the formation of valorisation as a subjective social element. Since the early 1970's, the authenticity of The Falling Soldier has been challenged by claims that the image was in fact staged in an area far from an actual battleground. These claims have started a popular and serious debate that has not reached a certain conclusion, yet which has involved historians, journalists, and curators. Of course, the possibility of such a manipulation is a great blow to Capa's heroism, destroying the mythology that dramatises his

ideological fight. It certainly imposes an impact on the permanent valorisation of the photograph, at least for the audience that doubts the authenticity. This demonstrates a dramatic semantic shift as the excellent and unique qualities are replaced by a sense of manipulation. No doubt that the image fails to become a classic anymore in the eyes of some audiences. But, does this mean that the image is not valorised anymore?

The semantic shift does not necessarily mean a termination of valorisation. In contrast, the hot debate on the image's authenticity may well fuel the permanency, not in terms of its status in the category of classic, but in terms of iconicity. In the contemporary era where the computerised manipulation of photography has become a wide spread artistic debate and practice, The Falling Soldier's iconicity could embrace this phenomenon even as its authenticity is questioned. Fresh debates could develop a new sense of contemporaneity for the symbolism of the image. Hence, The Falling Soldier shows that it is not the content of symbolism that provides permanency, but rather symbolism's contemporaneity, bound to the issues that are deemed important by society. As some categorical qualities are strengthened with changes, others may become weakened. Thus, a management method that aims at a specific semantic shift in permanent valorisation may possibly succeed if contemporaneity is achieved. In this context, addressing contradictions in contemporary consumer culture, the inclusion of sustainable consumption in design's symbolic ethos can be expected to strengthen the continuity shaking taken-for-granted conventions and cliché expressions.

In conclusion, intertwined with a given national cultural fabric, manageable capacities of permanent valorisation in design stretch across a wide spectrum, from the unique layers of memory accounts to ideologies, mythologies, and heroes. In the following chapter, I would like to present and analyse a special design heritage management case from Finland.

CHAPTER 4:

Selling the Shared History: Artek's 2ⁿᵈ Cycle Project and Vintage Store

When we were buying from flea markets, second-hand markets and auctions,
wherever, we were driving hundreds and hundreds kilometres around Finland. I
was driving and the kids were like 'again, another weekend? We are just chasing
these things' and I was like 'yes, yes, yes, we go now… this will be good one day.
Mirkku Kullberg [the founder of the 2nd Cycle project] (2016)

Finland is typical among Nordic countries for its conspicuous promotion of a
design agenda where permanent valorisation is a substantial part of national
iconography. The 20th century marked the rise of a unique and modern design
identity in Finland that has become a central cultural and economic institution
for the country. Today, design in Finland has been described as being uniquely
"prominent and permeates the entire culture" with a "very important symbolic
meaning" (Valtonen 2007: 41). This "symbolic meaning" involves for example, a
sense of national self-awareness for Finnish people as design and applied arts
were leading creative tools promoting national identity over the course of the 20th
century, including the critical decades following the declaration of independence
and the Second World War. With a strong modernist design background, Finland
harvests today the historic aspects of the 20th-century design ethos not only in
terms of economic means, as these aspects are deployed in the context of the mar-
keting of goods, but also in a deeper socio-cultural context including the enduring
aspects of design heritage.

Without doubt, the role of a generation of avant-garde designers in this suc-
cess cannot be undermined. Referring to the courage and leadership they showed
in the front lines of the "heroic age of modern design", shaped by the era's excru-
ciating political and economic challenges, design literature provides us with the
phenomenon of "design heroes". As icons, heroes embody the high ideals of the
era in which they worked, attempting to come up with no less than a "democratic"
design. Given the political aspirations of their creative exertions, they have influ-
enced current ways of thinking in design far beyond the scope of national branding.
The term hero corresponds to myth, and the Finnish design case demonstrates the
possibilities of design heritage management that are connected to the theoretical
framework given in the previous chapter. Translating history into lively business
practices, Finland may possess the potential to challenge the conventional fashion
paradigm and contribute in unique ways to the cultivation of more sustainable
patterns of consumer behaviour.

Expressing the national cultural ethos at its best, Finnish design has been a key
pillar of national promotion. Today, enjoying well-deserved global celebration and
the status of permanent valorisation, Finnish modern design is enshrined in the hall
of fame of modern design. Thanks to this reputation design is increasingly becoming

a focal point for Finland, for instance in the contemporary tourist scene.[17] For example, Helsinki's Design District, located in the heart of the capital city, has been designated a tourist attraction neighbourhood. Hosting one of the oldest design museums of the world, the commercial district features Finnish design in diverse spheres of activities and locales including art, fashion, and design galleries, studios as well as design-concept hotels and cafes. Certainly, in line with a global popularity, retro culture has a significant presence. The district includes a good number of vintage and antique stores that pay special tribute to Finnish modern design. As a hot spot not only for tourists but also for local consumers seeking authentic design, it offers a suitable environment for an assessment of the feasibility of societal transformation towards the development of a specific heritage management methodology.

4.1 Experiencing the 2nd Cycle and Vintage Store

Just a few hundreds of meters away from the Helsinki Design Museum, an inconspicuous and small signboard at street level reads "2nd Cycle Artek" (see figure 4.1). The board is not located next to a shop window as one would expect; instead it is right above the opening of a darkened and rough passage that leads below street level. Large wooden doors at the end of the passage are half-closed – as they are usually whenever I go there – and the light from the inside gives some clue that you are entering a warehouse rather than the new vintage store of Finland's most iconic housewares company, Artek. A sense of obscurity was my first impression, as a design enthusiast, when entering the store for the first time.

Artek is engraved in the memory of modern design enthusiasts from all over the world as the brand of many design models that have become icons of Finnish modern design. The company has been in operation since 1935, when it was co-founded by the legendary Finnish architect and designer Alvar Aalto (1898–1976).[18] The company has embraced and maintained Finnish modernist design as the core of its brand identity since its foundation. Strengthened with an anti-fashion brand philosophy, today, Artek's product range relies heavily on modern era designs, such as mid-century furniture, many of which have been in continuous and uninterrupted production for decades.

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17 Finnair, the national airline company of Finland, is one of the most conspicuous promoters of design in pursuit of boosting tourism. Two Finnair aircrafts, for example, are painted with the Finnish clothing and textile company Marimekko's most famous Unikko (poppy) pattern, originally designed in 1964. International Finnair flights broadcast documentaries about famous Finnish designers, such as Eero Aarnio, as part of their on-board passenger entertainment system (Aarnio's popular "Rocket" stool design is currently a part of the Artek production line).

18 The other founders are Alvar Aalto's wife, Aino Marsio-Aalto, art collector Maire Gullichsen, and art historian Nils-Gustav Hahl.

Hence, the 2nd Cycle store is not a simple vintage store of the sort that can easily be found across the Design District, but rather an archival space of the company. Walls exhibit Artek's previous promotional posters as well as photographs of iconic Finnish designers (see figures 4.2 and 4.3). Visitors can discover a great diversity of mid-century furniture and classic home decoration items including glassware and lighting fixtures. The collection includes a wide spectrum of items from carefully-selected objects of everyday use to rare antique pieces, with price levels that range from 50 to 100 Euros at the low end, climbing to over 15.000 Euros.

The choice of the collection distinguishes 2nd Cycle from mainstream shops on multiple fronts that aren't all dedicated merely to "recycling", or reselling second-hand furniture. The collection consists of a constantly changing repertoire, a clear focus of which is on designers who were not able to achieve fame in the era in which they worked. Their "inspirational" works are displayed alongside classical works by globally well-known Finnish masters, with a focus on Alvar Aalto and Ilmari Tapio-vaara. The collection includes also foreign designers who have been represented by Artek at exhibitions and events since as far back as the 1930s as a result of the founding principle of the company, one that aims to promote modernist housing ideals in Finland (see figure 4.4).[5]

Although the store maintains limited and irregular opening hours, sometimes only by appointment, it has become an authentic destination for tourists as well

as a haunt for the local public since its launch in 2011. It is the store's authenticity, according to Antti Tevajärvi (2014b), one of three in-house experts and salespeople, making a distinction between "authenticity" and "fame". Fame does play a role in the store's collection, but a secondary one, according to Tevajärvi. The authenticity of design, design that is "interesting" "timeless" and "good design", is of primary importance. This criterion encompasses a wide variety of furniture. For example, Finnish folk-art furniture pieces that are exhibited solely to give visitors a taste of the origins if the inspirations of modern Finnish designers, rather than being for sale (see figure 4.5). The not-for-sale exhibition includes also certain rare Artek productions that have been recollected from previous customers. For instance, an Artek product from the 60s meets this criterion due to unusual choice of wood material in its production that could be originated from a temporary shortage of wood supply back in that time. Another example can be shown as a recently produced furniture with no historical background that are painted by children due to an Artek's promotional project (see figure 4.6). Not surprisingly, just like in the case of some British vintage stores reported by Baker (2013), Tevajärvi does not characterise the store as "retro", a term he finds overused and overly commercial.

The first impression surrounded by the sense of obscurity, due to the fact that the store is not particularly visible at street level, turns inside the store to a sense of serendipity and of being haphazard with the arrangement of items across the store composed of connected halls and rooms (see figure 4.7). The store is covered with

piles of stackable stools and various furniture pieces. The 550 square meter store has a distinctive aesthetical pattern drawing on patinas of time that are visible on displayed products in varying degrees of worn and stained surfaces, and sometimes in paint scratches and chips. The space was in fact previously used as a storage space that in times past was opened only to professional antique collectors by special appointment. In 2011, when the space was transformed into the store, renovations included the addition of a glass door, some lighting equipment, and a new layer of white paint. The space has not undergone structural change; the rough, concrete texture of the walls, for example, has been preserved. This provides a less up-market, and thus less intimidating, feel that strongly contrasts with current retail store displays dominated by elitist market images of permanent valorisation in design. The impression is that of a storage space, rather than a retail space for Finland's most iconic furniture brand (see figure 4.8). Hence, what dominates the store is not the exhibition language of polished surfaces shining under spotlights. Instead, stressing the atmosphere of obscurity even more, furniture pieces stand one on top of the other, while some are cast in dim light next to the building's heat transfer pipes and devices. It requires a close look to see what lays below a pile of stools or behind tables, for example. Below these heaps of furniture, one could find a rare piece, you never know.

The somewhat shambolic appearance is clearly a deliberate choice, with the aim of distinguishing this second-hand space from the more formal aesthetics of mainstream commercial displays. It is the incarnation of a strategy that invites

Figure 4.7: One of
the connected rooms
is used as an office.

visitors to engage, touch, and discover, with no pressure tactics applied for purchase. After the air of obscurity, my next impression of the store was the joy and excitement of exploration. This must be the experience that customers look for when coming to this store, I thought at the time. Baker (2013), to whom I refer in the previous chapter, in discussing the favouring of least available and commercial modes, argues that the method of acquisition bears importance when seeking authentic qualities in retro cultures such as vintage. This is confirmed in the context of the 2nd Cycle store, as Tevajärvi (2014b) puts it: "*We* [salespeople] *have realised that our customers enjoy discovering* […] *we do not interrupt while they are hunting unless they address us with questions.*"

Indeed, customers are welcome for long, lingering visits. They are encouraged to hunt among the diverse items, coming across names that have been previously unknown to them. This activity belongs to the experience of "discovery" that is uninterrupted by the store's salespeople unless customers ask for help. In this context, too, the store builds on but goes beyond the concept of a museum in the sense that visitors are not only welcome to linger, but are also encouraged to try out the vintage furniture.

However, what really marks the shopping experience at the 2nd Cycle store is not how visitors are left by themselves while exploring the store, but rather how they interact with the store personnel. In the previous chapter, again referring to Baker

(2013), I mentioned the potential of narration of past lives of furniture including designers and production period. The 2nd Cycle processes include such a narration via enhancing those visits with in-depth conversations with specialist salespeople about each individual item's historical aspects and qualifications. Such conversations are intrinsic to the experience offered by the store. For example, in addition to production-related information, these conversations can involve stories about the history of the consumption of each piece. Customers can thus conceive the value of authenticity in finding out interesting origin-of-consumption stories such as finding out about well-known architectural projects in which the furniture may have been originally used (Tevajärvi 2014b). Certain modern furniture styles index specific historical periods in Finland defined by large architectural projects that the furniture was a part of; the consumption story of such items thus greatly enhances their authenticity.[19] This line

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19   For example, the iconic bent-wood Paimio lounge chair (Armchair 41) was designed by Alvar Aalto in 1932 for the Paimio Tuberculosis Sanatorium (1929–1933). The Sanatorium building (itself also designed by Aalto) is now in the UNESCO World Heritage tentative list and has become an icon of the breakthrough of Finnish modernist architecture. The armchair is still in production. Many copies have been sold over the course of decades, integrated into different projects in different time periods. Thus, the sense created for 2nd Cycle customers is one of heightened authenticity.

of conversation and the detailed documentation of the past lives of furniture that they entail are inherently important to the context of 2nd Cycle since they mark the initial intentions held by Artek when the company started the project.

Vintage stores have been known to adopt a less-commercial store layout and narrate commodities in pursuit of attracting authenticity-seeking customers in a way that can be adapted to the vintage sector and closely related to Beverland's (2005) aforementioned stress on the synchrony between the downplay of commercial ambitions by brands and consumers' perceived authenticity. However, gathering and sharing insight into the consumption background of furniture could be a factor that distinguishes Artek's 2nd Cycle from other commercial vintage operations. For instance, the company's attempt in gathering information involves not only large architectural projects, but sometimes the slightest information from previous customers and even from retired employees. The line of conversation with customers of the past lives of furniture is inherently important to the context of 2nd Cycle. So, what does Artek really aim at with such a vintage store concept, and what capacities does it promise for this study?

4.2 Background of the 2nd Cycle Project

The 2nd Cycle store opened following the popularity of an Artek public relations campaign of the same name that began in 2007. The campaign aimed to engage the historical and socio-cultural significance of Artek as an iconic brand. In this context, 2nd Cycle fully reflects the company's new management paradigm as shaped by the translation of the modernist ideals that established the core of Finnish modern design and Artek's brand DNA in the early 20th century into a contemporary understanding. This translation has resulted in an explicit sustainability strategy that has shaped not only the company's marketing, but also its production and business models. Hence, understanding 2nd Cycle requires, first, an understanding of Artek's national significance, and the role of its co-founder and leading designer Alvar Aalto in the emergence of Finnish design as a mythological construct.

I have stated previously that design's past can be investigated as a mythological entity rather than an entity of historical integrity, which would thereby allow "heroic" actors from the past and the present to tap into consumer fantasies and motivations in culturally-resonant ways. In this vein, the investigation of the past for heritage purposes may differ greatly than a historical analysis; to repeat Lowenthal's (1998: 7) analysis of this distinction, history's main argumentative line depends on "truth, and succumbs on falsehood". However, when it comes to heritage, this line shifts towards subjective terms that are shaped by expected benefits and exploitation. Lowenthal (1998: 7) puts it baldly, saying "[h]eritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error." Given this difference, when analysing the past in pursuit of gaining insight into Artek's heritage version of the

Finnish design mythology, a researcher could approach the past in a selective fashion. Hence, in strong contrast to the methodological framework of design history studies, a historiographical critique of the past may be partly, even entirely, excluded if such a critique has no place in a mythological construction. In this study's context, this means that the research emphasis concerning the past may be placed on the elements that are used in the marketing construction of Artek's heritage management rather than the critical historical evidence. Accordingly, the below sections explore the mythological elements of Alvar Aalto and Artek in a selective approach.

The emergence of "Design Heroism" in Finland and Alvar Aalto: an insight into the building materials of the Finnish design mythology

Alvar Aalto's career began as an architect in the 1920s. His work in architecture spanned roughly a half-century, and varied from large-scale town planning and religious buildings of worship, to public and institutional housings, as well as private residences. Alongside large-scale works, as an architect his studies also entailed the design of interior furnishing details such as furniture and light-fittings. Hence, his design career grew in parallel with his architecture career. From a mythological perspective that accounts for a heroic status in design, it is hardly an exaggeration to claim that Aalto became a design and architecture guru whose teachings have provided succeeding generations of designers and architects. This influence can be most significantly observed in Aalto's harmonisation of nature in the modernist paradigm, a move that gave room to the emergence of a canonical interplay of space, form, and structure. If we seek a "prehistory" of contemporary Nordic architecture's "fascination with nature", for instance, Aalto might be listed at the top of a list of those involved (Pelkonen 2014a: 412). Certainly, such an influence is not confined to the field of architecture. Aalto's lasting influence engages diverse fields, from textiles and jewellery to glassware, elements that he included in his design in which he demonstrated spectacular artistic skills.[20]

An early sign of the hero's industrious and cosmopolitan career came as early as within the first decade of his professional life as he won a competition for the design of a tuberculosis sanatorium building in 1928 (see figure 4.9). The Paimio Sanatorium involved interior design details including furniture solutions for patients. This illustrates the era's understanding of seeing furnishings as an integral component of

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20   Aalto's design career stretches across a long span of time with different starting times for different interest areas. Aalto's first known furniture design, for instance, dates back to 1919, in a drawing for a classmate's brother (Herler 1984). His first glass design appears more than a decade later in 1932, as a carafe named *Kar-hiit*, with which Aalto entered the Karhula glassworks competition (Koivisto 2015).

Figure 4.9: The terrace of the Paimio Sanatorium. The undulating roofline is an early application of Aalto's idiosyncratic rippling contours and curvilinear geometric shapes that would be later adopted in various architectural and design works.

architecture and as part of an architect's responsibility.[21] The most notable furniture model designed for the sanatorium, for example, was the bent-plywood Paimio lounge chair (Armchair 41), which was intended to help tuberculosis patients with their breathing (see figure 4.10).[22] The chair gained global recognition due to its innovative production method and undulating forms, enriching technical ambitions with artistic associations. Recognition of the design was achieved right after its development in 1933, during an exhibition in London, where it was showcased among other Aalto design models such as Stool 60 (three-legged stool). The exhibition and its English media coverage opened up overseas markets for Aalto furniture; demand subsequently rose from countries where British architectural journals were published, such as Canada, the U.S.A., and Australia (Schildt 1986).[23]

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21   This domination of architects in Finland gradually decreases later on in the history of design with the rise of a generation of furniture designers who received competitive training in the applied arts context (Korvenmaa 1998).

22   The characteristic undulating form of the Paimio armchair was one of the results of Aalto's experiments in bending plywood that was carried out with the cooperation of furniture manufacturer Otto Korhonen. This collaboration translated later to a closer relationship as Korhonen became an individual producer of Artek furniture.

23   Both the Paimio chair and Stool 60 are still in production by Artek and are regarded as renowned models. Many copies have been sold over the course of decades, integrated into an assortment of different projects over different time periods.

It is not a coincidence that, founded in 1873, the Helsinki Design Museum is one of the oldest design museums in the world. The 1870s marked the institutionalisation of applied arts and craft, with the museum completing the process as the institution of documentation alongside establishments for the purposes of systematic training (Craft School – 1871) and for the promotion of crafts and design (Finnish Society of Craft and Design – 1874, Friends of Finnish Handicrafts – 1879). In the following decades, until the break of the First World War, the applied arts sector became a part of an economic process during which the gross national product almost trebled (Korvenmaa 2009). The national commitment to the sector is best illustrated by the assignment of a spectacular new building (Ateneum) for the training of artists and craftsmen. The generously-funded building was inaugurated in 1887. The building was divided into two establishments, one for arts, one for crafts. Accordingly, the building housed the collections and Drawing School of the Finnish Art Society on one side, and the School of Applied Art and the collections and offices of the Finnish Society of Crafts and Design on the other. [24]

Such a commitment is linked certainly to domestic economic concerns, but also to more comprehensive ambitions. Arts and craft was seen as a means of proof of

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24   The Atenum building housed the Drawing School of the Finnish Art Society and the School of Applied Art until the 1970s. Today, the building serves as the Ateneum Art Museum and the Central Art Archives, which has been incorporated into the Finnish National Gallery.

national, cultural, and industrial capacities in international arenas such as the era's World's Fairs. Asserting the link between nationhood and arts and craft relies on the characteristics of the "national awakening" in Finland. This awakening took place in the nineteenth century through ethno-linguistic research that sought an independent national identity via building linguistic theories that distinguished the Finnish language from those of Russian and Swedish.[25] Perhaps, the most important source for this search stemmed from the prehistoric roots that provided the modern public with an essential cultural source, exploring, as Ashby (2010: 353) calls it, "a golden age of independent pagan Finns". The seminal work of this era came in the re-collection of oral poetry compiled by Elias Lönnrot and published as the epic, the *Kalevala*, in the mid nineteenth century. For Ashby (2010: 353), the "idea of ancient Finns" and "the conceptual world of the Kalevala" composed the means by which designers "approached and used" "vernacular material" in their search for a national style. In this context, Finnish textiles employing "ornamental language constitute an example of how design and nation-building efforts were closely connected in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Ashby 2010).[26]

In the 20th century, we see the mobilisation of the nationalisation efforts. For example, even before its declaration of independence, the Grand Duchy of Finland – an autonomous state that was nonetheless bound politically to the Russian empire – used Finnish arts and craft as an instrument to prove its capacities as a nation in the international arena. For example, Finland's ambitious participation in the Paris World's Fair of 1900, 17 years before the declaration of independence that it made during the Bolshevik Revolution, bears distinctive national cultural and political gestures that achieved international acclaim by visitors and experts (Korvenmaa 2009). Hence, such fairs became platforms for the implementation of political strategies to promote the country's capacities beyond mere industrial displays.

Finland carried on pursuing such promotional strategies in decades that followed, such as at the Milan Triennials in 1933 and 1936, in order to gain national recognition and explore new export markets in the international arena. These strategies continued also during the post-war era. Despite four wars, including a civil war in 1918, that shook Finnish everyday life and economy throughout these decades, design and applied arts became the main instrument in the introduction of Finnish culture and lifestyle to international audiences by means of a distinctive aesthetic

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25 Finland was ruled by the Kingdom of Sweden for some 650 years, beginning from the thirteenth century until 1809 when the Russian Empire annexed the land. Until the country's declaration of independence in 1917, Finland remained an autonomous part of the Russian Empire.

26 Across language and vernacular culture, a link between an idealised ancient past and modern Finland was sought not only in terms of craft, but also by a greater circle of academic and intellectuals developing various forms of an original national identity in music, painting, and literature.

authenticity.[27] Leading designers and artists, in this context, inevitably became politicised actors dealing with hardships and serving their country in the creation of an image of an independent, industrialised, and modern country. The term "design hero" addresses these pioneering protagonists in the design field who have become father figures for national design culture and its successive generations of designers; yet their work, including that of Aalto, was also integral to the broader political and cultural currents of the era, and vice versa.

Aalto himself gained immediate recognition across the international architectural community after the success of the Paimio Sanatorium, which secured his role as the "cultural ambassador" of Finland's creative capacities in the early 1930s. By the mid-1930s, Aalto had taken over the leading position of the Finnish architectural field from Eliel Saarinen (1873–1950) who was considered by Finns as a "cultural hero" in the establishment of the nation's cultural image leading to independence in 1917 (Pallasmaa 2012b).[28] Aalto (1979), when defining Saarinen's cultural role in 1946, provides us with a detailed definition of what a cultural hero means to Finland:

> […] Eliel Saarinen was helpful in eliminating some of the architectural illiteracy and some of the inferiority complexes in a country which, because of its isolation and the difficulty that outsiders encounter in learning its language, has been and still is removed from the larger cultural centres of the Western world. Finland's cultural contributions have been made primarily in terms of architecture and music – two international languages. Eliel Saarinen was a pioneer, together with Jean Sibelius, in these two art forms. Through them and their efforts the Finnish people communicated with the rest of the world. (xii)

Aalto had already joined the same hall of fame as Saarinen and Sibelius in 1946 when writing this definition. His cultural role was further realised after the commissioning of the Finland pavilions to Aalto at the Paris and New York World's Fairs in 1937 and 1939, respectively. The New York fair is a special historical example and a remarkable achievement, the examination of which helps gain greater insight into Aalto's heroic political role. In 1939, we see Aalto's pavilion opening by means of a performance by Sibelius, bringing the two ambassadors together. The Finland pavilion in New York opened on May 1939 with a ceremony that hosted a live broadcast

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27 The chain of wars was launched with the Civil War between the Reds and Whites in 1918. Prior to the break of Second World War, this time, Finland fought the Winter War against the Soviet Union between 1939 and 40. The war against the Soviet Union took place once again between 1941 and 44 as the Continuation War. Finally, Finland fought the Lapland War against Nazi Germany between 1944 and 45.

28 For example, Eliel Saarinen was in charge of the architecture of the Finland pavilion in Paris World's Fair of 1900 alongside Herman Gesellius and Armas Lindgren.

of Sibelius conducting a performance in Helsinki (Menin 2012). Furthermore, the fair took place in a dramatic historical context that was highly critical for Finland, as Helsinki was selected to host the Summer Olympic Games to take place the following year.[29] What consolidated this historical context was also the ongoing conflict between Finland and Soviet Russia. In the 1930s, Finland experienced an economic boom. However, the conflict would escalate into a full-fledged war that devastating the Finnish economy and threatened Finland's hardly-won independence just six months after the fair's opening. Hence, in the shadow of the impending escalation and promotional needs in terms of the Olympic Games, the political emphasis of the pavilion became a focal point where the right national image was being sought in order to be displayed to the international audience (Menin 2012). In this vein, the political agenda was very clearly expressed even within the title of the Finnish exhibition: "Finland – The Country of Freedom and Democratic Spirit". The pavilion was a breakthrough as Aalto's abstract pavilion design, based on very personal authentic qualities, mixed the core of Finnish materiality and nature, wood, with a

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29   The 1940 Games were eventually cancelled due to the Second World War. Helsinki had to wait until 1952 to host the Olympic Games.

modernist phantasy incarnated in a stylistic formula of wave-like organic lines and curved forms, as in the case of the pavilion walls (see figure 4.11 and 4.12). These organic lines would later become not only Aalto's signature but also a semantic link between international modernism and *Finnishness*.

Besides architectural expressions, the semantic line of undulating forms became equally visible in Aalto's furniture and glassware design, perhaps most famously known in the iconic "Savoy Vase".[30] Designed for Karhula-Iittala's competition in 1936 for the following year's Paris exhibition, the free-form vase and its variants were displayed both at the Paris and New York World's Fairs (see figure 4.13). The Savoy Vase later became a "national symbol" of Finland (Schildt 1986). Today, these distinctive lines are one of the most referred to and celebrated visual elements in the marketing of Finnish design; the popular Savoy Vase is still in production.

Alongside the pavilion, what consolidated Aalto's international reputation as cultural ambassador could be Aalto's successive exhibitions in New York at the MoMA, the most prestigious and influential institution devoted to modern

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30   For Pallasmaa (2002), the Savoy Vase, also known as Aalto Vase, could be the most popular glass object of all time.

art, in 1938 and 1939. The catalogue of the 1938 exhibition, entitled "Alvar Aalto: Architecture and Furniture", gives hints about how his individual reputation is institutionally promoted and constructed with along the national characteristics of Finnish design and architecture. The below excerpt from the catalogue's foreword, for example, builds such a reputation (McAndrew 1938):

> The personal character is most obvious in the delightful inventiveness of his forms and his handling of materials. The national character, closely allied, can be seen in the general Scandinavian trimness, and above all in the use of wood, Finland's principal building material. Aalto's thorough knowledge of the various properties of wood guides his imagination in putting them to work architecturally, under the direction of his unique esthetic sensibility.

This institutional publicity resonates with the discussion in the previous chapter on Pallasmaa's role as a cultural author in the shaping of the discourse and permanency of valorisation. Design heroism, in the same context, may not rely solely on the inherent values of these designers and their designs, but rather on the discourse that promotes the "enigma" of the creative genius of designers and the superior qualities of their designs. A similar recognition is highlighted by Hansen (2006) in his use of the concept "Danish Modern". Hansen pays attention to the role of a "social network" that authored and promoted powerful "narratives" about Danish design while members of this network developed a sense of self-understanding. For him, this "narrative framework" provides better capacities for the analysis of the international success of Danish design than the aesthetic qualities frequently associated with Danish design, such as "beauty", "simplicity", and "functionality". For Hansen (2010), Danish Modern and Denmark became two concepts that served to brand each other in the U.S. market from 1940 to 1970, for example, thanks to the narratives of this network of individuals and organisations including the press. The narratives effectively cobranded the image of Denmark as of a "romantic and idyllic society unlike the highly-industrialised U.S." with Danish Modern as "handcrafted, scientific, and functional furniture".[31] Could such a narrative also surround Aalto and Finnish design and architecture?

After this individual exhibition in 1938, MoMA hosted Aalto in a group exhibition during the World Fair as one of the five "masters" who had left their mark on modern architecture, alongside Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Oscar Niemeyer (Menin 2012). One can argue that such an honour may have exceeded the personal scope of Aalto's career and adds to the context

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31   Hansen (2010) explains that these narratives became a cultural source for U.S. consumers who wanted to construct an identity and lifestyle distanced from the "conformist" models of the U.S. market.

of Finland as a young and small republic seeking recognition. When we look at the reflections of these achievements in the domestic context, however, Menin (2012: 158) notes that the New York pavilion was not extensively reported in the Finnish media at that time, and stresses the passage of a period of time before the iconisation of Aalto's distinctive design language in Finland itself: "Only later did the Finns recognize Aalto's architectural gestures as signifiers of themselves, their experience, and their place in the world. At this late point, they adopted the undulating metaphors (be they in the Savoy Vase or the New York pavilion's wooden wall) as their own."

Despite the immediate recognition of Aalto's furniture abroad and among architects in Finland, Artek's gain of confidence among lay users took over for four decades, as Marja-Liisa Parko (1984), an interior architect formerly employed in the Artek Design Studio, notes. Such a period may have been necessary since, despite the major international reception, Aalto's furniture could not penetrate into the domestic market of mainly rural Finland. The first barrier was due to the fact that 1930s Finnish society was not ready to adopt modernisation in their homes. The mass appeal of modern furniture had to wait until the post-war era, when modernism became mainstreamed in both material and non-material culture (Korvenmaa 2010). A second barrier resided in economic factors. As producing Aalto's organic shapes required a labour-intensive production method, the imposed costs were simply not affordable by the great majority of the public. For example, when the young Ilmari Tapiovaara (one of the design heroes whose design models joined the Artek Product Range in 2010) was commissioned to design new furniture models in 1939 for the Asko furniture group, the main purpose was to reach greater segments of society (Korvenmaa 1998). The 1940s, in this context, brought more burden in any sense of the word. The extensive hardship of the continuous set of wars with the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany were followed by years of extreme austerity and material shortage including essentials such as metal, glass, and textiles.

It is worth noting, however, that these extreme challenges pushed the design profession to learn how to endure difficult conditions by means of exploring new heights and developing creative solutions. The diverse needs of post-war reconstruction, including furniture for new buildings, created a suitable platform to push the limits and turn difficulties to advantage using only limited available materials. This facilitated the emergence of new iconic design models and designers such as the famous "Domus" chair, designed for a new student housing facility in 1946 by Ilmari Tapiovaara.[32] The model provided the Finnish furniture industry with much needed product qualities for export and domestic markets, seeking to meet the needs of mass production by means of the use of available material, producing furniture that could be easily assembled, and transported economically. Successfully, the Domus, as a general-purpose chair, found a large market in Finland, and was

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32   The Domus chair is currently produced and sold by Artek.

used as furnishing in public spaces from schools to auditoria. In addition, the Domus chair illustrates Aalto's influence on the Finnish design scene. As Korvenmaa (1997) argues, for example, Tapiovaara "continued along Aalto's lines" in terms of choice of plywood as material and the curving method that dominates the overall shape of the chair.

The 1950s marked a dramatic change in Finland, as the country turned from an economy reliant on farming and forestry into an industrial and urbanised society, a process that peaked in the 1960s. Growing purchasing power and increasing living standards among Finnish consumers was mirrored by an enriched design scene that continued to rise in parallel with the emerging needs of the rapidly growing population and flourishing business enterprises, with the cultivation of the national design mythology itself continuing to develop. Participation in international events continued to be significant in consolidating national political attitudes seeking to build a national image of a modern and industrial Western country through design. After the first international exhibition success in Milan, design became an "explicitly political factor" involving a dramatic rise in government support for participation in such events (Kalha 2002). Myllytaus (2010), with a focus on the Finnish design's "golden age" in the 1950s and 60s, calls the state interest in supporting design as "cultural diplomacy". The political climate of the Cold War can be shown as an example in this context where Finland's international recognition was somewhat away from one of industrial modern society, such as "an ambiguous satellite of the Soviet Union and economically a backward producer of timber goods" (Myllytaus 2010: 207).

The Milan Triennials between 1951 and 1964, and the mobile Design in Scandinavia Exhibition can be shown as two major examples where Finland promoted the country's capacities successfully. It is important to note, however, that design was not only a promotional tool given to the world by Finland, but also a means of sending political and ideological messages to the Finnish public. The "American Home 1953" exhibition is a good example of how design functions in the broader context of international cultural exchange. In the post-war atmosphere of rapid polarisation between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, an exhibition of American domestic design wares was proposed by the Finnish-American Society and received assistance by MoMA. The exhibition attracted record-breaking number of visitors in Helsinki's Art Hall *(Taidehalli)*. Obviously in concert with the era's American means of propaganda via the promotion of consumer goods and American life style, the event was able to go beyond the mere promotion of American values in Finland by offering lessons and values for all actors involved which continued the "cultural transaction" between the two countries (McDonald 2010). The Design in Scandinavia exhibition, for example, toured at twenty-four museums across North America between 1954 and 1957. Finland was presented as a part of a unified Nordic culture with its Western Scandinavian neighbours, aiming to establish a political association with the West while maintaining its distinctive national authenticity (see Hawkins 1998 and Kalha

1998). The Design in Scandinavia exhibitions illustrate explicitly how design and crafts were engaged as political instruments serving to separate Finland from the Baltics, an area that fell completely under Communist rule after the war.

The ninth and tenth Milan Triennials in 1951 and 1954 deserve a special focus as Finland not only succeeded in capturing international attention, but also established a turning point for domestic public interest in design that was informed by a strong national media presence.[33] The media's part in this momentum and mythologisation of design is particularly striking especially in the representation of the accomplishments of Finnish design and designers. Indeed, at the 1951 Milan Triennial, for example, twenty-five prizes gained by Finnish designers included those won by Tapio Wirkkala, the curator and architect of the Finnish section. Wirkkala was personally awarded three Grand Prix for the exhibition architecture as well as his glassware and wood sculptures. In 1954, this success expanded to a total of thirty-two prizes (Pallasmaa 2000). These awards resonated greatly at home, leading to the emergence of the creative genius myth. For example, both Milan Triennials were addressed as the "Miracle of Milan" by the Finnish media as Kalha (2002: 28) stresses in describing the domestic collective production of the mythology: "[…] the post-war success story of Finnish design was a cultural spectacle that was *staged* abroad but *took place* on the domestic scene; as a discursive phenomenon the 'Miracle of Milan' was generated in Finland rather than Italy."

Reporting on the miracle of the 1951 Milan Triennial, as Kalha (2004: 68) notes, media headlines read phrases like "design Olympics" and "triumph in international design arena" and awarded designers were welcome home in Kalha's words as "world champions and national heroes" (see Figure 4.14). [34] Not surprisingly, artists and designers such as Wirkkala turned to these "media phenomena" that had been un-

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33   Unlike his strong presence in the architectural field, Aalto himself remained largely outside of these particular exhibitions. However, Aalto was not isolated from the greater influences of design's growing societal momentum in Finland. Domestic recognition embraced Aalto and shaped his role in Finnish design mythology. However, Aalto was not inactive in this period, as he established his own design exhibitions. For example, Alvar and Aino Marsio-Aalto's 25th anniversary was celebrated with a mobile exhibition in 1947 that launched new models in Helsinki and toured Europe for two years. In the 1950s, the same exhibition visited Paris and Amsterdam (Mikonranta 2002). Moreover, Aalto was commissioned for the design of Finland pavilion in the Venice Biennial of 1956.

34   Ilmari Tapiovaara, for example, one of 2nd Cycle's focus designers as stated above, won a gold medal at every Milan Triennial that he participated between 1951 and 1964. (This historical information is used by Artek [2013] in the media release regarding the company's participation at the Habitare Design fair.)

Figure 4.14: In 1954, the Swedish-language newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* compares the superior achievements of the year with the previous Milan Triennial in 1951.

precedented in the field of design (Kalha 2002).[35] Marketing on the part of Finnish companies took advantage of Finland's growing reputation. For instance, the use of Triennial accomplishments in ads paralleled considerable increases in sales, such as in the field of glassware. As a result, a "Finnish" glass vase became something beyond just a glass vase. It became, again in Kalha's (2004: 68) words, "an embodiment of objective cultural value and national achievement".

Myllyntaus (2010: 215) notes a "close cooperation" between designers and journalists. Designers, as "advocates of authentic Finnishness", actively participated in the construction of their national heroic status and the promotion of this status via stories about themselves and their work. The publication of such ideas not only increased sales, as Myllyntaus continues, but also made designer products a part of national identity. More interestingly, buying these objects consolidated "national unity".

Not surprisingly, the Finnish success at the Triennials resonated at home in several contexts. In the 1950s, the news on national achievements on the international

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35   Today, some works exhibited in the Milan Triennials are seen as icons that symbolise the specific historical context of the 1950s. Wirkkala's most celebrated glassworks, the Chanterelle (Kantarelli) vase, is one example. For Korvenmaa (2012: 223), Chantarelle, designed for a glass design competition organised by Iittala Glassworks in 1946, is an "iconic item manifesting the rise of Finnish design from the postwar austerity".

stage encouraged domestic public enthusiasm for Finnish design. When we consider the 1960s too as a significant impetus for the development of the domestic industrial design sector, the achievements encouraged Finnish "executives and factory owners" to invest money and time in design. Accordingly, the achievements also encouraged "newcomers" to take the stage in the design arena (Myllyntaus 2010). But it was not only in the newspapers that the domestic public could see the designer items exhibited at the Triennials. Domestic annual exhibitions presented the original triennial exhibitions. These helped to perpetuate media attention towards winning designers and designs. Some of the original objects were represented by photographs only. This was the case in particular when the original presentation objects were one-off or prototype objects and were absent as they had been already taken to museums and private collections abroad. Kalha (2004) argues that the representation of some original objects with large photographs facilitated their mythologisation:

> [...] they [the absent original objects] were replaced by photographs, which, significantly, were "larger than life", both in size and in terms of their iconising effect. In this way, the Milan exhibits became instant cult objects, as the Finnish public was invited to admire photographs of award-winning designs [...] Their very absence thus underlined their mythological presence. (68)

In this vein, the mythologisation of design was part of the basis of the national self-image inside Finland, resonating with the national distinction that was emerging on the World stage. This mythology thus functions firstly in the very minds of people who conceive of themselves as members of the young Finnish nation. Such mechanisms of national self-conceiving is well described by Anderson (2006) who sees all nations as "*imagined*" entities. He addresses the shared self-image in the minds of great numbers of people that enable them to form a "communion" without really knowing each other. The mythology is not only critical in the realm of a shared image among members of nations, but also in terms of imposing shared narratives and aesthetic languages. When analysing the emergence of nationalisms in Europe, Anderson (2006) points out the development of capitalism and print technologies. For him, the emergence of print as commodity and "national print languages" allowed speakers to recognise unified and distinctive language fields via print, languages that had previously been vague and multi-variegated in their spoken forms. This stimulated a sort of consciousness that comprehended the borders of language fields, leading to national conceptions of self.

While not a spoken or written language, per se, design acts as a visual language that functions in similar ways to linguistic language in providing a self-conception of a nation. In a national mythological framework, modernist design may have created in Finland a certain "language field" that has been able to communicate an assortment of narratives imagining the people living around Finland as a community, as a na-

tion... Hence, as the international design exhibitions started to receive recognition at home, they helped to form national self-awareness via design, in this way promoting a particular national image. Consequently, design heroism could be argued that it has become established imposing certain visions which may have a role in shaping consumers' consciousness and their identity as Finns.

Finland's natural landscape, a widely agreed distinctive symbol of Finnish nationhood, can be highlighted here with a special focus as a source of inspiration for Finnish design. Davies (2002) notes that in the post-war era, Finnish designers' association of their internationally exhibited works with Finnish nature provided them with a level of legitimisation at home among certain nationalist audiences. Actually, if we look at the Finnish pavilions of this era, we see a close synchrony with Hansen's (2010: 110) above study, which explicates the narrative logic of cobranding Denmark and Danish design. Davies argues that in exhibitions held in Britain between 1953 and 1965, Finnish designers and promotional institutions attempted to portray Finland as a "magical and exotic landscape, [that is] nevertheless sparse in resources". This narrative was mainly well received by critics. However, it should be recognised that it was the calculated product of an idealisation of the harsh conditions of the Finnish landscape, an act of country branding. The narrative constructed the harsh landscape as a force that educated the average Finn, identified as a peasant with craft skills, to master the efficient use of precious resources in an aesthetic harmony with the distinctive characteristics of the national landscape.

As this narrative links Finnish design to an image of functionality and authenticity in the context of cobranding a nation and its design features, Davies' study stretches further to Finland's nation-building myths of the 19th century. The importance of these myths lies in the fact that one can find the roots of design heroism there as these myths promoted peasant virtues, giving the Finnish peasant a heroic role in the nation-building process. Davies (2002) argues that through transferring peasant crafts into modern design, Finnish designers embody the heroism embedded in traditional peasant virtues:

> The idealized natural world and landscape of Finland – forests and lakes – is important as the setting, providing the raw materials of wood and stone to be transformed with his 'inborn feeling' as a craftsman by the heroic peasant – from whom the Finnish designer claimed direct descent – into functional objects of some aesthetic merit. (114)

One may argue in this context that nation-building myths were incorporated and reproduced in the Finnish design mythology according to the needs and ambitions of branding and industrialisation processes with a range of political and economic aims. However, it would be too optimistic to claim that the international promotion method stimulated domestic acceptance quickly and smoothly. Design and its work was so heavily absorbed in activities of cosmopolitan / transnational elites, that it

met with criticism in terms of its being effective in promoting a national consciousness among the whole of the Finnish populace. For example, a side effect of laying so much importance on international exhibitions was reflected on the working method of designers and local exhibitions as they became dominated by the triennial programmes. Hence, the domestic audience did not have a chance to see many of the works first-hand, since the works were not exhibited before their grand international debut (Kalha 2004). Another issue that received criticism at the time was the lack of everyday utility objects in triennial presentations that were dominated by luxurious craft and craft-as-art objects.

Nevertheless, Finnish design started to reach greater domestic audiences as the 1950s marked the emergence of professional designers who dealt with the design of everyday utility objects. First remarkable signals in terms of institutional change in exhibitions appeared in the second half of the 1950s. For example, the rise of industrial design and production methods resulted in increasing attempts to separate craft objects from industrial objects. This is evident in the national annual applied arts exhibition of 1957 that convened under the theme of *Industrial Form*. Finnish participation in the Milan Triennial of the same year was also a first in terms of the considerable presence of utility objects (Kalha 1994). This change provided Finnish designers to break elitist restrictions and gain better capacities to affect larger audiences.

In addition, the demographics and social characteristics of Finland could be seen as helpful in the context of the realisation of modernist ideals in pursuit of an industrial civilisation by architects and designers. The small scale of the Finnish elite and relatively homogenous structure of Finnish society facilitated the influence of a single style on the entire society. For instance, it was as late as the 1960s that a more hedonist style in the context of interior design and home decoration started to challenge modernist design ideas (Sarantola-Weiss 2012). This means that the modernist agenda could shape the Finnish design discourse and connectedly audiences' understanding of the qualities and characteristics of Finnish design without seeing a considerable challenge for decades. In 1960, for example, the Finnish consumer culture seems to have reached a maturity that allows the era's lifestyle magazines to compare Finnish consumers' preferences with that of consumers from other European countries. In a popular article, for example, published in the lifestyle magazine "Kotiliesi", Toikka-Karvonen (1960: 357) compares German furniture consumers with the Finnish consumers. She comments that German consumers are interested in "elegant looks" whereas Finnish demand "durability", "ease of use", and "maintenance" (see figure 4.15). Despite the article's overgeneralising attitude, it may be able to inform today's reader that before the arrival of more hedonist styles, Finnish consumers' demand criteria suited the modernist design's priorities to a certain degree.

It is important to note, however, that these criteria were largely shaped by the Finnish consumer mentality. As Heinonen and Autio (2013) put it, "scarcity" dominated the consumer mentality in Finland up to 1970s and 1980s due to a number of reasons such as "retarded industrialisation" and "scarcity of supply in consumer mar-

Muutama vuosi sitten toimitettiin Saksassa Galluptutkimus, jossa selvitettiin millaisia huonekaluja suositaan. Kävi ilmi, että saksalaisista naisista 2 % yhäkin rakastaa keisariajan raskaita leikkauskoristeisia huonekaluja ja isoja palmuja, että 60% viihtyy paraiten kukikkaiden rimssutettujen chintz-kankaiden, hienostelevien materiaalijäljitelmien ja ylettömän paksuiksi pehmustettujen huonekalujen keskellä. Kaikista vastaajista antoi 30 % etusijan »kohtuullisen uudenaikaiselle» eli skandinaviselle huonekalutuotannolle, jolle vastaajien käsityksen mukaan on ominaista vaaleat puulajit, yksinkertaiset muodot ja koristelemattomuus. Nämä viimemainitut vastaajat olivat etupäässä nuoria ja itsenäisiä toimessa olevia naisia.

Annikki Toikka-Karvonen:

Mitä saksalainen vaatii huonekaluilta
ja mitä suomalainen

Elintason noustessa on huonekalujen kysyntä Länsi-Saksassa viime vuosina tavattomasti lisääntynyt. Uusia taloja rakennetaan, uusia koteja sisustetaan ja selvää siirtymistä palmujen katveesta uudenaikaisempaan ja käytännöllisempään sisustustapaan on havaittavissa. Kuitenkin, kun kulki tämänkeväisillä Kölnin huonekalumessuilla, joiden 860:stä osanottajasta oli saksalaisia huonekalutuottajia 575, täytyi todeta, että ainakin huonekalujen tuottajista yhäkin suurin osa uskoo, että mitä monimutkaisempaa sitä hienompaa, mitä pehmeämpää sitä mukavampaa ja mitä enemmän värejä sitä viihtyisämpää.

Tavallisen kansalaisen ei tosin Saksassakaan enää tarvitse kilpailla keisarillisen komeuden kanssa, mutta vieläkin vaaditaan, että huoneet on kalustettu soikeilla kalustoilla. Olohuoneessa täytyy olla elefantin kokoinen pehmeä sohva ja vähintään kolme nojatuolia, sohvapöytä ja iso umpinainen kaappi. Jos on kirjahyllyjä, on niiden edessä lasit. Perheenisän kirjoituspöydän ääressä seisoo korkeaselkäinen tuoli, joka kelpaisi vaikka herttualle istuinpaikaksi. Makuuhuoneenkin kalustamisessa painavat edustavuusnäkökohdat — joskus jopa enemmän kuin mukavuusvaatimukset. Parisängyt ovat yli kaksikin metriä leveitä, isoja ja raskaita. Ne tuodaan osina sisään ja kootaan huoneessa — muuten ne eivät mahtuisikaan. Miten näin raskaiden sänkyjen alustat puhdistetaan, jää sivustakatselijalle täysin käsittämättömäksi.

Myös makuuhuoneen säilytystilana on yhäkin iso irtokaappi, niin iso että senkin liikutteleminen vaatii kymmenen miehen

Kypsynyttä, kodikasta uudenaikaisuutta, joka ei pelkää kaareviakaan muotoja ja joka sellaisena on paljon luontuvampi elämisympäristö ihmiselle, joka ei totisesti ole suorakulmainen rakenteeltaan hänkään. Ehkä kodikkuus osittain johtuu siitäkin, että suunnittelija on nainen, ruotsalainen Kerstin Hörlin-Holmqvist. Tällaiselle sYllitylle uudenaikaisuudelle antaa etusijan 30 % saksalaisista naisista, muut pitävät vanhaa barokkisan ja rimssusohvia parempina.
O i k.: Ihmisen kehonrakenteen mukaan rakennettu lepotuoli — suomalainen käsitys uudenaikaisesta asiallisuudesta ja mukavuudesta. Suunnitellut Risto Halme, valmistaja Sopenkorpi Oy.

kets". In addition, values of agrarian culture and ideals of self-sufficiency had been largely preserved as late as early 1960s due to the agrarian economy and population demographics. It was 1970s, as social and economic welfare reached a more mature level, the predominant consumer mentality was transformed to "abundance" at least among the urban population.

Alvar Aalto's long career witnessed the transformation of Finland from a scarcity-dominated economy into a modern consumer society. His career has become integral to the breakthrough of the modern consumer society not only in terms of the country's international reputation, but also in terms of a considerable part of Finland's urban image. One should add here also the interior settings of institutions and households as Aalto's design furnished a great number and variety of buildings. Today, what this rich heritage communicates in the realm of the Finnish design mythology is Aalto's continuously transforming ideas across decades that have a central humanist principle rather than an orthodox functionalist modernism. Demonstrated by his idiosyncratic language of forms, the imperative of functionalism achieves an original and humane attitude. Woven into the Finnish national cultural fabric, Aalto's idealist and innovative agenda adds a second layer to his heroic role in the mythology. This layer, for example, can be seen in Pallasmaa's (2007) articulation of Aalto's attitude towards humanism through Aalto's view on an architect's responsibilities, that is, that the architect should serve society as a whole, independent of specific interest groups that may impose economic, ideological, or political barriers.

When it comes to Aalto's design career, the mythological core of his humanist ideals can be seen in the promotion of the concept of "flexible standardisation" as an attempt to find a synthesis between the needs of individuals and the rationalisation of production through industrialisation. Pallasmaa (2007) argues in this context that Aalto's furniture and glass designs express "tolerance and open-mindedness". For him, this is the critical character that accounts for the continuous popularity of Aalto's design. Perhaps, this popularity is influenced by the scale of how Aalto's design has spread across Finnish interiors, regardless of social status or functional category, from government offices and educational spaces to working-class houses and high-end residences. As Pallasmaa (2002: 9) put it, despite their production volume – for some models, numbering in the millions – Aalto's designs retain their "appeal and freshness". In saying this, we may accept that Pallasmaa acknowledges the inclusivity of Aalto's designs in terms of an ability to reach across time. It is permanent valorisation itself, one that embraces succeeding generations of people – another aspect of Aalto's inclusivity.

Here, however, what I am referring to is not the straightforward involvement of the inherent virtues of Aalto's design. I am rather trying to address the construction of the discourse genius that mediates, promotes, and legitimises certain visions that conceptualise Aalto and his work in order for consumers to produce meanings. In this context, the social construction of Aalto's role in the Finnish design mythology and related valorisation in the marketplace cannot be considered to be isolated from the influence of such visions.

Figure 4.15: The title of the article reads: "What do Germans and Finns demand from furniture"?

CHAPTER 4

A certain vision, for example, suggests that Aalto, as a creative genius, synthesises universal values such as "tolerance and open-mindedness" in new, original forms and innovative technology, that also possesses a sense of national character thanks to Aalto's inventive passion and his communion with the characteristics of Finnish nature and unique use of natural material, wood. Of course, the acceptance did not occur instantly in the 1930s, but rather gradually across decades by wider society, along with the political, economic, and cultural establishment of the welfare state in the post-war era. The predominantly agrarian Finnish society of the 1930s was in a state of "cultural introversion and farmer–spirited nationalism", distant from the universal ideals of modernism (Korvenmaa 2009: 120). Innovative Aalto furniture shaped by modernist principles were incomprehensible for large segments of society. Hence, the adoption of modernism as a constitutive ideology and Aalto's heroism in Finland advanced hand-in-hand, perhaps in a cross-feeding nature. This framework is perhaps best defined by Schildt (1994: 9) in Aalto's biography, addressing the interaction between form and ideology: "His ostensible goal was aesthetic, i.e. harmoniously balanced and expressive forms, but his real purpose was the complete harmonization of life, including both a biologically acceptable solution to environmental problems and a humanistically oriented society."

What contributed to Aalto's heroic efforts to achieve his ideal of the holistic well-being of individual and society was a unique combination of architecture, design, and manufacturing know-how that established an "extremely modern symbiosis" that would up being "exceptionally successful" in Korvenmaa's words (2009: 126–134). The "symbiosis" between Aalto, Artek, and Korhonen – furniture manufacturer – offers a multi-faceted account helpful in understand Finnish consumers' identification with the national design mythology and the role of Aalto's heroism.[36]

Artek's involvement in the mythology

The collaboration between Korhonen, Aalto, and Artek bears key importance in the establishment of Aalto's popularity and position in the Finnish design mythology as well as his penetration into everyday environments beyond the context of individual buildings. Following its establishment in the December of 1935, the company handled the furnishings of nearly all architectural projects designed by Alvar Aalto. In addition, the company provided interiors of buildings designed by other architects with furniture models that continue to exist in Artek's production range (Mikonranta 2002). Thanks to Artek, Aalto furniture found a large distribution channel for

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36   At that time, the Korhonen factory was known as Oy Huonekalu- ja rakennustyötehdas AB. The factory became the Huonekalutehdas Korhonen Oy in 1975. In 2014, Artek acquired the factory. Today, the factory operates under the name Artek Factory.

projects across the country, such as hospitals, libraries, restaurants, maternity clinics, and kindergartens, as well as projects abroad including Aalto building projects in the U.S.A. such as the famous Baker house, the student dormitory of Michigan Institute of Technology that was completed in 1949. The connection between Aalto's architectural projects and his furniture design is well defined by Aalto himself in a short commentary he wrote for the catalogue of the "Constructive Form" exhibition, organised by Nordiska Kompaniet in 1954 in Stockholm (reproduced by Schildt 1997: 258): "My furniture rarely, if ever, arises as the result of professional design. Almost without exception, I have designed it in conjunction with architectural projects, a mixed bag of public buildings, aristocratic residences, and workers' huts. It's great fun to design furniture in this way."

The greater result of the collaboration has more to do than merely distribution, however. Aalto's cooperation with Korhonen, which started in the late 1920s, developed into a long-lasting union as the manufacturer became the major producer of Artek furniture.[37] Their cooperation in experimentation with new production techniques, such as lamination, stretching, joining, and bending wood broke away from traditional methods like steam bending. This resulted in the emergence of new furniture aesthetics featuring innovative and iconic designs, including the Paimio armchair. Thanks to this, Aalto could articulate his unique furniture language in a way that ingeniously expressed the organic structure of wood, becoming the hallmark of Artek furniture. As these acquired an idiosyncratic patina, organic volumes of material also came to be reflected in the general structure of Aalto's architecture, his architectural works are referred to today by means of terms such as "organic modernism" as well as "humanist modernism" and "social modernism".

The role of Maire Gullichsen, one of the co-founders of Artek, is also important to understand. She was an important figure in terms of the company's financial status. As the daughter of Walter Ahlström, the primary owner of the powerful Ahlström Industrial Group, Gullichsen provided Artek with critical funds. She also played a role in the company's broader cultural context, including the architecture and interior design of the Gullichsen family's residential building, Villa Mairea. The project was commissioned to Aalto by Harry and Maire Gullichsen for private use following the foundation of Artek. Erected in 1938–1939, the project resulted in one of the most celebrated buildings of Aalto's career. The luxurious villa famously provided Aalto with the privilege of experimenting with form and material that was later applied to his public projects. This privilege included also the interior design of the villa, implemented by means of avant-garde style furniture, which was exceptional to the characteristics of the era's typical

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37   Besides the Korhonen factory, Aalto furniture, mostly tubular models, were produced also in Germany and Switzerland. Beginning in 1940, Aalto furniture gained production in the U.S.A. too (Schildt 1986). However, these productions did not last permanently.

conservative bourgeois tastes. Motivated by ideological affiliations, the established bourgeoisie perceived the international avant-garde style within the context of left-wing politics, even as indicating Bolshevism (Korvenmaa 2010). Hence, Gullichsen's safeguarding of Artek and Aalto suggests an exceptional level of support in the political atmosphere of the 1930s.

Artek's interior designers were also important, constantly improving models and supplementing existing lines with variants under the principle of the "Aalto spirit" (Schildt 1986). For example, in cases of necessity, Artek designers, such as the creative director Aino Marsio-Aalto, created new variants suitable for various projects that were later put in Artek's serial production line (Mikoranta 2002). Aino Marsio-Aalto's role was more than simply realising Alvar Aalto's ideas. She was not only the first creative director of Artek, but also acted, after the death of Nils-Gustav Hahl in 1941, as the managing director of the company until she died in 1949. Her contribution as creative director at Artek involved, for example, the creation of an "Artek style" of interior decoration that migrated to diverse projects including housing for workers (Mikonranta 2004). Her creative contribution in the 1930s and 1940s significantly shaped the Artek collection. Nevertheless, her role has remained somehow unrecognised, partly because the company focused on the marketing of only Alvar Aalto's name in those decades (Suominen-Kokkonen 1998) (see figure 4.16). Despite

this lack of recognition, as Suominen-Kokkonen (2004: 213) describes, Aino Aalto was "[…] a silent central personage in her marriage and in professional collaboration with her husband" (see figure 4.17).

As the principles of the "Aalto spirit" were shared by the other co-founders, including Nils-Gustav Hahl, the company did not follow whims of fashion or commercial popularity for the sake of the maximisation of profit (Schildt 1986). Actually, the reasons for the foundation of Artek depended largely on the pursuit of suitable business and working methods that would go beyond financial gains. This included the realisation of the co-founders' cultural and ideological ambitions as Artek comprehensively promoted the modernist ideal of living in an industrial civilisation. The company's manifesto, for instance, defined three main mission and operation areas where modernist ideology is promoted through periodic and permanent exhibitions, as well as through publications and the retailing of similar foreign products (see figure 4.18).[38] This included for instance, Artek's institutionalisation as a promoter and seller of mod-

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38   As Parko (1984) noted, an enlarged copy of the manifesto was reserved at Artek's drawing office up until the 1970s. Parko draws an analogy between the manifesto and "The Ten Commandments" implying the importance of the manifesto for Artek.
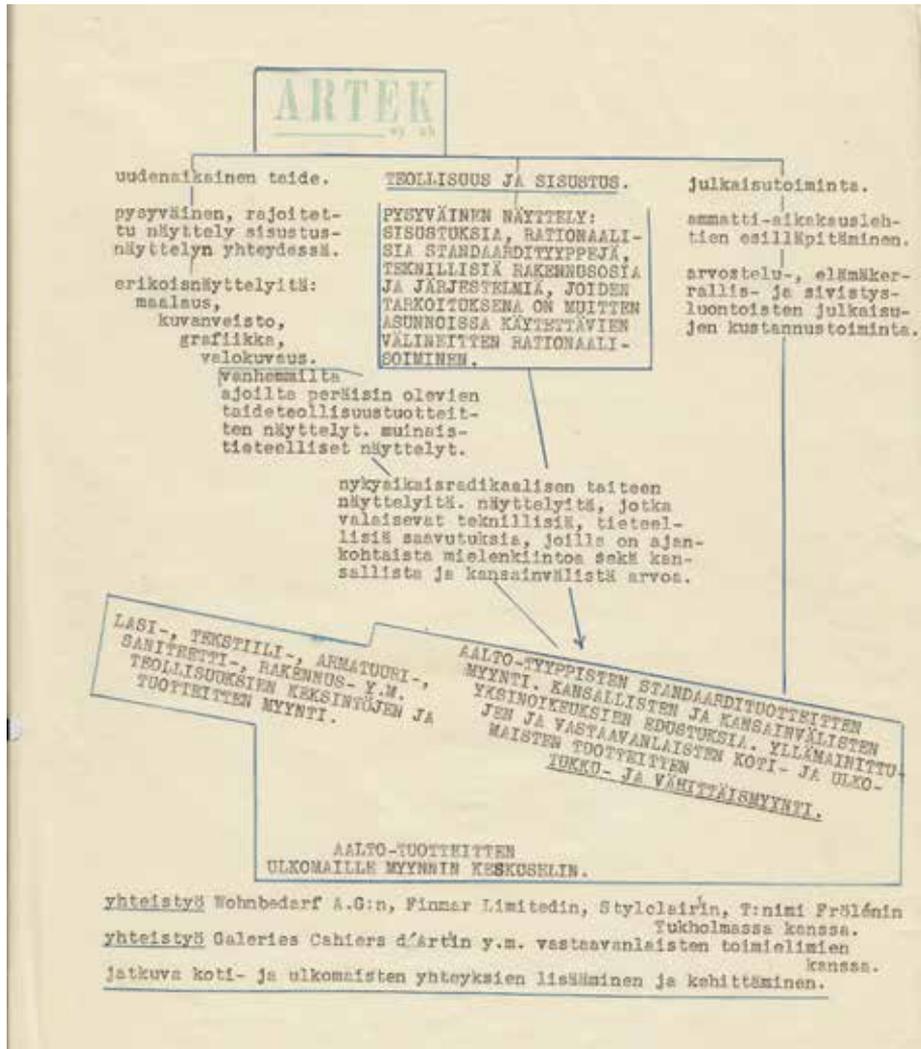
ern art which synergised with Hahl and Gullichsen's links to the art world (Quantrill 1983).[39] Otherwise, the 1930s were economically risky years for any investment in applied art and design fields, particularly where the Finnish market lacked offices and agencies that provide design services in today's sense (Korvenmaa 2009).

Thanks to this idealistic consensus among the co-founders, Aalto's promoted ideals, based on humanist and social values, have easily and permanently become the

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39   The Artek store was launched within a few months of the company's foundation. The store held modern art exhibitions while also displaying Aalto furniture.

guiding formula of the company's design philosophy. As Eisenbrand (2014: 168) put it, "Artek saw itself as a standard bearer for the spirit of modernity and an educational institution." This became materialised in Artek's tangible design identity, with its keen focus on qualitative aspects such as uniqueness, innovation, and continuous technical refinements. Aalto and Artek exhibitions for example, provoked arguments that challenge conventional production and consumption of furniture in various countries. Exhibitions served as platforms to question not only modern furniture manufacturing methods, but also fashion oriented consumer attitudes in the furniture market. An illustrative example for such a challenge emerges as early as in the 1938 catalogue for Aalto's New York MoMA exhibition (see Stritzler-Levine 2010). We may refer once again to Aalto's own words in coming to understand Artek's emphasis on qualitative progress rather than to fashion and novelty. In 1947, when the Artek affiliate in Sweden (Svenska AB Artek) organised an exhibition in Stockholm, Alvar and Aino Aalto prepared a preface for the exhibition catalogue.[40] The preface gives clues to Artek's brand philosophy as they explain how the design models presented are chosen (reproduced by Schildt 1997):

> The ambitious interior design exhibitions held throughout Scandinavia have mostly been done with the purpose of educating the public and refining its taste. This particular show, however, consists quite simply of Artek's standard industrial production. A small number of the pieces of furniture now on show were first displayed back in 1929 and have remained unchanged since then; many others were seen for the first time in London in 1933. Since then they have been exhibited in many countries, including Sweden on several occasions. The series has grown every time, but only very rarely has it happened that production of an old type has been discontinued. We have not considered changes in the spirit of 'This Year's Models' necessary: just one older model has been exchanged for a newer one for purely technical reasons. (257)

The text clearly distinguishes Artek's brand identity from those dominated by fashion oriented understandings, where sales strategies promote novel models that quickly replace older ones. As a result, this philosophy generated a continuous production of models that remain unchanged, if not technically improved. The company was able to promote this philosophy to greater sections of society as Aalto's furniture and lamp design exceeded borders of custom-built, one-off architectural assignments. Thanks to Artek's marketing, production, and distribution, the special models designed for architectural projects have been later offered to the broader consumer

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40   Svenska AB Artek was established after the peace in 1945 in order to overcome logistical problems present in Finland, which had been devastated by war.

market. Through continuous production, in the case of Aalto's lamps, Korvenmaa (2002: 115) argues that the same design models have become interior elements of various spaces both public and private. Hence, like furniture, the temporal and spatial attachment of lamps to their original architectural project was surpassed in a way gaining "a kind of timelessly classical aura no longer bound to time or place".

Until the 1980s, Artek continued to provide furniture to Aalto's architectural projects (Korvenmaa 2009). Today, in conjunction with the original brand philosophy, Artek's contemporary product range is largely composed of the mid-century designs of Alvar Aalto himself and the variations generated by the Artek interior designers. Loyal to the original design, with only seasonal cosmetic changes, many Artek furniture models are still in production. With the constant production and circulation of the original collection, Artek is tangibly forged in the collective memory of the Finnish people today and grounded as one of the foundational pillars of the Finnish design phenomenon. Certainly, Artek's involvement contributes greatly to the achievement of permanent valorisation of Aalto furniture and lamps by introducing these models to everybody's private life and everyday environments across Finland. Wide-spread distribution has ensured an importance of furniture in the national imaginary through far-reaching shared experiences and interactions. Hence, Artek's case epitomises the notion that private memories, and thus personal attachments, can converge with the framework of collective memory and a greater national cultural fabric.

This complex structure allows us to comprehend the context of permanent valorisation in Aalto's design from different angles, including product qualities, political involvement, and wide-spread recognition as a symbol of socially important values. In this vein, having the role of media narratives and discourses created by cultural authorities in mind, we may have the opportunity to discuss the role of Aalto's design itself specifically. We may conceptualise, for example, that his design has reached a classic status in terms of generating ground-breaking production techniques that are translated into original forms establishing a unique and highly characteristic design language. The innovative wood-bending and its visual grammar, for example, have become normative and seminal for following generations of furniture design, and are thus independent of temporal constraints of changing tastes. As a seal of its continuous contemporaneity, Aalto's design has become a prestigious and permanent member of design museums achieving approval on the part of design experts, academicians, and institutions across the globe.

Aalto design is iconic too when approaching it from the angle of its recognition as a symbol of greater abstract ideas and concepts by great segments of Finnish society as well as the global design audience. Hence, much like Kras' (2004) examples of design as the "Platonic image" of countries (discussed in the previous chapter), such as Loewy's sharpener and the Swatch Watch, Aalto's design also constitutes such an image. Aalto's idiosyncratic and modern forms have become both a part of the shared experience of Finnish everyday life and its representation abroad. This has

successfully helped to cultivate a symbolism that represents the abstract and complex concept of Finnishness both at home and abroad. Naturally, this Platonic image differs to some degree, depending on the viewer. For some, the Platonic image of Aalto design may illustrate the social ideals of modernism. For some, the image may represent outstanding creativity derived from the dictates of Finland's harsh climate and historical struggle for national independence and recognition. For others, the image may portray unique aesthetic sensibilities manifested in the morphological forms of nature and landscape peculiar to Finland. [41] Whatever the Platonic image stands for, Aalto's design has been associated with such a unique and characteristic form vocabulary that broad segments of design audiences recognise them as a concrete link in reaching broader and intangible phenomena that constitute Finnishness. This iconicity relies on the scale of such a recognisability as well as the link's lasting impact, independent from the constraints of changes in time.

Alongside the creative genius myth, such an impact has been possible thanks to Aalto's pioneering and distinctive modernist agenda. Aalto's agenda was profoundly involved in the critical historical context of the young republic's struggle for independence and transformation from an agrarian society into an industrial and urban one. Accordingly, the saga of Aalto's career has become embodied in Finnish material culture, providing a sense of national self-awareness for Finnish people. Hence, Aalto, alongside other national design heroes, has achieved a kind of cult status by making abstract Finnishness accessible to consumer aspirations in terms of national identification.

Aalto as a "cultural icon"

Given both the iconicity and cult status, especially the strong identification with Aalto's style by a national audience, the term cultural icon suits in defining the status of Aalto's symbolism in Finland. As I briefly introduced in the previous chapter, Holt (2004) offers a certain terminology and theoretical framework helpful in understand-

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41   Aalto's idiosyncratic organic forms have been closely associated with the unique characteristics of Finnish nature, highlighting a sense of national distinction in architecture and design scenes. This popular association may possess special importance in the heroism of Aalto and his emergence as a national figure. In Finland, a semantic link between national awareness and natural characteristics had been firmly established before Aalto and his oeuvre. The previous century, for example, saw Finnish artistic efforts that turned nature into national metaphors in an attempt to construct national identity. Despite such efforts, which were similar in many ways to those being made across Europe, many of these examples could not gain as "central" and "prominent" a status as in the case of the Finnish art scene (Lukkarinen 2005). However, it is important to indicate at this point that recent research indicates a relationship between Aalto's organic forms and the era's avant-garde art as performed by figures such as László Moholy-Nagy and Jean (Hans) Arp, who were among Aalto's circle of friends (see Pelkonen 2014b).

ing the underlying social dynamics of icons and suggests a strategy to implement branding strategies that would work for harnessing the cultural capital of icons in advanced consumer societies. When considering the set of definitions and criteria given by Holt, Aalto suits the inherent values of a cultural icon on many accounts.

For Holt, cultural icons emerge due to their performance as part of a myth at a given historical moment. Indeed, Aalto's emergence in this context marked an historical moment that was critical for the cultivation of a national identity and societal transformation. Aalto, alongside other heroes, communicated Finnishness as a national "identity myth" that was devotedly used by fellow citizens to address aspirations and anxieties when it came to a national identity. The politicisation of design since the end of the 19th century as a means of displaying national existence and independent capacities facilitated the construction of Finnishness by design and other artistic domains, including architecture. The identification of Finns with design and with Aalto specifically is alluded to by one Artek customer, Anne Korvenmaa (2014), now over 80 years old. Anne calls her generation the "Aalto generation", underlining Aalto's significance in the design heroism and development of Finnish material culture with its wider socio-cultural functions. Such a strong identification and iconicity may confirm Aalto's emerging status as a cultural icon.

The narrative of the design hero provides the identity myth with credibility and authenticity, showing how the myth has crystallized in the context of real people's lives. Heroes are the original sources of proof that a myth is based on the actions of real people. However, even though modern heroes are real people, they are not ordinary men and they do not belong to the regular everyday context. There is a public imaginary of creative genius crafted and mystified by media, as I have shown above with the case of the Milan Triennials. Jaakko Kontio (1998), for example, who worked at Aalto's architectural office between 1954 and 1960, describes Aalto as follows:

> Alvar Aalto was on friendly terms with the world's leading architects and artists. Because of his proficiency in languages, intelligence, sense of humour, quick wits, professionalism, negotiating skills and other qualities, he was also a desirable social companion in financial circles as well as in the upper echelons of politics. (55)

Such personal traits and an overall image of superiority have indeed furnished and consolidated Aalto's heroism and his creative genius, legitimising his role in the grand identity myth of Finnishness. No doubt, the domestic media helped to cultivate Aalto's image, especially in the 1950s when he gained a role as a prominent cultural leader in Finland. Actually, the media interest in Aalto was so powerful that office employees had to "shield" Aalto from interviewers and memoir writers (Kontio 1998). This interest, certainly resulted in powerful media portrayals not only verbally, but also visually. Photographic media presentations of Aalto's urban planning, for example, beside design and architectural fields, may have helped to dictate Aalto's

Aalto
uudistaa
Helsingin

Akateemikko Alvar Aalto kertoo Suomen Kuvalehdelle, että hän
on 22-vuotiaasta lähtien suunnitellut Helsingin keskustan kasvo-
jen uudistamista. Nyt on kahdeksan metrin pituinen mahtava
pienoismalli valmiina. Suunniteltuna aikana sitä ei kuitenkaan saatu
kaupungintalolle näytteille. Syy: malli osoittautui niin suureksi, ettei
se mahtunut oven eikä ikkunan kautta ulos Aallon ateljeesta. Vasta
kun ikkunoiden puitteetkin irrotettiin, suurena salaisuutena varjeltu
Helsinki aloitti tiensä kohden arvostelua. Arvostelua akateemikko
Aalto kertoo odottavansa, mutta sen laadusta hän ei suostu sanomaan
mitään. Tuumiipa vain: »Eihän sitä tiedä, vaikka karkuun joutuisi
lähtemään.» Helsingin uuden keskustan luoja sanoo vanhaa tulevan
hävitettäväksi uuden tieltä hyvin maltillisesti, oikeastaan vain vanho-
ja rautatiekiskoja. Aallon suunnitelmaan kuuluu mm. Mannerheimin-
tien liikenteen järjestely kahteen kerrokseen. »Ellemme kuole liikenne-
onnettomuuksissa, kuolemme pakokaasuihin ilman tällaista ratkaisua»,
hän sanoo. — Kuvassa viimeistelyään odottava pienoismalli, sen isä,
akateemikko Aalto, ja kaupunginjohtaja Lauri Aho. — Valok. Antti
Taskinen.

27

heroism and consolidated the creative genius myth in public imagery (see figure 4.19). Another highly illustrative example of the continuing cultural admiration of Aalto in Finland is Aalto's presence as a national figure on the national currency. Aalto was stamped on the 50 Finnish Markka bill, the national currency, on the version that circulated between 1986 and 2001, before the implementation of the Euro in Finland (see figure 4.20).

In short, both the design hero and creative genius myths have fed the cultural iconicity of Aalto in a way establishing an authentic and mythical ground to make Aalto's version of Finnishness credible and compelling. Hence, Aalto is not simply a successful architect and designer, but a cultural icon whose works and psyche significantly contributed to the creation and communication of an identity myth that has been adopted by the whole nation. Certainly, Aalto was not the sole creator; the narratives involve a group of modernist designers taking on the roles of heroes in the greater Finnish design mythology. Artek, in this context, has an undeniable role, as I have outlined above. Artek's goods have become cult objects as mass-produced messengers that

express original mythic qualities. As they appeal to the collective consciousness of the nation, they have become a means of self-awareness and self-expression by achieving consumerist involvement in the identity myth. Hence, what Artek marketed and sold was not furniture, but rather the material means to join the identity myth. When looking back at history, we see the close synchrony between Aalto's cultural iconicity and Artek's brand value.

For example, parallel to the growing domestic reputation of Aalto, the post-war decades marked also, according to Anne Korvenmaa, Artek's recognition as a "well-known and respected" brand and representative of "high-standard Finnish design". As Anne puts it, Artek users were those who were "aware of what was going on [with national design achievements in the international arena]". Anne's account has some resonance with Myllyntaus' (2010: 218) categorisation of the acceptance of Finnish Design by different strata of the Finnish population during the 1950s and '60s. For example, for "the top elite, mostly senior by age" Finnish design remained too "plain and modest" as that stratum of the population was more inclined to buy "international decorative styles". Myllyntaus (2010: 218) points out that the "young educated strata and bourgeoisie" could appreciate the link between "simple goods and agrarian way of life" as well as "the artistic reformulation of traditional plain style products".

For the lower-middle class, however, the emphasis was on "the nationalist character of the Finnish design". When it came to workers and agricultural classes, reception of Finnish design was "ambivalent". A visible reservation by these classes, however, was the price factor, as Finnish design was found to be too "expensive". Despite such reservations, "the quality and durability" of Finnish design was the reason these people bought affordable offers of domestic design, such as Fiskars scissors. Hence, despite the price factor, Finnish design gained access to working family homes. Myllyntaus (2010: 219) gives the example of Savoy Vase: "[…] they might not buy an Aalto vase for their own home, but they were more inclined to purchase such a designer product as a gift for a friend or relative. Consequently, almost in every Finnish household, there is an Aalto vase."

When it comes to designer furniture, including Artek , Myllyntaus (2010: 217) addresses "affluent, young educated couples" as the primary buyer and he associates designer furniture as "a middle-class cult, a sign of higher social status".[42] This may give some insight into Anne's interpretation of "Aalto generation" as well as their perception of Artek's brand image, one that has been largely constructed by means of Aalto's ideals and name. Holt (2004) describes brands that deliver certain values used by consumers for purposes of self-expression and identity construction as "identity brands". Holt (2004) also coins the term "iconic brands":

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42   Besides private buyers, the designer furniture was more common to find at public spaces. In the mid of 1950s, this includes "business offices, hotels, restaurants and shops" (Myllyntaus 2010: 217).

> Acting as vessels of self-expression, the brands are imbued with stories that consumers find valuable in constructing their identities. Consumers flock to brands that embody the ideals they admire, brands that help them express who they want to be. The most successful of these brands become *iconic brands*. (3–4)

It is not surprising then that the "Aalto generation" became Artek consumers. For example, Anne's first Artek possession, a table, dates back to the post-war period, much like many young people who were impressed by Aalto's ideals. Anne and her husband preferred Artek despite its expensive price, like other couples: "*We were poor; but we bought it* [the table] *anyway... because we liked it. It was an Aalto design*." Over the course of following decades, other Artek furniture joined Anne's home collection, such as Aalto's well-known tea trolley. She furnished her home from the dining room to the kitchen with Artek.

"*I have never put away an Artek*" says Anne expressing one of the most common consumer behaviours towards Artek in Finland. Despite that she has used different fashionable sofa groups, Artek has not lost its appeal to Anne. Certainly, there are practical reasons involved in this lengthy appeal, besides Artek's material or mythical qualities. She explains this with a small motto: "*you can mix it* [Artek] *with everything*." For example, she has used Artek with a group of Spanish peasant-style furniture when moving to a fully-furnished house in Vaasa. Artek fit the style quite well. Moreover, in still more demanding cases, she did not give up her Artek either. When moving to her current residence in Helsinki, the volume of the apartment did not allow her to fit in all of her furniture. In this case, her son took the table, with chairs, to his own kitchen. Consequently, over a half century, the same table has served three generations of the same family, including Anne's granddaughter.

Anne's case, where younger generations inherit Artek furniture, is not an exception in Finland. Artek furniture has constituted a material connection between generations in a way embodying an additional emotional content and adding private stories to the national identity myth. This is exactly the phenomenon of the multi-layered memory complex that I attempted to explain in the previous chapter, as private relations increase the authenticity of design which endures time in addition to the collective agreement of significant symbolic features. Hence, Artek epitomises that permanent valorisation in design establishes an interconnection space where private and social spheres of life meet. In other words, Artek users' private memories converge with greater collective frameworks of meaning in Finland. Asking about the history of her Artek furniture, for example, made Anne address the turning points of her life alongside general societal changes in Finland over the course of the second half of the 20th century. When remembering the story of her first Artek furniture, for instance, she combined her private family memories, such as the early stages of her marriage, with a broader framework of memory that includes *i.e.* how

Aalto's achievements and ideals resonated with young people in Finland at that time. This approach continued as she addressed the overall story of her furniture with the growth of her family via the birth of children or divorce from her first husband, alongside lifestyle changes that affected the Finnish consumer market.

The crowning achievement of Aalto's iconic design (also one of the main factors for the permanent valorisation of Artek furniture in Finland) could be this very integration of furniture into private lives on a wide scale across Finland. In this vein, Aalto's symbolic significance exceeds the powerful identity myth and the national collective memory that encapsulates the shared history of today's Finland. Indeed, this mutual heritage is substantially enriched by each item's unique embodiment of emotional content touching private lives and relationships building interpersonal or even intergenerational connections. This harmony has taken place thanks to the historical context as well as the relatively homogenous social characteristics of the Finnish nation. However, what cannot be undermined is Artek's marketing and distribution methods, as well as sales strategy, which have remained loyal to original models by means of continuous production. Parko (1984), for example, indicates that Artek has become a "national institution" thanks to its very stability.

Today, Artek keeps the production of many original models in collaboration with the same factory that was previously known as the Korhonen factory, which became Artek factory as of its acquisition by Artek in 2014. As Korvenmaa (2009: 300–301) defines, Artek is today among the flagship companies of Finnish design, alongside such companies as Iittala and Marimekko – the iconic Finnish textile and clothing company. Both Iittala and Marimekko are companies of "traditional sectors of design" in Finland that have been applying the post-war design context to new production processes since the 1980s. For Korvenmaa, Artek's products cannot be classified as retro, but rather the company's product range constitutes "a self-evident, permanent and unchanging range of interior design products". As a result, ranging from 80-year old pieces to brand new production, different chronological segments of Aalto design keep circulating the Finnish market with no significant design changes visible.

The most successful Artek furniture model, in terms of popularity in both private and public environments, is definitely the stackable Stool 60, which stands alongside the Paimio armchair in terms of place of highest prominence among Aalto's oeuvre. Both furniture models were shaped by Aalto's revolutionary principles of design and manufacture in the early 1930s, including the experimentation with bentwood technology. However, as the Paimio has been an expensive model right from the first time it was placed on the market, by contrast, the stackable Stool 60 has become one of the most affordable Aalto designs and has been sold in millions of units, furnishing innumerable households and public environments (see figure 4.21).

The Stool 60 has become one of the most iconic Aalto furniture models over 80 years of constant production, with no changes to the structural design of the piece up to the present time. This 80-year period has witnessed the great majority of the

national history of Republic of Finland. The model's wide acceptability has generated a unique material platform that embodies a shared history bridging people and generations in Finland. For example, Artek celebrated the 80th anniversary of the Stool 60 with a broad public celebration. The celebration included projects such as artistic installations in public spaces and the introduction of a series of special edition versions of the Stool 60 designed in collaboration with various well-known designers such as Mike Meiré, Nao Tamura, and Mads Nørgaard. One of the versions illustrates how the company embraces Aalto's heritage as a whole and engages in the company's marketing efforts. The version featured special colours, such as yellow, turquoise, green, and orange inspired by the distinctive colours used in Aalto's Paimio Sanatorium's communal spaces, including walls, floors, furniture and even handrails (see figure 4.22).

This example helps us to understand that what Artek sells today is not furniture, but rather the accumulation of cultural capital that has grown in Finland layer upon layer. In this vein, I argue that Artek is positioned as one of the "cultural epicentres" of Finland, a term coined by Holt (2002) to describe brands that are rooted in a community:
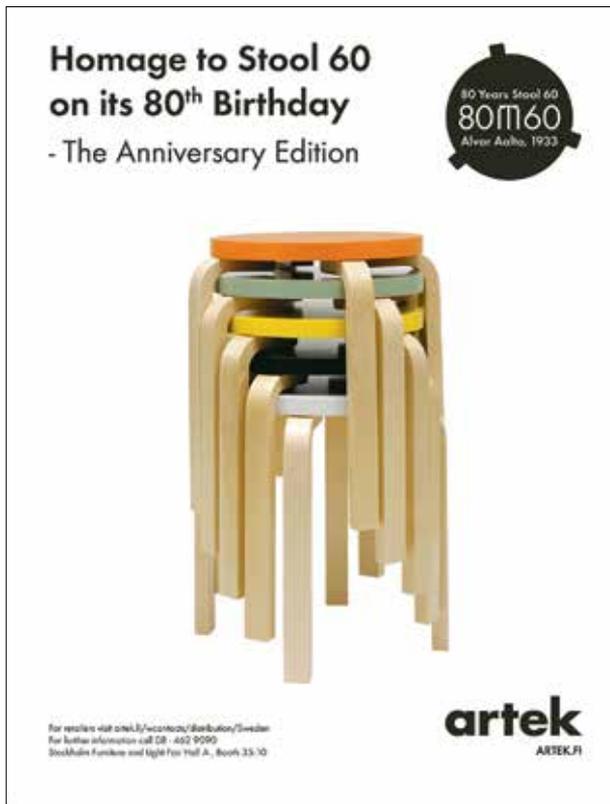
Figure 4.22: Artek ad features the special edition Stool 60, top colours of which are inspired by the Paimio Sanatorium, addressing Aalto's architectural heritage.

> A brand that forges a credible ongoing relationship within such a community creates an impression for the mass audience that the brand is a vested member of the community and that its stature within that community is deserved. When brands time their commitment to the epicentre to precede mass commercialization, […] they become perceived as cultural producers. (84)

Based on this distinction, Artek's pricing strategy involves a high charge in exchange for this cultural background. For example, Stool E60 is sold for at least 200 Euros at Artek's showroom whereas IKEA's "Frosta Stool" – a stool design with quite similar visual characteristics – can be found for only 9,99 Euros at IKEA Finland (2015). On the one hand, the price point underlines that Artek's iconicity functions as part of a conventional exclusivist mechanism. Yet, the economic exclusion can be misleading in the context of iconic design since the length of the lifespan allows multigenerational possession of the same product. The brand's position in the collective memory and the marketing elaboration on longevity thus opens up a new aspect of inclusivity with reference to broader temporal foundations and sustainable consumption.

Hence, the 2nd Cycle project started with the Stool 60 and its unique heritage. In fact, following global interest into Finnish modern design such as Finnish art glass pieces from the 1950s, mid-century furniture has started to receive customer demand since the 1990s in Finland as a consumerist means of achieving nostalgic goals or for the display of status (Korvenmaa 2009). The story of 2nd Cycle provides us with a real case to witness the transformation of a "brand with heritage" into a "heritage brand", theorised by Urde *et al.* (2007), by entitling heritage as a "strategic" tool in market positioning and value proposition. This transformation may epitomise the role of producer's conscious activity in the permanent valorisation. It may exemplify also the sustainability potential of design heritage management when engaging the capacities of a corporate brand with access to key strategic elements such as design iconicity and collective memory.

4.3 The Initial Steps of the 2nd Cycle Project

The year 2005, two years before the launch of the 2nd Cycle project, marked a turning point for the company as Mirkku Kullberg became the managing director with an agenda to increase profitability and create a new public image for the company. Such an effort was necessary as the company was struggling with a public image that did not reflect the company's foundational principles; it was losing its international market share to a considerable degree. What shaped Kullberg's (2016) managerial and creative actions, including 2nd Cycle, appears to be her thoughts on the company's original identity:

> *I think that Artek was a kind of window to the international world. It was like in a way importing ideas to Finland but it also exporting. Easily people think that it is equal to Alvar Aalto, but at the end when it was founded, it was so much more. It was really a cultural hub. It was about art. It was really about propaganda like the manifesto states already. Propaganda means educating Finnish taste, educating Finns to see other cultures and other kind of arts and crafts people's works that they had already started to sell when Artek was at a very early stage. It was a kind of movement. I always keep saying Artek is not about furniture selling company or marketing company. It is a movement, it is about way of thinking.*

Nevertheless, Artek seemed to have drifted far from these values. Kullberg (2016) explains the conditions in 2005 as a loss of contact with social dynamics:

> *Artek did not have a dialogue with the society anymore. It was like the threshold getting to the Artek store was already high. People were coming and viewing products on the pedestal. But, at the end, that was never Artek […] Artek was*

among all kind of people, buying, investing kind of products like Artek did not have anything about social class. It wanted you to save money for those products. I know people who buying tea trolley saving money for that for three years. But it is a choice. But, during the years [by 2005], Artek had been becoming very closed society and not international anymore. Artek was super international during foundation time [...] They were connected to world-class artists, world-class architects. There was like a society community around the world who understands the thinking. So, I think that Artek became so difficult to reach and difficult to understand that it would have been started to get dusty. It did not communicate. It did not have this radicalism at all that was stated in the manifesto. It became also boring. If it is a company that has an educational role, it cannot be boring.

Why did Artek lose its contact with social dynamics that had been the core brand value since the foundation? It is difficult to produce a definite response. However, I may argue that the traditional design heroism, transmitted by the design hero and creative genius myths, seems to fail to embrace emerging consumer aspirations and needs of the twenty-first-century Finland. Accordingly, the lack of an in-depth dialogue with society may demonstrate how the continuous contemporaneity of permanent valorisation in design may cease when it lacks a proper management. Actually, when we go back to the 1980s, we can already note an elitist public perception of Artek. Parko (1984: 105–106) states, for example, that Artek's standard models "acquired an air of expensive exclusivity, perhaps because the original ways of making them and high quality have been preferred to developing production techniques." As Parko continues, she claims that Artek's foundational "social and aesthetic radicalism" had been replaced by an "established reputation" and status as a "national institution" by the 1980s. This indicates that the sense of a loss of foundational radicalism noted by Kullberg has a deep background, going back decades. Certainly, such a loss has had economic repercussions. During the 1990s, for example, Artek's profitability decreased to such a degree that the families of founders sold a majority stake in Artek to the Swedish investment company, Proventus AB in 1992.

In 2005, Kullberg's most significant move has been reclaiming the status of "cultural producer" in the new light of the 2000s. Through the introduction of a new brand philosophy, Artek's origin myth has been revisited through an attempt to revitalise the foundational identity of Artek. Kullberg, to this end, created a movement inside the company that included even retired employees. She (2016) explains why she chose such a method, speaking of a deep exploration into the company's history instead of following the trends of the new millennium, which could have been less risky in terms of achieving economic success:

KULLBERG: *This kind of silent information is so important. I think that if you do not understand the perspective from where the company is coming, you start talking*

the language which is trendy or today's [only]. Artek was not the brand that could follow the trendy. It needed the perspective for the past. And I needed to understand from where the company was coming and only way you can get it is through the people who had the connection. You know, people who worked with Marie-Gullichsen, worked [also] with me through the whole way until 2014. The stories… we needed to refresh the stories.

AUTHOR: *Story of the company or customers?*

KULLBERG: *I think both. We needed to understand because at the end, there is so many international clients, international people, individuals, companies who had been connected to Artek. And they were not always documented. Actually, it was kind of very blurry information about. And we needed to dig deeper to get all this information. And people [retirees] knew them.*

On the side that was visible to the public, the attempt at revitalisation was implemented by means of a marketing program that addressed the collective mind of society, but that also referred to the company's foundational manifesto (see figure 4.23). As this new philosophy translated Aalto's humanist ideals into a contemporary understanding of sustainability, the 2nd Cycle project was launched in 2007 as an anti-fashion public relations campaign shaped largely by Kullberg.

The project started with a buy-back-for-resale program of the Stool 60, as well as its chair versions, such as Chair 65, 66, and 69, a campaign that engaged public buildings, flea markets, and private owners. The collected stools were put back on the market with a comprehensive marketing agenda highlighting the material qualities of aging. The beauty of patina is communicated in a way championing product longevity with a further emphasis on increasing awareness for "conscious consuming". Kullberg (2016) explains why they have chosen a non-consuming philosophy as the focal point in the revitalisation of Artek's original principles:

> *I have been struggling in general about consumption and about how much object we need now in our world* […] *You know, we were poor people, Finland is a very young independent nation. At the end, if you think about, if you do not have a lot of money, when you buy products, you invest in. When people were buying Artek products in the 1930s, they were investing, they were not consuming products. Our generation is a kind of spoiled generation because we started to consume things. We* were *easily consuming copies. We* were *consuming, buying, and building our brand identities and individual identities through products. Of course, Artek in the past was a statement for people who are buying Artek, a sort of intellectual statement: I know what I am consuming, what I am buying, what I am investing in* […] *Artek needed to state something which has to do with education* [in a] *propagandist way, manifesting something.*

In this manifestation, the company achieved a channel to align its brand explicitly with higher ethical values of environmental consciousness. On the website for 2nd Cycle, for example, the products are directly associated with sustainability, where the project concept is shown as the outcome of the company's "environmental strategy" with an aim of increasing awareness for "conscious consuming" (see figures 4.24 and 4.25).

The 2nd Cycle project focused on raising public awareness regarding the physical endurance of Artek furniture as well as to capitalise on the company's distinctive values. These reflected the accumulating collective experience gathered by means of specific production and consumption processes that have carried on continuously over

the course of decades. Despite this clear result, when Artek started to collect furniture pieces, the company did not really know what the outcome would be (Kullberg 2016):

> *At the beginning, you know, it was very difficult to understand what would be the business logic of doing these things* [collecting furniture pieces]. *I did not have a clear understanding how to do it. I had the intuitive feeling that we are doing something very different and we are creating, generating a movement in this whole thing. When I first talked about the idea internally at Artek, people started to think that this is a marketing gig. I was concerned about this as I never thought about marketing campaign, it was about changing the total mind set.*
>
> *When you start buying things back which do not have an equal price or value, the condition of those products are very different… Some are painted several times, which are old and dodgy, but at the end, the thing is* […] *you get so emotionally touched on those pieces. You see the patina that gives you a perspective and gives you trust for future. 2nd Cycle was a statement about something stays, something has long lasting value. If this product* [was] *born twenty five years ago and still here, obviously it will be here after twenty five years as well. In this insecure world that we are living, products can state those things. It is little bit like art. But I never wanted 2nd Cycle to be like only for connoisseurs or collectors* […] *An opportunistic business idea was completely out of question.*

GLOBALISING A DESIGN HERITAGE STRATEGY

Figure 4.26: Artek's composite-material pavilion at the Milan Furniture Fair in 2007.

Despite the lack of a clear idea, the excitement for the project in its early days is remarkable. Kullberg (2016) remembers her commitment to the project as follows:

> When we were buying from flea markets, second-hand markets and auctions, wherever, we were driving hundreds and hundreds kilometres around Finland. I was driving and the kids were like 'again, another weekend? We are just chasing these things' and I was like 'yes, yes, yes, we go now… this will be good one day.

The thoughts that accompanied those early days was not about a big marketing show. The early attempts started with the idea that second-hand Aalto furniture should regain the value that it deserves:

> The basic idea is that through this action, buying them back as many as possible, we were able to re-evaluate the second-hand pieces on the right value. So, meaning that, Aalto's chair at a flea market cannot cost ten Euros. It is a wrong value, because it is not about that we would be needing to earn two hundred Euros, but it is the same value as a new one, or at least the same or little bit more depending on how it has been aging. The beauty comes from this patina. So, it was more like a movement than an opportunistic business action.

The international announcement of the project took place at the Artek pavilion during the Milan Furniture Fair in 2007. The pavilion itself was constructed by means of a prefabricated mountable unit system made of an ecologically innovative wood-plastic composite material, architecturally manifesting Artek's commitment to sustainability. In the months that followed, the same pavilion was reconstructed in Helsinki and Miami (see figure 4.26).

However, during the preparation stage for the fair, Artek had no idea that they were going to present the collected pieces at the fair. Actually, the pieces at that stage did not even have a name to be referred to. Kullberg (2016) remembers how the pavilion and exhibition was formed (see figures 4.27 and 4.28).

Figure 4.27: The same pavilion was reconstructed later at Design Miami. The pavilion at Design Miami featured re-collected 2nd Cycle objects.

Figure 4.28: The piled-up display, as if the chairs were stored with no intention as to being part of the show, is reminiscent of today's display approach at the 2nd Cycle store.

We were so engaged with the Pavilion project. In January, I was supposed to be with Tom Dixon introducing products.[43] But, we all came to conclusion that we do not have products that we want to show. They were not at a design stage that we could be able to show [in fair] *and we would be stating that these are exactly right, these are ready, but not only prototypes* [...] *So, at the end, it* [2nd Cycle] *started from a problem. It started from a case to be solved. I needed to find a solution. I phoned Tom Dixon, I think, at the third week of January, and said: 'Tom, we do not have anything new to show, what about we would be showing old Aalto products, saying that we buy them from flea markets, we state that it is 2nd Cycle.*

So, the collected old models finally achieved a project title and were determined to be presented in the international arena, to solve the problem of the lack of new finished design models that could be shown at the fair. However, this challenge, and its solution, generated a big international hit.

People were thrilled about that. I think especially thrilled about the connection with the Shigeru Ban's pavilion. Because the pavilion was a statement of sustainability as an attitude. Not we would be saying that we are hundred per cent sustainable, but we were saying that we had the attitude. We were contacted by Microsoft, Sony and several companies, design people were contacting us, press was contacting, it was a bit confusing, I do not know how many lectures I have been doing since then about the 2nd Cycle, why it was done. People wanted to hear because it was emotional, rational approach of this kind of thinking. Press was thrilled, it was early, because in 2007 […] *design was very much connected to fashion, we were very trend oriented and sustainability was still like an untouched area. It was not appreciated yet, at consumer level.*

The first business contact came from an impressive client, Microsoft:

We sold pieces to Microsoft Design Lab. And this was one of the first clients ever, immediately after the Milan. I would not be able close to deal but actually my boss told me, 'Mirkku, we need to make this happen because this is a fantastic client'. I had no idea what kind of price to put on those products. Then I just decided like, okay, let's just make this happen.

Following the big success at the Milan fair, the company promoted the project in close synchrony with its foundational principles, as an "educational activity" that aims to associate product longevity with responsible consumer behaviour. This

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43   Tom Dixon was the art director of Artek.

"education" was not only constrained with marketing images. It was enveloped, rather, by Artek's greater agenda of sustainability involving, for example, the sustainable material research that shaped the Milan pavilion.

The sustainability agenda was based on three interlinked pillars that are ethical, aesthetical, and ecological as Kullberg (2016) describes. The "triangle thinking" between these aspects, for example, changed even how Artek hired its designers: "[…] *if we took a designer on board, we did not work on projects. We wanted to sort of create a process where these people will be involved in the company's future. That was about ethics."* The agenda also affected the approach towards the production. For example, the idea to buy the Korhonen factory, which was realised in 2014, started to occupy minds as early on in the years of Kullberg's management:

> *We were considering at that time that we would be able to own the company which had been producing Aalto products since 1930s. That was part of the ownership of the whole chain. For being able to really follow the raw material, having the traceability for the raw material. And having the process in hands that we really could be controlling what is happening with waste, what is happening with all of these quality-not-so-good pieces. So, through this ecology we could be controlling ethical and aesthetical aspects in this whole triangle of thinking.*

New design strategies have taken on the sustainability agenda too. For instance, the designer of the pavilion, internationally recognised architect Shigeru Ban, developed the same primarily recycled material for Artek's 10-Unit System furniture group two years after the Milan fair in 2007 (see figure 4.29).

The design strategy marks parallel marketing projects with educational aspects such as the revitalisation of Enzo Mari's famous 1974 project Autoprogettazione. Artek (2010) put the self-assembled Sedia 1 Chair into production with a documentary marked with Mari's motto: "design is only design if it communicates knowledge."

As a part of the explicit alignment of products with higher ethical values relating to environmental consciousness, brand slogans that are presented on the product packaging of new production furniture and shopping bags manifest the anti-fashion brand philosophy. Slogans such as "timeless content inside", "buy now keep forever", or "one chair is enough" directly promote lasting values and product longevity in a package indicating a commitment to sustainability (see figures 4.30, 4.31, and 4.32).[44]

Informed by the previously explained social nature of brands and the contribution of heritage brands to national community building as argued by Bulmer and

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44   Artek is not the only Finnish company from the traditional sectors that promotes durability to gain competitive edge. Iittala uses anti-fashion slogans too, also celebrating durability as distinctive brand values. As in the Artek's case, slogans are shown on product packages and shopping bags, such as "Timeless Design since 1881" and "lasting everyday design against throwawayism".

Figure 4.29: In 2009, Artek presented the 10-Unit System furniture group at the Milan fair.

Figures 4.30 and 4.31: The anti-fashion slogans are presented on product packages and shopping bags. These pictures were taken in the flagship store.

Buchanan-Oliver (2010), the consumer interest in the 2nd Cycle can be also framed with a nationalistic feel. Although the project did not include explicit connotations in terms of a nationalistic feel, the brand's historical significance may have allowed the marketing agenda to tap into a deeply felt, nationalistic affective mood on the part of the Finnish public. This affective mood may be based on the unique merging of national self-awareness, multi-generational collective memory, and layers of private memory, all of which I have attempted to explain above.

Cultivating an image for the material qualities of aging respected this emotional state and opened up an opportunity for the promotion of product longevity linking people's connections to their history with the care of their future. 2nd Cycle's further development has taken place step by step, achieving public popularity and growing in confidence. The awareness campaign received such public excitement and media coverage that it encouraged the company to transform the scope of the project, coming up with the idea for a separate store where the meanings produced in previous moments of consumption could be consolidated. Moreover, this has given birth to a new kind of business model. This is how the 2nd Cycle Vintage Store that I described at the beginning of this chapter has achieved today's shape and volume, with an ever-expanding product range and quantity.

4.4 The Project's Expansion

Both Artek's interest in its own corporate history and 2ⁿᵈ Cycle's reception by the public should be seen within the context of general trends in the reproduction and consumption of the recent past's historical capital. Retro and nostalgic consumption, as noted earlier, are strong and intertwined factors in shaping contemporary consumer culture and marketing trends. It may be safe to assume that they have also had a certain influence on Artek's construction of its modernist roots, and the progress of 2ⁿᵈ Cycle beyond a marketing gimmick. Perhaps the high status of Scandinavian design in the 2000s and emerging perceptions and appreciation of the Scandinavian culture runs parallel to international consumer interest into 2ⁿᵈ Cycle.

Emerging in 2005, the "New Nordic Design", for example, points to a nostalgia-laden "lifestyle trend" that revitalises the Scandinavian Modern. The trend represents a new and complex consumerist appreciation of the post-war image of Nordic countries and their design ethos by a segment of conscious consumers who are motivated by elitist sensibilities as well as by a set of contemporary evaluation criteria such as environmental and social concerns. The social welfare system and associated values unique to the Scandinavian political culture, for example, have become a part of this intellectually-distinctive new appreciation. It includes also the revisiting of the myth of natural virtues of Scandinavian Design and their reflection by minimalist aesthetics (Skou and Munch 2016). A distinctive signifier of the New Nordic, for Skou and Munch (2016: 11) is the role of design companies that cooperate with designers with a "good name" or "good story" as well as with "lifestyle media and bloggers" instead engaging conventional advertisement.

New Nordic may help to explain the ideological, aesthetical, and economic background of new design models that inherit the Scandinavian/Finnish design heritage. This may include also Artek's new models to some extent. Nevertheless, what makes 2ⁿᵈ Cycle special, deserving the focus of this sustainability research, goes beyond the retro packaging of new models for better sales figures. 2ⁿᵈ Cycle may be special in the sense that it's focus is laid on the direct upcycling of the existing models offering consumers a dialogue possibility with the experts of the company to actively produce various authentic meanings. A decisive factor has been here the transformation of the marketing programme to a concrete store and business model. As a result of the ever-increasing popularity of the project, Artek decided to launch the 2ⁿᵈ Cycle and Vintage store in 2011. Kullberg (2016) explains the story of the store through a long preparation process:

> We intentionally waited for a while. I wanted to see what is happening in the consumer behaviour. That was one reason. And, we had an idea of collecting as many as possible of those pieces to have a sustainable inventory of those. And, we had a plan of buying, acquiring the Tapiovaara's Aero [Design Furniture] Company which had like Juhani Lemmetti who had already a sustainable stock

and inventory and store [...] *We delayed the launch one year due to that purchase*
[...] *The story was complete. We had a place, we had people with the knowledge,*
we had a certain inventory and we had been able to do the proper marketing and
educational part internally as well.

The acquisition of the Aero Design Furniture has enabled Artek to have a concrete
space where the 2nd Cycle operations can be implemented under the supervision
of Juhani Lemmetti. Henceforth, the "educational activity" has achieved a concrete
platform where the brand has been extended to a physical store as a cultural centre
for permanent valorisation in design, rather than being merely a commercial stage.
The educational aspect has also been extended from being undertaken by mass com-
munication tools to being achieved via personal interaction, such as in the context of
the conversations with Artek's experts and salespeople through which customers are
able to develop the experience to appreciate lasting values in design. This approach
has involved initiated dialogue, a strategy aimed at rewriting Artek's history and
to "communicate knowledge" in a more democratic way. Dialogue allows customers'
voices to be heard, documented, and shared in a unique way. Building a dialogue
with customers started with an ambitious attempt to document the consumption
story of each furniture item by means of a computer chip located in each piece of
furniture and scannable by other customers' phones through RFID technology.[45]
"Bringing flesh around the bone" in Tevajärvi's (2014b) words, all available "bio-
graphic" information of the furniture piece and its user, such as when the object had
been bought, where it was used, and who had used it, were collected by means of
conversations with people from which they were buying back furniture for resale.
This aimed to generate a new consumer agency, making each story easily accessible
to everyone by means of the intelligence and technologically innovative capacity of
Artek and the mediation of the furniture itself. However, this documentation and
dissemination method could not be sustained due to the growing popularity of the
project and the related expansion in customer demands, which exceeded Artek's
operational capabilities.

In the current system, information is transferred to customers via the conversa-
tions that take place in the store. During our long conversations, Tevajärvi was most-
ly able to provide immediate and detailed answers to my demanding questions about
the history of the individual furniture pieces that I chose randomly among those
offered in the store. There were some instances however, he told me that he must
check out his notes in the office. Although the chip uploading has been abandoned,
the idea is highly inspirational and feasible in the era of electronic photo-sharing

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45   RFID: Radio frequency Identification

and social networking.[46] Moreover, this kind of sharing promises a new avenue to influence consumer behaviour, as Tevajärvi (2014b) explains, and further, how the background stories are effective in influencing customers' buying decisions. Customers are interested in finding out stories behind products and exploring the symbolic properties that may be transferred to their own households.

These features, of people gaining a sense for heritage via multiple opportunities for interactivity, reflect the overall strategy behind the 2nd Cycle project. As the creative director of Artek, Ville Kokkonen, puts it (2012), Artek sees the store as a platform for "education" and "communication", where the virtues of vintage are explained to customers to whom it is not always clear why an older object bearing the patina of passing decades would be sometimes more valuable, aesthetically pleasing, and expensive than a brand new product. Tevajärvi (2013) describes the nature of the conversations and "education" as not "patronising"; instead, they provide visitors with an "enlightening or motivating or inspiring perspective". For Tevajärvi, this approach is the benchmark of a store that not only realises the environmental aims of the company, but also provides a competitive advantage to tackle growing challenges imposed by online auction sites such as E-Bay.

When asked again in 2016 about how he conceptualises the education strategy, Tevajärvi remains loyal to his stress on the lack of any patronising attitude:

> *We are not a school. We do not either see us as an authority who tells people what furniture to buy or not* [...] *We are just trying to tell people that their old furniture has a unique value and should not be thrown away. We are also excited about finding out and sharing the stories behind those furniture.*

From the early days of the store on, this education strategy keeps reaching a wide array of people thanks to the price band and product diversity that influences the customer demographics in a democratic way. According to Tevajärvi's (2013) accounts, this diversity allows low-budget customers, such as students and young couples, to purchase 2nd Cycle items, alongside design enthusiasts and collectors with higher budget capabilities. The commercially most active customer group is the professional category, a category that involves, for example, interior architects that would like to use the 2nd Cycle furniture in their projects. Antique dealers can be included in this category, too, although they mostly take a role in the provision of items to sell to the 2nd Cycle store.[47]

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46   Consumers, for example, can easily upload their special memories to electronic storage platforms allowing future owners to access their recollections via each individual furniture item's barcode.

47   In this context, Artek co-operates with local antique dealers, becoming their customer. Otherwise, in terms of finding the original source of items, the 2nd Cycle store and other dealers are competitors with one another.

Besides the network of professional dealers, the store operates by receiving requests from former customers. Accordingly, it provides a set of boutique services in expertise that include research on a particular piece of furniture, quotation of a price for the piece concerned, and transportation of the item. At this stage, the customer may choose cash payment or exchange for a different piece of furniture. Following the buy-back process, repair takes place in cases of damage that concern fundamental functional properties. Respect for the original condition is the main approach to the repair. Otherwise, the decision as to the level of repair is mostly up to customers. Re-polishing and re-upholstery characterise common types of repair requested by customers. The repair, if not handled in the store's small workshop, is outsourced by the store to specialised workshops with the right know-how in terms of being able to preserve originality.

In cases of rare items, Artek may choose to add the item to its own archive (see figure 4.33). As a result of this, the company has accumulated a collection of historically significant items – this includes not only furniture, but also documents such as sketches and drawings – that do not even exist in the collection of the Alvar Aalto Museum located in Jyväskylä. Hence, 2nd Cycle has been generating intellectual gains for the company, including new insights into the history of Finnish design. Tevajärvi (2014b) calls this an airing of Finnish design's "silent knowledge".

In the exploration of "silent knowledge", limitations have started to appear. One constraint involves a decrease of decisions to sell on the part of former Artek customers. Tevajärvi (2016) explains the problem that in the previous years, the store used to receive "interesting" furniture almost at a weekly basis. This seems, however, to have been changed since 2015, as the store experts have realised that they really have to wait much longer for an interesting piece. Tevajärvi highlights that they do not experience a decrease in the overall interest in the store. People keep contacting the store to find out the story of their furniture. However, when it comes to buying decision, customers are not willing to sell their furniture as they used to be. Hence, the store increasingly relies on auction houses and other dealers in order to buy furniture to feed the store's inventory. This assures the circulation, however, as Tevajärvi stresses, the store management is missing the contact with the real owners of those furniture.

This problem certainly raises questions with regards to the economic future of 2nd Cycle. Will the decrease eclipse the achievements that have been made so far? It is too early to find clear evidence as to why this decrease has emerged. Hence, it is early as well to reach a conclusion in the context of this research. There could be a great number of reasons and it is open to speculation. When asking Mirkku about her thoughts on the issue, she said that this phenomenon, in fact, is exactly what she wanted to happen all along:

> *I think it is good that people do not want to sell those pieces any more. I think that we are somehow reaching the intention of people keeping these pieces, giving them to their children or whatever. There will be always existing opportunistic vintage*

Figure 4.33: In the 2nd Cycle store, archive collection pieces are labelled in order to distinguish them from the saleable products.

market which is different. 2nd Cycle was not a question of vintage pieces. It was about reusing the old products, giving a new life era into them. Of course, 2nd Cycle had been having vintage pieces, buyers, and clients But, at the end, 2nd Cycle market is different [...] I know young generations, twenties, my children's friends, they have no intention of selling these pieces. They want to give them to their children or to their friends […] and I am fine, the appreciation is there. That was the 2nd Cycle's intention at the end.

This sounds like a reasonable perspective. Concerning the aim of this research, I could connect this recent development to the duration of the 2nd Cycle project. 2nd Cycle has been communicating the value of vintage furniture for almost a decade. The company's efforts might have had consequences within the relatively small Finnish market, such as raising awareness and product attachment to such a degree that customers are not willing to sell their furniture anymore. If I can speculate in this vein, this could be understood as an achievement in terms of the communication of 2nd Cycle's message to the public, despite the fact that this very achievement has wound up slowing down the store's operations. Nevertheless, 2nd Cycle's expansion beyond the borders of the Finnish market tells us that there are bigger potentials available for the project and store that may compensate for the economic limitations in Finland.

Expansion to Berlin

A milestone in terms of the expansion of the 2nd Cycle concept took place in September of 2013 when Artek was acquired by the well-established Swiss furniture company Vitra GmbH. This integration created a synergy due a brand DNA on the part of Vitra, which possesses significant similarities with Artek's design-production strategy and heritage management principles. These include, for example, continuous production of furniture models that have become design icons. Vitra, having entered the market in the 50s, also possesses a great deal of heritage capital that is communicated through a design museum complex located in Weil am Rhein/ Germany. From 27 September 2014 to 01 March 2015, the Vitra Design Museum presented the largest Alvar Aalto exhibition, titled Alvar Aalto – Second Nature, since the 1998 retrospective at MoMA in New York. Following the Vitra Design Museum, the exhibition showed at the CaixaForum Barcelona between May and August 2015 and the CaxiaForum Madrid between September 2015 and January 2016, gaining a larger international audience (see figures 4.34 and 4.35).

The similarity in the two companies' strategies continues also in their approach towards product longevity and sustainability. Vitra (2014) describes this approach in the context of permanent valorisation:

> […] the company places an emphasis on the durability and longevity of products as part of its contribution to sustainable development. Transitory styling is avoided. Our design classics provide the clearest example of this: still up-to-date and in active use after decades, they often change owners several times and may even end up in a collection. (4)

The embracement of aesthetic and functional longevity of products as a means of sustainable development and as a marketing tool is another recognisable similarity (Vitra 2013). Recruiting the greater economic and operational capabilities of Vitra,

Figure 4.34: A section of the exhibition venue that focuses on Artek furniture.
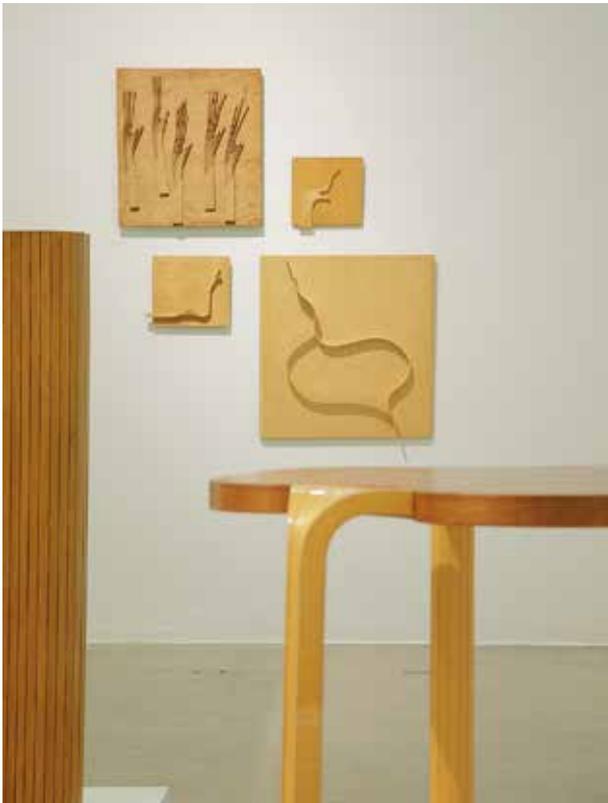
Figure 4.35: The exhibition also includes samples of Aalto's structural experimentation with laminated wood that has become the alphabet of Aalto's formal language.

the 2nd Cycle project has become internationalised with the launch of the new concept store, in April of 2014. The new store is called "Vitra loves Artek" and is located in one of Berlin's most popular shopping centres, Bikini House (see figure 4.36).

The store incorporates new Vitra and Artek furniture with a number of design related sections including clothing, printed matter and Artek's 2nd Cycle products, as well as a small café. The store has been another success in the history of 2nd Cycle. 2nd Cycle products have received commercial interest and cultural curiosity from the public, an interest that the store has sustained over the first year of its existence. In order to keep up interest and enlarge the scope of its sources, the store arranges events. For example, over 28–29 November 2014, the store hosted Artek experts who rated the value of and placed offers for items of modern Finnish design brought in by local people.

The volume of the store is much smaller than the Helsinki store. Transported from Helsinki, the 2nd Cycle products occupy a corner space in the store alongside a collection of brand new products. These physical and conceptual parameters entail a store experience that is different from the Helsinki shop. In contrast to the latter, a more mainstream commercial setting predominates, with spotlights and shiny store surfaces. A more upbeat store experience takes place, with immediate help offered by salespeople. However, the 2nd Cycle products remain loyal to their distinctive patina, and are thus able to generate their own ambiance in the store.

As Tevajärvi (2014a) puts it, the company sees the 2nd Cycle's agency in Berlin as a means of introducing Artek and Finnish design through the lens of permanent valorisation and the brand's commitment to sustainability to the German market, where Alvar Aalto's design career is not as well-known as his architectural career (see

figure 4.37).[48] A limited number of 2nd Cycle products are stored in Berlin, however, they function as sample models that represent the greater collection and open a door to the Helsinki store. For example, customers can view available alternative furniture in Helsinki which can be shipped to Berlin. The Berlin store shows that the international appeal of Finnish design provides a platform to promote 2nd Cycle and Artek's sustainability strategy abroad.

However, for Kullberg (2016), the expansion should not mislead us into thinking that 2nd Cycle achieves a big-scale business character:

> *I do not think that it will be a big scale business. And it should not be a big scale business. But, it is an important part of the company's* [Artek] *DNA today. I think we created the new little part of the DNA for the future, for the company* […] *And I think that we will be a good example for many companies to think differently. If you think about the guitar industry* […] *cameras, they have a second hand market. There are a lot of things, if you think… even the fashion industry… they are starting to take back old products and reusing them. There is a difference between recycling and this kind of return economy or circle economy where products can find a new kind of channel, where they are used, and where they will be living. World needs this kind of examples. That is why we wanted to do it. Something meaningful.*

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48   I met Tevajärvi in Berlin during one of his regular visits in the Berlin store to train German employees (salesmen) about Artek and 2nd Cycle.

4.5 Meanings and Potentials for Sustainability

I argued in the previous chapters that the heritage of design can be situated at the crossroad of sustainable consumption where the dynamics of consumer culture and the economic concerns of business meet product longevity. In this chapter, so far, I have attempted to show Artek's recent business and marketing models as ones that might epitomise a model where design heritage can be used for the promotion of slower modes of consumption. Artek's 2nd Cycle is thus a case model from which we can draw lessons to realise this research's suggested strategy for a cross-cultural exchange setting. Artek's case and the Finnish design phenomenon have helped me to link the broadly framed literature review on heritage management to the multilayered platform comprised of a specific design culture, design heritage, and design mythology. This chapter's study on the narrative of Finnish design mythology, and the company's intentions and management efforts to revitalise the mythological content in a contemporary context may inspire and guide researchers and designers from different cultural contexts to consider adoption. Where there is no established national or regional design mythology, this chapter's study may help researchers to devise various mythological elements based on specific corporate and design heritages. As stated above, I am not talking about a copy and paste application, but a more sophisticated cross-cultural adaptation of key methods and elements, which I will try to undertake theoretically in the following chapters.

In this vein, it is important to define these methods and elements right in the beginning of this section. Firstly, one can recognise that Artek's case epitomises a management model for the purpose of this research study where business and consumer interests reinforce each other through the engagement of the existing socio- and politico-economic network in the context of Finnish consumer culture.

Secondly, I see 2nd Cycle as a case that involves a realistic promotion of values of sustainability beyond the fulfilment of the company's own narrow self-interests. This characteristic highlights that the store does not involve the past as a mere nostalgic yearning for the bygone times of the modern era. By contrast, based on my observations and company employees' statements, Artek recruits the past for the sake of the future, creating a sample case for furniture companies that can manage a sense of heritage out of long-standing models. So far, 2nd Cycle seems to have managed to communicate an idealised modernist past where customers can project their own associations with the past of modernist furniture as an essential part of Finnish design mythology. Customers are invited to participate in the reconstruction of the mythology.

Thirdly, Artek's case also illustrates, for the attention of future adopters, that the past is not a finished concept but a collective and dynamic project whose associated meanings can be enhanced through consumerist methods of sharing and participation. Moreover, this enhancement embraces the future as the interactive reconstruction is communicated as a means of achieving a sustainable future by encouraging

durable patterns of consumption. In other words, the reconstruction of the past as a present activity helps to shape the future collectively. For example, a highly guiding feature for future adopters that can be added to the reconstruction of the design mythology, is Artek's particular role as a safeguard of Finnish cultural heritage creating an inclusive connection point where memories are collectively transferred and reproduced across generations. This safeguarding position is strengthened by the recent incorporation of production rights of other "design heroes" such as Ilmari Tapiovaara and Yrjö Kukkapuro designs by Artek.

To this end, I have stressed the 2nd Cycle concept's background, philosophy, and development as they have evolved since the launch of the public relations campaign for 2nd Cycle, providing detailed information on the characteristics of its current operations. I have tried to outline also how the concept is able to secure the company's commercial interests with a positive impact on new production lines. I have attempted to address also that the wide acceptance of modernist design in Finland enables national iconic design to become effective agents of sustainability operating within the current economic and value systems of consumer culture without violating related interests. These qualities strengthen the results of the previous interdisciplinary literature review on heritage management. They can be promising in terms of a transition to sustainability, and the potentials involved should be able to inspire further projects based on heritage. Artek is a culture-specific case with certain limitations, this is true. Nevertheless, the expansion to Germany shows that the 2nd Cycle may have a chance at greater application internationally.

The potential of the latter can be analysed at different levels and scales. From a commercial vantage point, for example, the 2nd Cycle stores serve as platforms to translate former consumer-product attachments into new commoditised forms. The stores accommodate a controlled experience space for Artek to manage the social construction of attachment development, memory transmission, and cultivation. Thanks to this business model, Artek directly intervenes in market circulation and the replacement process of products, enacting a lasting influence on pre- and post-purchase consumer behaviours. In this way, Artek communicates to its current customers, as well as to a wider audience, that its mid-century products are a source for sophisticated cultural meanings meshed with the social fabric of Finland. Of course, the company communicates also the material qualities – durability in particular – of Artek furniture, still able to function and emit a sense of beauty after serving the Finnish public over a period of almost a century. These meanings enable a second life for products, entailing further economic values such as proving the new furniture as an "investment tool" in Tevajärvi's (2014b) words. For him, the second hand value of existing Artek products assures consumers that new furniture models will also enjoy similar values in the future that may promise economic gains for owners.

In this vein, another commercial aspect rises as 2nd Cycle enables Artek to create a responsible brand image that suggests that consumers should join the company in order to protect the environment with enduring ownership habits. However,

this does not suggest giving up consumerist interests, but rather to replace novelty-based aspirations with the social and ethical benefits of permanent valorisation in design.

The unique sustainability potential kicks in when this commercial advantage is accompanied by the promotion of sustainable consumption patterns that turn the predominant consumer interests into an advantage. More particularly, due to design's demographic and historical qualities in Finland, the mythical design ethos and unique national memory complex serve the cultivation of sustainable consumption in a culturally and economically compelling way. Artek, paying attention to persistent cultural tendencies to enable design's historical capital to become an instrument of transformation, harnesses historic capital towards greater potential in terms of the benefits of social inclusivity. Unlike many sustainability projects that aim to radically exterminate a commitment to consumerism, Artek may be enabling feasible means to redirect present consumer aspirations in the service of curbing resource-intensive consumption patterns. Although permanent valorisation in design can offer change in limited markets, it does not involve risks of radical agendas that may cause more harm than good in the long term, the aforementioned consequence in respect of policy-making for the purposes of sustainable consumption noted by Perrels (2008).

The brand's position in the collective memory and the marketing elaboration of the ethos of longevity thus opens up a new aspect of inclusivity with reference to broader temporal foundations and sustainable consumption. This is a critical stage for iconic design, since Artek's development strategy crafts a new perspective, onto a social meaning of permanent valorisation that can reach across the globe. With the inclusion of sustainability, permanently valorised design from the 20th century achieves a new wave that resonates in the context of the emerging values of the 21st century. Artek's management may be valuable in the sense that it contrasts with examples of commercial management that does not challenge conventional uses of heritage that tend towards a traditional and overexploited sense of conspicuous status display. As a result, the symbolic meaning of permanent valorisation could be associated with a certain fawning attitude toward elitism and the status quo. However, Artek's model illustrates that branding a persistent cultural presence may enable such design to transform historical capital into inclusive social benefits, with a broader vision oriented more meaningfully towards the future.

The survey on meanings and potentials

With the inclusion of sustainability, design heritage achieves a new wave that could also lead to a semantic shift in design's permanent valorisation replacing the exclusivist focus on consumerist prestige building with a product life cycle understanding of sustainability. In Finland, I may argue that design-conscious consumers can already link iconic design with durability based on the results of my online survey
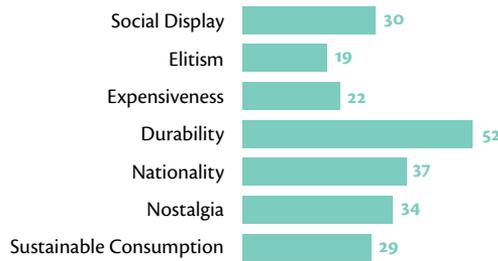
"Iconic Design in Finland" that was held in 2014 for three months and answered by a total of 81 participants from Finland.

The survey, for example, asked participants from Finland to associate iconic design with a maximum of three choices out of seven options provided to them. The options were "social display", "elitism", "expensiveness", "durability", "nationality", "nostalgia", and "sustainable consumption". Among the 79 respondents, "durability" was the most popular option with 52 hits, followed by "nationality" with 37 hits and "nostalgia", with 34. "Elitism" and "expensiveness" were the least popular options with just 19 and 22 hits, respectively (see chart 4.1).

This is a promising result demonstrating an existing awareness at a level demonstrating a fertile ground in Finland within which to grow this research's desired sustainability potentials of design heritage. As a matter of fact, only nine respondents out of 81 stated that they have thrown away a design icon since they thought it was too old-fashioned. The elitist option's low popularity, in addition, helps to stress the promise that there is almost an absence of prejudice associating historical capital of design with the status quo. A slight objection may be raised as the "sustainable consumption" option was chosen only 29 times, just behind "social display", with 30. However, this could indicate a sort of confusion when linking durability with the complex concept of sustainable consumption. For example, when given a short explanation of the resistance of iconic design to ephemeral whims and desires imposed by the fashion mechanism, a great majority of consumers associate design icons with "slower modes of consumption". Only 10 out of 81 cannot see such an association. This may mean that with the increase of public experiences such as the 2nd Cycle, people may develop a better understanding of the connection between slow consumption and the greater context of sustainability. Moreover, sustainability, for example, in a form of environmental care, may be becoming a part of the semantic ethos of iconic design as 45 out of 81 respondents strongly agree that iconic design conveys a "higher level of cultural taste" in comparison to fashionable or trendy design. Twenty-seven participants of the remaining 36 respondents agree with this statement somehow weakly. There is only nine participants who disagree with the above cultural taste comparison. This result may support the argument that the development of the cultural image of permanent valorisation in design with projects such as the 2nd Cycle

can positively affect consumer preferences that already see iconic design as consisting of a higher level of cultural taste.

It is also important to note at this point that when these participants were asked whether they had heard about Artek's 2nd Cycle Store, only 41 out of 77 respondents answered positively. I received a similar response when the participants were asked whether they have ever bought a design icon from a second-hand or antique market. 42 out of 80 respondents answered this question in the affirmative. Interestingly, when asked if they would consider selling a design icon in a second-hand market, or if they had done so before, positive responses grew slightly, to 52 out of 81. The expectation of economic gain appears to make second-hand more attractive. The positive responses, in this sense, rose to 63 out of 81, when participants were asked whether they would consider a design icon as a long-term investment, if it had a higher second life price, based on its authentic values. This result may highlight that projects that popularise second-hand markets and promote authentic values can affect consumers who may see iconic design as a source of income. Such a consumer interest can obviously support durable consumption patterns rather than a novelty commitment. In other words, a promise for long-term economic gain can be used in order to manipulate consumer behaviour towards a more durable pattern of consumption. Such an economic gain is among the key messages of 2nd Cycle.

Another survey result that supports the potential impact of the 2nd Cycle is the level of consumption related ethical concerns of design-conscious Finnish consumers. When asked about ethical concerns related to the depletion of the Earth's resources, only 12 out of 81 participants indicated that such ethical concerns do not affect their purchase decisions when shopping. By contrast, 30 respondents stated that ethical concerns affect their decisions strongly when buying a product. The other 39 respondents pointed out that while their decisions are affected by ethical concerns, the effect remains somewhat weak. When asked particularly about the influence of ethical concerns in decisions related to the purchase of furniture, the negative responses numbered only 16 out of the 81 respondents. The number of participants whose purchase decisions are strongly affected by ethical concerns when buying furniture remained at 28. As the most popular response was that articulating a strong connection between ethical concerns and purchase decisions, I argue that ethical consumer concerns can be expected to support 2nd Cycle's popularity into the future.

It is a well-known fact that participants tend to deliver socially-desired responses in such surveys. This tendency might be argued as driving the popularity of the most environmental-conscious option. However, with the rapidly increasing impacts of climate change, such ethical concerns can be expected to grow in Finland. In fact, as mentioned in the second chapter, even in the U.S.A., where consumer behaviour is unsustainable, comprehensive surveys show that the great majority of people demand action to reduce global warming despite the potential economic costs. When considering this, I believe that my survey accurately reflects the level of design-conscious Finnish consumers' ethical concerns when purchasing a product.

Consequently, I argue that the survey results point to a suitable cultural ground in Finland where projects such as 2nd Cycle can affect consumer behaviour through the promotion of durable consumption patterns engaging various capacities of design heritage. 2nd Cycle's growing popularity, which has enabled what was initially a public relations project to expand to concrete stores in Helsinki and Berlin, supports this argument.

Despite these positive signs, marketing attempts in pursuit of rapid and short-term commercial gain, may continue current trajectories, tapping into consumer demand for conspicuous displays of status. No doubt, such efforts can hamper the potentials of sustainable consumption. As stated earlier, achieving permanency in valorisation is not an endpoint, but rather the status of a semantic process and its relation to the passing of time. The semantic status of design undergoes constant changes that may lead to reduction in the status of endurance to a certain degree. Hence, the commercial exploitation of design heritage should be seen as a threat to the very core of permanent valorisation. This thread involves, for instance, transformation of iconic design into a cliché when its ubiquitous symbolic features are simply copied and overused. This semantic shift, where product meanings undergo dramatic changes, may end up that design loses its meaningful content and originality.

Semantic shifts are common occurrences in the culture of design including modernist Finnish design. For example, in the 1960s, with the rise of environmental and social sensibilities, a sharp reaction took place against established post-war cultural and political values in Finland. As Korvenmaa (2014: 19) put it, this reaction involved seeing the post-war design landscape as one that was "obsolete and alien in the face of in the face of pressing ecological issues and worldwide social injustice". This phenomenon constitutes a good example with which to recognise the changing nature of permanent valorisation as a semantic status. Perhaps more importantly, when considering the rise of concerns related to sustainability all around the world, the example serves also to recognise the importance of Artek's sustainability agenda for the maintenance of lasting values in Finnish modernist design.

This argument can be extended in considering the current problems that are apparent in the Finnish design scene. The Finnish design market, for example, is continuously criticised for a simplistic and exploitative approach that offers iconic products of the past again and again with seasonal and surface-oriented changes only being made to the products. The popularity of design heroes makes such a design offer a risk free investment for companies, and also risk free investments for consumers seeking consumerist interests such as conspicuous status display. However, this strategy obviously channels the temporal qualities of the Finnish design towards to the past, leaving open a small window only for innovative design proposals, while hampering chances for present breakthroughs in design. In this vein, archaic and simplistic marketing agendas that merely depend on the perpetuation of the creative genius and design hero myths cast the heroic fathers of Finnish design as a long shadow looming over the present design landscape. This shadow is perceived as a

limitation by new generations of designers. Interestingly, this is not a new problem, as Korvenmaa (2009) stresses; what both the young generation designers of the 1960s and of the new millennium have in common is the challenging competition with the same heroes and their works.

This challenge seems to create a negative perception among students about permanent valorisation in design even today that may hamper young generations to recognise the sustainability potential of design which endures time. The negative perception does not seem to have an endpoint in the near future as the outstanding accomplishments of history are still seen as a burden by design students in 2015. For example, when assigned to create a poster of their understanding of Finnish Design and Culture, Aalto University's graduate students preferred to highlight a number of issues delivered by 75 poster works. Among these issues, the confrontation imposed by "old masters", have become one of the most popular concerns besides other issues that affect the current Finnish design scene such as the increasing move of production facilities of Finnish companies abroad (see figure 4.38).

This issue obviously has repercussions on the consumer side too. Faced with a lack of new convincing and explorative aesthetic approaches, consumers are compelled to adopt a conservative taste, asking continuously for new versions of old design breakthroughs. This pushes the design world into a vicious cycle, where business strategies and consumer preferences lock into each other. The contemporaneity of Finnish design is problematic, operating as it does under the shadow of the myths of the past, raising concerns about the future of the national design concept and the production, representation, and agenda it involves. The problem may remain for a long time and even worsen, as long as a new design heritage paradigm is not addressed based on the emerging necessities of the 21st century. The myths, such as creative genius and design hero, originated in the development story of Finland, are taken for granted and repeated continuously. This is the reason why the past's positive associations with design heroes are increasingly turning to a perception of burden in the current design landscape.

But, what should be done? Shall we commit patricide, killing the father figures of Finnish design, or adopt iconoclasm, abolishing permanent valorisation from the Finnish marketplace in order to remove the blocks out of the way of young generation designers? Wouldn't this be a waste of invaluable economic and cultural capital that can be employed in the service of sustainability?

Emergence of consumers in the Finnish design mythology

I believe that the potentials of 2nd Cycle enter the picture once again in the face of these questions. Artek has been subject to the above line of criticism due the use of seasonal cosmetic changes in its iconic models, a strategy aimed at boosting sales. However, since the introduction of the company's sustainability agenda, design

FEEL THE PRESSURE

Figure 4.38: The poster, created by graduate students Melissa Sammalvaara and Olli Silvennoinen, illustrates a student trying to sketch while bearing the burden of Finnish iconic design models, including Stool E60, the Domus Chair, and the Savoy Vase. The explanatory text of the poster reads as follows:
Our poster focuses on the relations between the 'old masters' and the younger designers. While we recognize the importance of the lessons learned from our (design) history and traditions, it also often feels like a great burden. While it's expected of us to create something new and better, we're constantly compared to the masters of the golden era of Finnish design. This is also a comparison we can not [sic] win, as the classics have already been raised on a pedestal so high it's virtually impossible to reach, even in our own minds.

strategies that support innovation have been articulated, built upon the pillars of sustainability and the heritage of modernist ideals, such as the 10-Unit system furniture group. Hence, 2nd Cycle's strategy does not aim to perpetuate the creative genius myth; rather, the strategy offers consumers a new way of thinking and revisiting those myths. It enables customers to challenge design heroism through the sharing and construction of collective memory. Furthermore, the promoted connection of durable consumption and sustainability motivates and empowers customers to join the hero myth through an appreciation of enduring ownership patterns.

Kullberg has managed to engage the company's historical capital to re-establish the dialogue with society by explicitly responding to emerging consumer aspirations and needs in light of a contemporary understanding of sustainability. Hence, Artek could offer sustainability as a new ideology that functions in close synchrony with the company's origin myth. The psyche of an elite Artek consumer with a distinguished taste in consumption is replaced by a responsible, caring, and conscious consumer who achieves additional customer values through joining the ethos of the Finnish collective design memory. Accordingly, a new design myth has emerged that dramatises the ideology of sustainability with an emphasis on consumers' consciousness, experience, and memory. This new myth, built as the reconstruction of the Finnish design mythology, does not address designers' creative genius as a source of heroism, but rather it can be seen as addressing consumer behaviour who consume responsibly and care about sustainability. These new heroes have used Finnish modern design across generations and continue to join the social construction of the collective memory of Finnish design. In this vein, Artek may be challenging the traditional myths of design heroism.

This may promise a dramatic break out of the vicious cycle where commercial strategies push the design field to produce simplistic copies of modernist aesthetical patterns over and over again. Hence, 2nd Cycle is shaped by a forward-looking strategy framework instead of archaic marketing principles that engage permanent valorisation in design only in commercial status-conveying and elitist agendas. 2nd Cycle's greater focus that exceeds mere commercial strategies, may be best observed by the wide array of design diversity in the 2nd Cycle store's collection where fame does not play a role. The collection includes, for example, works of designers who were not able to achieve fame in the era in which they worked and folk-art furniture.

In this context, Artek's marketing and business efforts do not constitute a threat to the emergence of new design languages. On the contrary, raising the sustainability awareness of Finnish consumers is a stimulant for creating consumer demand for sustainable design solutions. This may push the Finnish design field to innovate and explore new solutions that respond to the rising needs of the 21st century. Hence, raising sustainability awareness promises to open new avenues to sustainable design understandings.

2nd Cycle may not only stimulate the emergence of new design solutions, but also may be helping the development of the second-hand market in Finland through

popularising the field. Hence, the establishment of the 2nd Cycle store is not an attempt to control the second-hand market, executing a corporate gatekeeping role in the field. Such an aim would not be possible due to the large scale of the market, one exceeding Artek's capacities, as evident in the abandoning of the aforementioned RFID chip installation idea. Hence, in contrast to a gatekeeping role, the company's aim can be seen as allowing customers' voices to be heard and shared in the manner of a mediator. But, can we regard this as the company sincerely supports democratisation of the Finnish design heritage?

The abandoning of chip installation seems to have dramatically reduced the influence of such democratisation in the sense of empowering customers to achieve and share historical information wherever chip-installed furniture is available. Accordingly, the current dissemination of information is restricted in the store because it is limited to the actions of experts only. This strengthens and secures Artek's role as the sole actor mediating information in 2nd Cycle. Such a role partly contradicts the democratisation concept. Moreover, abandoning chip installation may also threaten the lasting influence of the whole 2nd Cycle project. If 2nd Cycle ceases for some reason or the expert team leaves the company, there is a serious threat of losing the aggregate knowledge that has been collected so far. Because of this, there is an immediate need for broadening the scale of shared knowledge, getting 2nd Cycle out of the store, and involving larger audiences either with chip installation or another technology. This can be a call for design historians to intervene and carry out projects that systematically research and disseminate the store's records with scientific methods of recordkeeping and archival services.

Despite these problems, Artek's continuous commitment to the 2nd Cycle project, now achieved its 10th anniversary, may show that 2nd Cycle is not merely used to promote an ecological perception about the company. Rather, there may be a social benefit that interests greater sections of society through the promotion of a durable consumption pattern. In other words, 2nd Cycle may not be a branding practice that deceives by implicitly greenwashing the company's actions. The reason why I am addressing this issue is the popular belief that associates branding activities necessarily with the deception of consumers. Despite the academic studies, exploring how branding and marketing may contribute to sustainability transformation such as by Champniss and Rodés Vilà (2011), this stigma leads to a kind of bias-orientation that hampers any productive recognition of sustainability potentials when brands are involved in projects. Holt (2002) provides us with a framework for understanding why branding is today so closely associated with such deception:

> Brands now cause trouble, not because they dictate tastes, but because they allow companies to dodge civic obligations. Postmodern branding is perceived as deceitful because the ideals woven into brands seem so disconnected from, and often contrary to, the material actions of the companies that own them. (88)

It is undeniably true that brands cause a great deal of problems today. However, the more they cause trouble, the more they could offer the potential for an effective solution. As Holt (2002) continues, he actually addresses such a solution on how brands can overcome negative connotations and how this can foster positive societal change.

> As consumers peel away the brand veneer, they are looking for companies that act like a local merchant, as a stalwart citizen of the community. What consumers will want to touch, soon enough, is the way in which companies treat people when they are not customers. Brands will be trusted to serve as cultural source materials when their sponsors have demonstrated that they shoulder civic responsibilities as would a community pillar. (88)

In this context, despite the above democratisation problem, 2nd Cycle provides the customers with the core of Artek's brand that is the company's over half-a-century interaction woven into memories of Finnish society, as a "cultural source". Inclusion of this source into environmental discourse truly meets Holt's above point about non-customers and "civic obligations". The rhetoric of "conscious consuming", in this sense, does not put the ball in the court of consumers in order to avoid corporate responsibility, but rather enables customers to co-develop a sense of community clustered around the brand's sustainability narrative.

We should not forget, however, that Artek is neither an academic institution nor an NGO, but rather a capitalist establishment with interests in making profit. This fact points exactly to one of the hypotheses of this research. That is that consumerist and capitalist self-interests may feasibly serve a cultivation of a sustainable consumer culture through implementation of a palette of culture-specific design heritage management methods for a given society, as in the case of 2nd Cycle. This result may help to avoid interest conflicts that otherwise elevate opposition and counter-production risks in the transformation towards global sustainability.

Nevertheless, 2nd Cycle should not exempt Artek from criticism. For example, the company should be more transparent about the use of sustainable material in the production of furniture. Research for sustainable material or use of local wood sources such as Finnish birch, have been communicated on many occasions since the beginning of the sustainability strategy. However, more needs to be done in light of the developing sense of consumer empowerment with the 2nd Cycle project.

As introduced earlier in the context of the study by Blombäck and Scandelius (2013), a company's communication of CSR messages in a systematic fashion may increase brand reputation. In this vein, as a slow consumption and anti-fashion campaign, 2nd Cycle provides a feasible platform to combine tailored CSR messages in designerly and creative ways where customer involvement can be strengthened and diversified. Available technologies, for instance, can be integrated into furniture where customers can track and monitor all the production data and its environmental impact such as production-related carbon dioxide emissions or material resources

engaged for each piece of individual furniture. The RFID chip installation idea of recording historical information is a highly inspirational in terms of developing the company communication capabilities and elevating consumer responsibility to higher stages through enabling customers to exert more control in the production process.

As mentioned earlier in the second chapter, the study by Champniss and Rodés Vilà (2011) describes brands as creators of "bonding social capital" and "linking social capital" to connect distinct and remote communities via collaborative relationships. Empowering customers to such a control over a company's production methods may address to achieve greater sustainability potentials in terms of inspiring other brands to produce extended "social capital", not only influencing a homogenous brand community but also bridging distinct consumer groups on the ground of environmental governance and safeguarding.

When considering all these discussions, Artek appears to me as a cultural experiment that is able to produce inspiration and important lessons. It is a well-known fact that mid-century, vintage or retro furniture retail operations is becoming increasingly popular in Euro-American societies. However, these lessons may not only appeal to high-end or classic furniture retailers, but also more every-day and high-volume producers with a distinctive historical background such as IKEA, the world-famous furniture producer that notoriously does not pursue any longevity strategy at all. This potential may become more visible when one considers, for instance, the growing objection to the decision to remove the iconic shelf model Expedit from IKEA stores, on the basis of the model's irreplaceable standing among users (Robinson 2014).

Furthermore, Artek's design heritage management may be scaled across a wider geographical area as consumerism becomes galvanised by growing middle classes in emerging markets achieving higher consumption capabilities. Permanent valorisation in different cultural forms such as arts and craft, can be employed in different cultural contexts. This may help to situate the cultural symbolism of permanent valorisation globally, against the obsessive commitment to novelty through drawing consumer interests into the orbit of product longevity. It is critically important to establish a common terminology and perspective that can be adopted by future researchers and managers who may adapt this research's strategy to different cultural contexts.
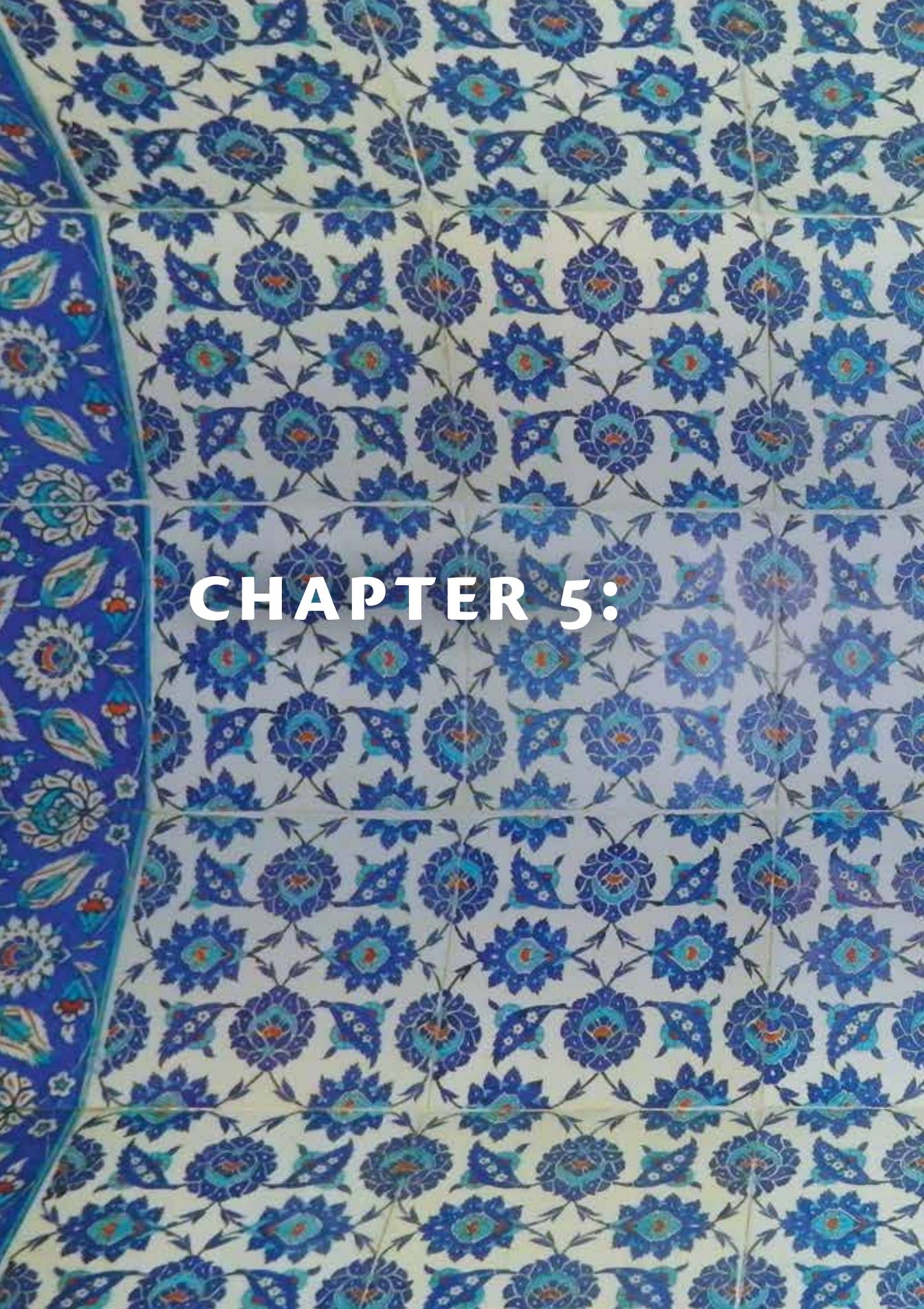
CHAPTER 5:

Scaling across Emerging Markets: Turkey's Grand Bazaar

5.1 Design Heritage as "Common Stock"

The bazaar is not a case that can be likened to, let's say, the Coliseum in Rome. They [Italians] *have preserved it as a cultural value because it belongs to a bygone civilisation. You just cannot find it* [this kind of cultural preservation] *here. There is not such preservation, because, it is not entirely historical in our minds. The bazaar is living. It belongs to the present, rather than to history.* (Interviewee 2 (2014).

The above is an excerpt from an interview that I conducted with a store owner in Istanbul's monumental market place, the five-hundred-year-old Grand Bazaar. Many cultures that have not followed the historical path of Western industrialisation lack a modern design history. However, across the globe these cultures have strong and lived ties to pre-modern arts and craft capital that possess an iconic status. Sustainable consumption being a global goal, it may be worth examining the role of these icons in the context of culture-specific consumer patterns. The Finnish case, in this context, may produce heritage management lessons that can be applicable to different cultural scales, historical resources, and heritage understandings.

The Grand Bazaar deserves special attention in considering this applicability. The bazaar has been embedded in the traditional culture of Turkish production and consumption since its foundation following the capture of Istanbul (Constantinople) in the 15th century by the Ottomans.[49] More importantly, despite a number of incidents of fire and earthquake that have severely damaged the bazaar's structure, it has unceasingly played an important role in Istanbul's social, economic, and cultural life, since its beginnings. Today, as a fetishised locale and an internationally acclaimed icon, the bazaar presents an intriguing case in terms of its potential as a place to apply a heritage design approach to consumption. Can the two cases – Artek in Finland, and the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul – be aligned, despite substantial historical, cultural, and economic differences? What are the related challenges? Exploring these questions would test the scalability of the Finnish case and establish a guide that might be adopted by future researchers who aim to achieve socially accessible narratives for consumers in the service of a transformation of consumption towards sustainability.

In the most essential sense, the Finnish case demonstrates that commercial models can engage with the historical design capital that is embedded in collective memory. This may be implemented in such a way as to respond to both the economic needs of business and diverse consumer interests while simultaneously reducing the

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49 The Ottoman Empire was a powerful state that lasted for over six centuries. At the height of its power, it controlled vast geographies over three continents, including the East Europe, Middle East, and Asia Minor.

pace of consumption and production of waste in the home furnishings market. As shown in the previous chapters, such a synthesis of various immediate commercial and consumer benefits can be closely associated to the concept of sustainable consumption. Finnish design has succeeded in implementing such a synthesis, leading to voluntary changes in consumer behaviour for the purposes of the societal good; the possibility of cross-cultural adaptation is thus worthy of inquiry. Many emerging economies have become concerned with sustainability as their consumer spending levels have grown. Can the Finnish case produce scalable and mobile lessons for emerging market economies that do not possess a modern design capital, but which do have iconic arts and craft capital that have roots in ancient times? I argue that leaving such significant capital with its diverse business potentials unrecognised would be a waste of precious cultural resources that could be mustered in the service of a transformation to sustainability.

The extension of the Finnish case seems possible since intellectual transactions do not take place in isolation from ideologies and world views that cross borders. Societies in different time periods have always exchanged ideas and transformed them into intrinsic cultural and tangible solutions adapted to their own unique circumstances. Moreover, there are age-old civilising processes characteristic of long-standing religions and mythologies that cannot be excluded from today's design and business culture in terms of work ethics and everyday aesthetics. No doubt, this refers to a much deeper historical perspective, to a broader collectivity. I gesture here to what anthropologist Lévi-Strauss calls "common stock", a shared pool of continuous intellectual interaction as old as our social history. "Human societies are never alone" says Lévi-Strauss (1952: 10) when discussing cultural diversity. When understanding diversity, he puts greater emphasis on "relations" between different cultures rather than the extent of their "isolation" from each other. These "relations" could take place through diverse encounters, some voluntary inter-relationships including those that are commerce-based, but also those that take place as competition and might even involve violent clashes.

As a well-known example, the Crusades in the Middle Ages are significant in the context of world history as a series of culture and technology transfers to Europe as well as constituting a series of military campaigns. Lévi-Strauss also explains the role of "relations" in the establishment of cultural diversity, touching, for example, on the desire to be different from neighbouring groups, which can be seen as the expression of "independence and individuality". Yet for him (1952: 10), this kind of competition may also lead to the adoption of similar customs: "Many customs have come into being, not because of an intrinsic need for them or of a favourable chance, but solely because of a group's desire not to be left behind by a neighbouring group which was laying down specific rules in matters in which the first group had not yet thought of prescribing laws."

Whatever such deep pools of cultural commonality and exchange persist, contemporary popular concepts of national or regional distinctions compel us to estab-

lish design categorisations of originality that are usually very narrowly grounded in modern concepts of ethnicity or of the geographical orientation of designers (thus, "Scandinavian", "Italian", or "Finnish" design). National or regional concepts of design tend to homogenise design, failing to recognise its contemporary transnational dynamics, including the global mobilisation of designers. Post-Fordist regulations have encouraged global supply and assembly chains that pay little attention to borders; yet concepts of "national design" have been fully integrated into the semantics of branding (*e.g.* "manufactured in Bangladesh, Swedish design"). Design increasingly functions as an instrument for the promotion of distinctive national identities and authentic intellectual capacities. From the annual designation of the World Design Capital, to the boom in design museums across the globe, design is in fact increasingly combined with a sense of national branding.

This focus on nations in the context of branding undermines rich historical and cultural backgrounds of transactions and relations between countries and regions of the world. Yet I do not reject the role of national distinction entirely; nations do have relatively autonomous cultural trajectories. However, what I am trying to indicate is that the overemphasis on national design may weaken the potential of the cross- or inter-cultural application of an idea like design heritage management. In sum, it is important to note that when indicating a national adjective for design, I describe only the modern synthesis and manifestation of a distinctive aesthetic integrity and homogeneity. We must be aware, however, that these outcomes of engagement of intellectual, social, and historical qualities as well as the exploitation of regional resources and economic capabilities. National design is particularistic, yes, yet it nonetheless belongs to the "common stock" of humanity and addresses the non-stop cultural exchange that has occurred historically between regions.

"Common stock" is not an unchanging pool of values. Being aware of the dynamism of common stock itself is important in terms of the objectives of sustainability, in the sense that it is a global project. To quote Lévi-Strauss (1952: 46) again, "[…] cultural progress depends on a coalition of cultures. The essence of such a coalition is the pooling […] of the wins which each culture has scored in the course of its historical development." In the imperative of the sustainability crisis, obviously, such a "coalition" is much needed, and design heritage fully corresponds to the idea of the "pooling […] of the [cultural] wins". In a nutshell, the Finnish experience is a part of the common stock particularly as it becomes strongly inflected by the issue of sustainability. The Finnish experience of addressing sustainability might be able to penetrate the intellectual capital of different cultures, facilitated by economic and cultural factors of globalisation that bring down barriers, factors that predominate in contemporary "relations".

In the context of design, the meaning and the content of common stock may differ from one culture to another in terms of the signification of design dynamics and their historical orientation. Obviously, different parts of the world are based on different industrial backgrounds with different technological accessibilities and

design know-how. However, sustainability is with few exceptions a leading interest for the entire globe. Moreover, as mentioned in the second chapter, the complexity of sustainability necessitates the employment of decentralisation with methods as various and as inclusive as possible in order to address a fast-moving and diverse range of problems. In this sense, aiming for international cross-fertilisation of localised tacit knowledge under the organising principle of sustainability, it is worthwhile to analyse each culture-specific experience in its own right. This may establish localised feed-back loops serving to galvanise parcels of common stock, constituted by strategic transfers and the building of alliances, without neutralising the role of present cultural differences.

5.2 Emerging Markets: a Discussion on Feasibility and Necessity for the Thesis' Scalability

How transferable is the Finnish case? Can it make useful contributions, in terms of furthering a global project related to sustainability, to common stock, inspiring similar activities in different cultural settings? What are the challenges and limitations posed by arrays of cultural differences between different nations? Emerging markets, so-named to describe their constantly growing economic capacities, provide an intriguing context in addressing some of these questions. Emerging markets include countries such as Turkey, Mexico, South Korea, and Indonesia, as well as the BRIC countries (*Financial Times* 2011).[50] Changing the global balance of finance and investment, these countries together are expected to account for more than half of global economic growth by 2025 (World Bank 2011). Certainly, this growth comes at a cost in terms of sustainability, considering that China and India by themselves are responsible for 83 percent of the increase in carbon emissions between the years 2000 and 2011 at a global scale (*Economist* 2013). Emerging markets can serve as cases to grasp the potential of applying design heritage management to sociocultural locales other than Finland. This potential can be categorised according to three main factors.

First is the economy-based socio-cultural factor, as the burgeoning middle-classes of these countries wield substantially-growing consumer spending power, while at the same time often adopting resource-intensive consumer cultures and lifestyles. 2015 witnessed an economic downturn in emerging markets registering only modest growth below the prior expectations. Almost all of these markets, from Turkey to Brazil, are proven to be highly vulnerable to issues such as regional socio-political conflicts, corruption, and tides in oil prices. Under these circumstances, consumers

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50   Some studies also include Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong, as some others characterise Singapore and Hong Kong as developed economies.

may show tendency to reduce their spending with a threatening crisis in sight. However, when considering the spread of Westerner consumer habits and lifestyle adoption, such a reduction in consumption volumes can be expected to remain temporary only imposing no enduring cultural shift. Hence, any improvement in economy may easily result in an increase in consumer spending.

Growing both in size and affluence, these classes' investment in a specific and comfortable lifestyle sounds reasonable despite growing sustainability problems. It would be unfair to describe as irresponsible the Indian families, for example, who have bought vehicles as part of a doubling of the number of households that have a car, van, or jeep between 2001 and 2011 in their country (Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs 2012). In a globalised world, demanding the convenience of private transportation is a legitimate right since their counterparts in privileged economies have been enjoying the comfort and social functions of private cars for decades. It can be rationally expected that Indian families will increasingly enter the system of fashion to build and sustain social relationships with their growing affluence. This expectation brings us to the point that was mentioned in the second chapter about increasing the economic, cultural, and social appeal of slower consumption modes rather than mere coercive regulative methods. Therefore, given the growing contribution of emerging market economies to climate change, a cross-cultural application of the hypothesis in these markets could yield promising contributions to global sustainable development.

Second are changing, history-based socio-cultural factors, factors that distinguish these locales from Finland in terms of the social and semiotic characteristics of material culture. The scale of distinctions, based mostly on the dynamics of historical processes of non-Western modernisation and rapid industrialisation, provides a favourably challenging environment, where the limits of the scalability of the hypothesis can be pushed and recognised.

Third is the popularity and role of design in the context of emerging economies. The introduction of industrial design dates back to the 50s and 60s as a part of social and economic programmes in emerging countries (Er 2009). In particular, recent decades have witnessed a close synchrony between design and competitive advantage, paving the road for the popularity of design across emerging markets in governmental, business, and academic sectors. As the broader integration of design with innovation strengthens this trend, design is becoming a fundamental issue in the context of policy making and the articulation of macro growth strategies, as well as in micro business investments. As a result, the design field in these countries involves "[…] distinct design identities, educational approaches, which are due to the creative convergence of modernist and universal values with distinct traditional and local values" (Er 2009: 71).

An increasing number of design courses and positions are offered by a great diversity of institutions and programs. As Bürdek (2010) reports, for example, universities and private schools provide over 500 design courses in China alone. The Chinese

"City of Design", Shenzhen, in addition to the aforementioned Shekou Design Museum project, hosts more than 6.000 design companies that employ over 60.000 designers. South Korea, where the history of design promotion by the government goes back to the 50s, has more recently, since the beginning of the 90s, experienced a design boom (Chung 1998). Seoul became the World Design Capital in 2010, in doing so celebrating design as the "growth driver of Seoul economy" and the main driving force for ambitious and landmark design projects such as the Seoul Floating Island and the Dongdaemun Design Plaza (Kim Hoo-ran 2014). In sum, design has been increasingly adopted by emerging markets as a new arena where economic and cultural competitiveness is displayed. Not surprisingly, two Red Dot contemporary design museums are located in Singapore and the Taiwanese capital of Taipei, the latter of which has become the World Design Capital in 2016. Large projects are known to stimulate and support smaller businesses and young creative investors, projects including the Songshan Cultural Park in Taipei and the recent publicly-funded creative hub PMQ in Hong Kong, where design is embedded in a wider cultural context of creativity.

These examples of the role of design in emerging markets can be easily multiplied. An important example is in the role of design in emergent micro-scale businesses that focus on design interpretations of traditional craft aesthetics and techniques, a phenomenon present in a number of emerging markets, including Hong Kong and Taiwan. This reproduces a crafts heritage through the intellectual and methodological lens of design and transforms collective memory into newly added values related to a sense of national or local awareness. I highlight here an opportunity to expand the Finnish case, as it may provide these businesses with general theoretical and methodological principles inspiring them to transcend mere commercial ends. I aim to reach the aforementioned volunteer consumer behaviour through emphasis on enhanced social good as well as attention to new economic opportunities, know-how, and human capacities.

Given this momentum, strategically, I suggest emerging markets as suitable habitats to discuss the feasibility and necessity of scalability, for a launch of a cross-cultural application, and as centres for further expansion across the globe. Such an approach is important since this expansion could be expected to stimulate new inter-cultural synergies and relationships where tacit knowledge based on the management of heritage can be exchanged. In turn, this emerging network of relationships may constitute a fertile source to enrich the domain of academic studies on the relationship between design, heritage, and sustainable consumption on a global scale.

Spread across the globe, emerging markets offer diverse cultural dimensions. The similarities indicated above may facilitate further cultural interchange among them, however, each case has unique characteristics. In illustrating the challenges and opportunities involved in the context of a scalability ambition, I seek to define and describe what I call the Turkish "cultural reservoir" in order to bring the above theoretical discussion to a grounded and present context. I believe that a real-world

illustration can establish a ground and pave the way for further cross-cultural application cases in the context of different emerging markets. To this end, the following section focuses on my home country, Turkey. As an emerging market economy with a rich cultural reservoir dating back thousands of years a country, Turkey provides a suitable context for a discussion on the feasibility and necessity for the thesis' scalability.

5.3 Conceptualising Turkish Design Heritage: Defining the Complexity of the Turkish Cultural Reservoir

A cultural reservoir constitutes the historical cultural resource that incorporate the common stock that has aggregated over centuries. When delving into the depths of history, a recognition and differentiation of the reservoir is needed to achieve a certain sense of semiotic significance and collective memory that can be linked to today. The complex depth of the Turkish cultural reservoir raises questions related to permanent valorisation. How deeply into history, should one go to establish the capacities of a certain collective memory? Could, for example, even pre-historic times be an effective source of collective memory? Moreover, how can one translate the accumulation of diverse cultures across large historical periods into a modern understanding of national design heritage?

These questions might seem to correspond to an overwhelming research challenge since, located at the centre of Afro-Eurasia, present-day Turkey has been a melting pot for a myriad of cultures since pre-historic times. Küçükerman (2007: 20) describes the heritage of Anatolia[51] as one of "power, industry, art, and design" the foundations of which arose according to the three elements of *"Fire, Horse* and *Carriage"* throughout thousands of years via complex civilisational trajectories. The Roman Empire's (300 B.C.–250 A.D.) extensive and systematic road network for trade, transportation, and military purposes, for example, was a driving force for the development of a "carriage industry" in Anatolia. When it comes to glass making, with a history of 5.000 years, certain production techniques lead back to

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51   Also known as Asia Minor, Anatolia constitutes the Asian and largest part of today's Turkey. Anatolia is what is usually referred to in literature to address the geographic location of today's Turkey, emphasising its multi-cultural and multi-ethnical social structure. I thus use the term in a conventional sense, and do no seek to exclude the European part *(Rumeli)* of Turkey from consideration.

the 1450–1200 B.C. reign of the Hittite Kingdom, where colourfully designed glass beads appear (Küçükerman 2008). We can dig even more deeply into the history of the Turkish land mass if we include the archaeological site of Göbekli Tepe, with its complex carved stones containing a rich collection of highly artistic and elaborate animal reliefs, from bulls to lions and snakes, that date back to 10.000 B.C., the early Neolithic age. Located in the south-eastern Turkish city Urfa, these artistic drawings are believed to illustrate stories from hunter-gatherer religions and the beliefs of nomadic people (Scham 2008).

How do these ancient traces bear upon the issues under consideration? On the one hand, extending to pre-historic times, this sample of such traces suggests how diverse sources and deeper historical perspectives are involved in pre-modern heritage management, where an aesthetic of permanent valorisation can be effectively communicated. Yet, on the other hand, unlike the well-framed field of modern design heritage, this temporal broadness creates new complexities and obscurities at various levels that cannot be fully addressed with contemporary categories. The dilemma arises, for example, as we consider which values or historical periods can be embraced in the modern category of what is "Turkish", so that an historical root can be established for Turkish design heritage. Even though I use the term "Turkish" in a way that is broader and looser than any particular ethnic constraints, it is difficult to answer the question of whether the geographical location of carvings and images sufficiently justifies a connection to today's design environment. It is common sense that cultural heritage is a property of humanity rather than any particular country or other organisation. Culture and art are not bound to borders of political domination. What is the role, then, of modern or bygone political borders?

There is no single or solid answer to such questions as one considers that it is not always possible to trace back and construct a map that fully represents how art forms have affected each other and have been passed on from one generation to another. In other words, we are not always able to specifically evaluate, for instance, to what scale and depth traditions, attitudes and the forms that these take as expressions dating to the early Neolithic age have influenced subsequent civilisations such that they might inhabit still today's living forms of art, architecture, and also design.

In grappling with this dilemma, I turn to the field of art history, where Kuban (2009) suggests a possible answer in outlining two different categories that accord to two contrasting types of Turkish art heritage: the "Art of Turkey" and "Turkish Art". Unlike in West European countries, for Kuban (2009), the geographical and political meaning of "Turkey" is highly distinctive and precise, more so than is the ethnic and cultural meaning of "Turk". In this realm, the history of nations that define themselves as Turkish are different from the history of Turkey the nation-state. For example, the above Neolithic relics may correspond to the category of the "Art of Turkey" in common with a large historical spectrum involving different cultures of different ages, from the Hittites (17–13th centuries B.C.) and the Kingdom of Urartu (9th century B.C.), to the Hellenic city states and the Byzantine Empire.

The category of "Turkish Art", on the other hand, involves a great number of Turkic ethnic groups, nomadic confederations, and empires that emerged in various historical periods among different geographies stretching from Central Asia to the Middle East, Anatolia, Caucasus, and Balkans. This category includes, for example, the Göktürk Khanate (8–6th centuries A.D.) from the range of the Altai Mountains located in East-Central Asia, where today's nation-states of Russia, China, Mongolia and Kazakhstan meet. It also includes, as another prominent example, the Seljuk Empire that ruled over vast areas in the Middle East and Central Asia and created a substantial and unique cultural identity affecting the subsequent Ottoman Empire.

The above examples of the Turkish states that functioned across both vast geographies and over wide time frameworks depict the great complexity of how "Turkish Art" emerged in a cultural reservoir fed by great networks of cultural interchange, transfer, and co-production. It is not surprising, then, to see traces of Uyghur painting from East-Central Asia in Ottoman Miniature techniques, for instance. For Kuban (2009), Turks were involved in a mutual cultural pool in Central Asia that was shared and co-produced by various cultures. Yet a homogenous and characteristic Turkish art did emerge in Anatolia, which Kuban (2009) categorises as "Anatolian-Turkish Art" (*Anadolu-Türk Sanatı*), in the following centuries after the settlement of Turks in Anatolia. The process of settlement is subject to a highly controversial historical debate that bears on a great deal of uncertainties, ones pertaining to the migration of Turks to Anatolia, and the scale and profoundness of their transformative engagement with pre-existing cultures there.

However, it is generally agreed that Anatolian–Turkish Art reached one of its most sophisticated and distinctive levels when Turkish-Islamic civilisation achieved its classical status in the 16th and 17th centuries, during the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Petsopoulos (1982: 6), for example, defines that the Ottoman manages to shape an "articulate decorative vocabulary" combining the Islamic culture with a synthesis of the Byzantine civilisation and the Central Asian traditions. The Anatolian-Turkish Art involves flows of efforts across centuries, in fields of art, architecture, and craftsmanship, in synchrony with a distinctive socio-economic institutionalisation that embraces Turkish-Islamic philosophy. Certainly, this genuine blend merges with Turkish nomadic traditions and habits as constitutive elements that had been conserved for ages and transferred from Central Asia via migration taking place over generations. This synthesis shapes a mentality that marks the institutionalisation of interconnected social, religious, and cultural practices. Hence, when articulating the Turkish cultural reservoir and its heritage, one needs to consider multiple dimensions grounded in centuries of social conflicts, compromises, negotiations, and mediations. These have indeed created a highly dynamic and myriad set of layers of cultural transformation, interaction, and integration, as well as competition.

5.4 Towards a Mythology for Turkish Design Heritage

There is no single materiality alone that is able to represent significantly the discourse of dynamism and complexity embracing the core of Anatolian-Turkish Art, in other words, centuries of cultural accumulation and synthesis. The institutionalisation of Anatolian-Turkish Art, however may be represented at its best in stressing an anonymous actor: the Akhi brotherhood. Beginning from the 13th century and extending to the 18th, the Akhi brotherhood of tradesmen and artisans operated as an institution that shaped craftsmanship and commerce with constitutional characteristics such as dynamism, solidarity, and discipline. These characteristics developed in a regulatory framework stretching across moral, religious, social, economic, and political fields that witnessed the emergence of the Ottoman classical era.[52]

What makes the Akhi institution special for the purpose of this chapter are the organisational and moral capacities that it held that may be employed as the cultural ground to establish a renewed Turkish design heritage bearing iconicity in the service of sustainability. These capacities extend from practical issues such as the organisation of the operation of trade and training of young practitioners, to a world view that prioritises solidarity and collectivity in the context of societal development. Stemming from the roots of fundamental Islamic principles (Futuwwa) and Anatolian Islamic Mysticism (Sufism), the Akhi philosophy powerfully resonates with humanist values such as hospitality, fairness, honesty, tolerance, generosity, and compassion. Akhi philosophy and teachings thus uniquely combine lifelong dedication to craft and production with societal achievement of excellence in morals, solidarity, and productivity.[53]

Cultural dynamism is here subject to special attention since the Akhi provides a unique cultural synchrony of Islamic economic principles with Central Asian cultural characteristics and with Persian and Anatolian elements of the even deeper past (see Kula 2011 and Ceylan 2012). These include for instance a strict sense of self-discipline not only in trade operations, such as avoiding deceit and discrimination, but also in an entire worldview that champions relinquishing undesirable earthly ambitions and physical instincts. In living out these principles, the Akhi institution provided tradesmen with an economically safe and controlled environment marked by collective solidarity that limited ambitious individualistic attempts at taking risks in pursuit of greater profits (Cem 2007). As a result, these moral structures and op-

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52 The Akhi Instituion was gradually replaced by guild corporations (*lonca*) and trade monopolies (*gedik*) in the following centuries. However, the Akhi can be thought as the structural basis for successive institutions.

53 The Akhis were highly selective when accepting members to their organisation. For example, butchers were not accepted since killing animals was seen to be degrading the Akhi values.

eration mechanisms maintained a crucial part of the Ottoman's production-oriented social order.

The promising character for the cultural grounding of Turkish design heritage relies on what were key issues for the Akhi, including justice, education, and solidarity.[54] These provide a conceptual framework that could be creatively linked to today's understanding of sustainability. Such a provision does not address by any means a revitalisation of a bygone socio-economic system. However, if we are seeking a way or ways to benefit from historical cultural capital by means of heritage, the Akhi could provide the historical and social capacities to accomplish a cultural link between Turkish cultural capital and the complex issues of sustainability. This is a key link towards facilitating the cultivation of a public understanding of the concept of sustainability by means of culturally accessible and socially manageable values and concepts.

In other words, the moral and operational foundation of the Akhi institution could establish a rhetorically powerful myth, made up of socially acceptable expressions making sustainability and all of its complexities publicly understandable and operational in Turkey. This is possible due to the Akhi's institutional framework, one that goes beyond local values and mere religious practices, one that establishes a philosophy that links local capital to universal virtues of fairness, compassion, integrity, and solidarity. The historical success of this unique combination is clear when one considers how long the Akhi managed to institutionalise Anatolian-Turkish Art and form trade and production relations. The synthesis of local and universal values, as a result of centuries-long operations, offers various dimensions that can strengthen and diversify the myth. This marks a strong source of capital that allows for a re-mastering of alternative customisations of the same myth that invests itself in an array of public behaviours, up to and including different consumer aspirations and interests.

The universal aspects and the synthesis of a great diversity of historical cultural elements offer a rich cultural reservoir that can be turned to as a powerful myth in pursuit of potential branding efforts and sustainability transformation in the Turkish context. As the Finnish modern designers are associated with the Finnish self-realisation of independence and international recognition, the Akhi could be the anonymous face that mythologises the emergence, development and classicism of Anatolian-Turkish Art with a unique philosophy blending universal values with a synthesis of intercultural diversity. The Akhi's bridge to sustainability draws a parallel line with the Finnish link between the modernist design ideals of the 20th century and sustainability.

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54   One could add here also a sense of inclusivity from a mythological point of view as the Akhi organisation had also an effective woman branch called Anadolu Bacıları in the 13th century (see Kula 2011). As Kula (2011) argues, despite the inclusion of women in Akhi organisations, this inclusivity concept was framed with Islamic sensibilities and arranged with strict rules.

In the Finnish case, design heroism relies on a specific national design mythology, in that case the myths of the creative genius and design hero granting products with cultural longevity. However, the Turkish case requires a different heroism than that of a modern-design myth due to the understanding of the particular historical arts and crafts culture involved where the individuality of the creator is replaced by anonymity. Anonymity is a crucial component that accords with the philosophical framework of Islam.[55] As an anonymous philosophical system and institution, the Akhi may be thought to lack a certain visual or tangible iconicity. However, this absence of a particular creator can be compensated for by a different sense of iconicity: a distinctive ethos with specific cultural content representing the collective relationship of production, trade, and consumption, an ethos aligned with the philosophical background of the Akhi institution.

The Akhi's key environment, the marketplace (bazaar), the heart of trade and craftsmanship, can be considered as an architectural entity that can provide the potential iconicity of the Akhi with a remarkable historical and cultural context. In Akhi philosophy, the marketplace is more than simply a trade space where commerce and production take place. Rather, it is a secret place where the Akhi teachings become realised in forms of centuries-long institutional relationships. These relationships do not only involve Akhi members but serve as a touchstone from which key ideas spread throughout society. The marketplace is crucially important since the Akhi provides an invaluable intersecting philosophy where the mystic dimensions of the belief system blend with the secular circles of production, consumption, and trade. In this vein, through the marketplace, Akhi philosophy and teachings achieve a uniqueness that goes beyond the circle of scholars and clerics, and become public as they course through forms of trade relations, craft training, and consumption.

In this sense, recognising the Akhi marketplace as an icon may help to bring out a new set of methodologies engaging permanent valorisation in the service of sustainability. The marketplace, in this context, could provide the very ethos where the actors of production, trade, and consumption meet in the same environment, marking a network of complementary roles and capabilities. Hence, in a conceptual space parallel to but beyond the creative genius myth, such heroism may allow narrations that can draw in consumers as active participants of the Akhi myth, channelling their roles towards today's ethics of sustainable consumption. Bringing this discussion to a more practical level requires, at this stage, the determination of what might constitute a distinctive iconic marketplace.

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55 The expression of individuality with a signature (for example) in arts and crafts was seen as a form of personal greed that overshadowed important principles of modesty and collectivity. Even though an artist's individual style is able to reveal his identity, in this cultural context, such an identification cannot be compared to 20th century's technological abilities that publicise and promote a designer's identity by means of photography.

5.5 Exploring a "Cultural Icon": the Grand Bazaar

> Trade is a *sine qua non* to sustainable human life, together with money, script and law. Commercial districts have shaped urban development by centralizing the conduct of trade in one location. The transition to sedentary life was accompanied by the appearance of shops, looms, marketplace-type spaces as well as by the invention of coins of copper, bronze, gold, and silver, for use in place of barter. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, commercial districts reserved for trade transactions were integral to political and religious institutions [...] Here were found the stoa, or covered walkway, on the perimeter of the agora, or marketplace, the "old market" commercial buildings, temple-type religious structures, baths and edifices dedicated to cultural events, such as theaters. The commercial centers were built in an such fashion [*sic*] in the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul. (Küçükerman and Mortan 2008: 16)

The above quote throws light on the key role of commerce and trade in the development and sustainment of civilisation. The quote is the inaugural paragraph of a book that focuses on the history of the Grand Bazaar, the greatest marketplace of its kind. Following principles of feasibility and efficiency, it is no surprise that my own research study on sustainability transformation addresses the same monumental market place: home of commerce and trade for centuries.

Certainly, commerce and trade claim a specific space in such an urban structure. The marketplace gained as a central point of importance in the ancient Greek city-states. This central urban positioning is not a coincidence; the marketplace is not only the heart of city but simply of life as a whole, as it shapes ubiquitous economic and human relations. Since the Hellenistic *agora* grew into large-scale marketplaces after the sixth century B.C., with specifically designated rules and regulations, Anatolian civilisations established sophisticated bazaar systems across trade routes (see Küçükerman and Mortan 2008). These systems imposed intensive commercial and social aspects shaping not only commerce and production, but also new architectural solutions all around Anatolia. A striking sample is the central Grand Bazaar in Istanbul, an enormous retail and production centre that is completely covered with a complex grid roofing system. Istanbul definitely had a special place as the capital city of the East Roman and Ottoman Empires. It was (and is), a city at the meeting point of European and Asian continents, an interception point of waterway and land trade routes such as the Silk Road. As an essential part of Istanbul, the Grand Bazaar provides us with a distinctive case of permanent valorisation. More particularly, the bazaar is a cultural icon when considering its social impact. For centuries, before its decline in the 19th century, the Grand Bazaar had been the central market place of the empire, a trade hub for goods from all over the Ottoman territories and Silk Road connections. However, more importantly, the bazaar also bears a unique design background accomplished by the Ottomans' strategic planning after the capture

of Istanbul from the Byzantine Empire in the mid-15th century. The plan involved ambitious political and economic aims, such as establishing a new imperial identity through the production of characteristic goods and an economic model seeking strength in international competitive arenas in accordance with the Ottoman's emergence as a global power.[56]

What makes the Grand Bazaar special in history from a design standpoint is the bazaar's effective role in the creative relation between the Topkapı Palace and the elite corps of Court Artisans (*ehl-i hiref cemaati*). A significant fraction of members of Court Artisans were chosen from among the masters of the Grand Bazaar (Küçükerman and Mortan 2008). The Court Artisans' organisational development in Istanbul traces back to the end of the 15th century as a training and production institution. The institution embraced tens of different divisions each is specialised in a particular form of craft. These divisions covered activities from jewellery making and miniature painting, to textile, clothing and armour design each employing craftsmen such as goldsmiths, sword-makers, seal cutters, calligraphers, and rug-makers.

The strategy that resulted can be likened to the contemporary era's "strategy management of product and institutional identity" as the bazaar became the central "research and development institution". According to the 16th-century record books of the Topkapı Palace, the number of Court Artisans, hired by the palace, present how comprehensive the organisation was. The record book of the year of 1558, for example, shows 597 artisans. This number increases to 898 in 1575 (Çağman 1988). This special organisation resulted in "design and product innovations" that served as goods of the palace (Küçükerman and Mortan 2008: 119). Court Artisans received considerable gratifications in various forms in addition to their regular salaries. These kind of rewards could be seen one of attractions for foreign artisans who voluntarily migrated to the Ottoman lands, such as Iranian artists and artisans (Faroqhi 2009). Interestingly, Küçükerman and Mortan (2008: 119) liken the artisans in the service of the palace to today's "trend setters" as they think that goods receiving the state's approval and encouragement were subsequently added to the range of goods produced in the bazaar. However, their services were not necessarily monopolised by the palace. These artisans were able to serve private customers, too, when their service is not needed by the court (Faroqhi 2009). Their creative goods included a great variety of consumer objects, from carpets, fabric, and foot gear, to glazed tile and jewellery, sustaining the bazaar's competitive power for centuries. Küçükerman and Mortan (2008: 122) don't exaggerate in characterising the bazaar as the "design and fashion" centre of the empire and the palace as "a kind of exhibit of prototypes of identity products". The style created by the Court Artisans influenced era's fashion spread across the empire and available to public.

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56   The Grand Bazaar was founded during the reign of Mehmed II (the Conqueror). However, it's evolution took a period of two hundered and fifty years (Küçükerman and Mortan 2008).

This context fully echoes in my personal background too. The bazaar has been an incredible place of discovery since my childhood, where thousands of colours and tastes mixed together to create a mosaic inside the thick walls of what amounts to a large and ancient labyrinth. When I close my eyes, my childhood memories depict the bazaar as a harbour of thousands of stores, with a great variety of objects, ranging from all sorts of textiles to jewellery, and including also restaurants, beverage and pudding shops, in a complex grid of covered streets where you can literally spend hours without taking the same route twice.

I cannot decide whether it is because I am in my mid-thirties – quite an old age for playful dreams – or whether I have been impressed by recent news revealing that the bazaar suffers from poor management, that the colourful mosaic seems to be tarnished these days. This does not mean that the bazaar has become unpopular; on the contrary, it is packed with people more than at any time before. It is common to see queues in front of the main entrances before the opening hours; its streets are sometimes so packed that it becomes difficult just to walk through it. There is a huge touristic interest in the bazaar. One might expect that this would facilitate the safeguarding of the bazaar, however, it would definitely be difficult to characterise the current moment as a Golden Age.

As daylight enters through the ceiling windows, its beams fall not only on a hectic crowd of visitors, but also on worn out, swollen wall plasters, traces of the damaging effects of rainwater visible almost everywhere. Once beautiful mural paintings have nearly completely faded away in some places due to the rainwater and snow that leaks through broken window glass and thick fractures in the walls. There are holes in the ceiling where rain and snow enter the bazaar directly. Makeshift metal construction units support the ceiling where the original structure is in danger of collapse.

Such physical qualities may be corrected. However, problems seem to be rooted at a deeper level, in the very human mind of those who animate the bazaar. Store windows that used to harbour real arts and craft products are increasingly welcoming counterfeit and cheap products. This invaluably distinctive and characteristic historic monument of trade and design is gradually becoming a place dominated by cheap souvenirs. The recently-popular bright, flickering LED shop signs perhaps best denote the sense of broken authenticity. The bazaar is definitely more colourful than ever before, however, the harmony of the mosaic has turned into a cheap and cacophonic light show.

The original shopping experience is increasingly losing ground as the lucrative tourism business replaces traditional methods, with a business mantra that champions only selling as fast, as frequently, and as profitably as possible. The traditional trade relationship between producer and customer, one that values trust and friendship built up over years, has turned into an atmosphere of distrust. As lots of visitors complain, overcharging has become a common practice. Visitors seem like a flood flowing through the streets, an air that is quite different than that invested in the bazaar as it operated 20, 30 years ago.

The bazaar has, in fact, been subject to continuous change. For its first several hundred years, it was based on Ottoman economic and production capacities. For example, the bazaar's sophisticated production system, based on clusters of expertise with strict regulations, was consolidated as the bazaar became a logistics, transportation, and sales centre. It was the core of the institution, where international trade relations were established and was connected to the Anatolian production chain. In the late 17th century, for instance, the most populous occupational group of Istanbul were the craftsmen (Küçükerman and Mortan 2008). However, this culture of creativity and production, as well as the competitive power of the bazaar, faded away as the Ottomans failed to catch up with the European industrial revolution and could not resist historical chains of events such as the invasion of Western products into the Ottoman market. When it comes to the 19th century, for instance, artisans and craftsmen became the most shaken actors of the Ottoman economy (Mardin 2013). Although new economic and political conditions generated new actors and new trade and production centres, the bazaar managed to survive where traditional craftsmanship and its operational relations remained, but were stripped of their former innovative characteristics. Even in the second half of the 20th century, before the emergence and popularity of modern shopping malls, for example, the Grand Bazaar was the first place in the minds of Istanbul residents when shopping for their homes or as gifts for goods crafted outside of the industrial production circle.

This included goods connected to Turkish wedding ceremonies, for instance, including personal items, ornaments, and home furnishing for the wedding pairs such as jewellery, silverwork, wedding garb, traditional quilts and furniture. Besides this, the bazaar also harboured services such as tailors, radio and gramophone mechanics, and shoe makers, as well as a good number of restaurants, pudding and juice shops. In addition, the bazaar was also important for financial purposes, hosting, for instance, a gold and foreign currency exchange centre. It is important to note that the bazaar's role as a harbour of craftsmanship is still alive in the collective memory of elder people. However, there is no cultural means of memory transmission between generations, as I will show in the context of conversations that I have had with shopkeepers in the bazaar. The transmission of memory is an important factor, as the bazaar has become mainly a touristic place today, where interest on the part of locals has become limited to the jewellery and special gold exchange/trade stores, as a part of the district's character as the traditional financial centre of Istanbul.

For my parents, for instance, who are able to remember the mid-century conditions of Istanbul, the bazaar resembled a ritual that marks a special shopping experience, memories of which are deeply steeped with nostalgia. When I asked my 83-year old father to tell me what the bazaar looked like 50–60 years ago, he stressed the bazaar's uniqueness in the context of city life:

> *It was the only place when it came to gift shopping prior to wedding ceremonies and religious festivals. Everyone was there, doing their shopping prior to such social events*

because there was no other option available. Today's popular shopping districts, such as Bağdat Caddesi and Nişantaşı, emerged later on. Since everyone was there, it was quite common to come across friends or acquaintances. This, of course, was followed by sitting in a café or restaurant to have a chat, relax, and pass the time.

For my mother, who is 74 years old, the Grand Bazaar brings back memories of her parents:

My mother used to take me there before every social occasion to buy new clothes or shoes. It was a ritual then for us at every visit to stop by the famous pudding shop, Çukur Muhallebici, to have some dessert. It was a very small store space, containing only a few tables, but it was always full of people, a popular place to stop by during shopping excursions. You know, where you quickly eat and leave […] It is only recently that I stopped going to the bazaar, modern malls and jewellery shops have become widespread all across Istanbul. But it is not the same, the bazaar had its own way of shopping. Alongside shopping, it was about chatting with store owners with whom you built trust over years, knowing each other. I sustained, for example, such relations inherited from my mother. It worked as a beneficial system of asking advice, when you needed help to buy something unusual. They would suggest, for instance, from which store one can find the best products at the best price.

What marks the memory of my parents parallels the collective memory of Istanbul residents who experienced the mid-century. More-or-less everyone to whom I talked underlines the rituals of shopping where their relationship between themselves and salespeople / shopkeepers had a significant place. A 63-year old Istanbul resident for example, remembers that the bazaar's salesmen managed to remember him, even at a young age and even when he was not a frequent visitor:

When I was a teenager, my mother used to send me there [the bazaar] *to handle shopping. Although I used to go there seldom, let's say once in two months, to my surprise, the salesmen were mostly able to remember me. If not, whenever I told them my parents' name and our neighbourhood, they were able to recognise me* [laughing in a way stressing that he still cannot believe it]. *I often returned home not only with goods, but also with greetings for my family and neighbours. I am still surprised by their ability to align each customer with their own acquaintances and memorise so many people.*

As he continued, he stressed also the factor of administration and the strict regulations enforced by the bazaar's authoritarian administrative council that must have played an important role in the establishment of a culture of mutual trust between vendors and consumers in the bazaar over the course of centuries. He gave the example of store hooks:

I recall from my childhood that some stores still had a big hook [he describes the hook with hand gestures] *attached to their façades. As I heard from my family elders, in the past, every store had such a hook and it was used to hang defective commodities sold by this store.[57] Upon complaint or inspection, if the store was found guilty of selling a defective commodity, the good was hung for a while in order to reveal to everyone that the particular store was involved in a misdoing. Of course it was considered to be very embarrassing for the store owner. Actually, inspections were taken so seriously that I remember a story about how a marmalade store owner put a tiny mouse in his mouth, pretending as if he was tasting some fig marmalade, to hide the mouse from the eyes of inspectors.*

I do not know how popular this story was. However, as he told the story with vivid details, I remembered that I had been told the same marmalade story too by an old aunt of mine a long time ago. This could be an example of how such circulating stories helped to nourish the bazaar's role in the ancient city's flow of cultural life and human relations beyond the means of commerce. Perhaps its prominent role in wedding shopping was the most significant laying of marks on memory, as the bazaar featured in nearly every marriage in Istanbul. The Grand Bazaar's uniqueness in this context is still engraved in the minds of elderly Istanbul residents. I realised this when I was talking to a friend:

> *When I was going to propose my wife, my father told me that I should buy the ring from the Grand Bazaar, nowhere else. He neither addressed the big jewellery companies with a huge marketing presence in the media, nor the modern jewellery stores that could be found in every neighbourhood. It still remains like a code in his mind that if the purpose is something ceremonial like wedding, the jewellery must be bought from the bazaar.*

In my own case, I haven't had any reason for years to go to the bazaar, until this study. Doing fieldwork at the bazaar has actually become the first obvious opportunity for me to go there for many years. We do not take family visits to the bazaar any more. I have gone there only occasionally since my childhood to take my foreigner friends who want to see the bazaar for touristic purposes.

The current interest on the part of my friends' interest is not a work of coincidence. According to TIME Magazine, with 91.250.000 annual visitors, the Grand Bazaar is in the first rank of the list of the world's most visited tourist attractions (see figure 5.1) (Appleton 2014). Despite this popularity and the connected line of lucrative tourism business, safeguarding the heritage seems highly problematic as

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57   During my visits in the Grand Bazaar, I could not find such a hook that has survived to the present day.

Figure 5.1: The
Grand Bazaar
contains a number of
architectural elements
that fulfil different
needs. Popular with
tourists, fountains
located at the
Bazaar's crossroads
are one such element.

the bazaar suffers from physical obsolescence at a severe level, with current hazards
including those due to fire and structural collapse (Drevon 2015). The bazaar requires
substantial renovation, however, closing the bazaar during renovation poses dif-
ficulties due to the potential slow-down in business.[58] Tourism also brings a level
of erosion to the authenticity of the bazaar. In strong contrast to the constitutional
creativity and production leadership that is still a characteristic of the bazaar, a grow-
ing number of stores are interested in selling counterfeit products of world-famous
branded products, from shoes and perfumes, to watches and bags (see figure 5.2).
This has become so commonplace that one of the national newspapers, *Hürriyet*,
published a story about the problem with the mocking title "Counterfeit Bazaar"
(*Çakmaçarşı*) (Coşan 2014). As tourists are the leading informed buyers of fake-
branded products, according to the same news, the bazaar has become a centre for
outfits that focus on counterfeit products (see figure 5.3).

As the bazaar becomes a hub for such a market, it breaks away from the consti-
tutional foundations of the bazaar, demonstrating that the erosion takes place not
only in the walls and roof, but in the institutional and organisational qualities too,
damaging the resilience of the market. The damaged resilience seems to have serious
implications, as the Turkish tourism industry was hit by security problems in 2016.
Hürriyet published another story, this time reporting that almost 600 shops had to
close due to the plummeted tourist arrivals (Kuburlu 2016). As a consequence of the
overreliance to the tourism industry and damaged resilience, a deep crisis currently
hits the Grand Bazaar. However, this should not undermine the great potential of
the bazaar. In strong contrast, the current crisis should be seen as a clear sign ad-
dressing how much the re-cultivation of the foundational identity and re-establish-
ment of craft-based resilience are needed to overcome temporary economic shocks.

After all, the Grand Bazaar's history, one that has resiliently kept up with the
ever-changing culture of commerce and trade for over a half millennium, deserves
to be recognised as an icon of sustainability. The unique design and innovation back-
ground, the Akhi institutional and organisational values, and the bazaar's spatiality,
and the catalysing of all these factors, strengthen this iconicity to a very full extent.
The bazaar is today a world–famous monumental icon of Ottoman crafts heritage
containing around 3500 stores, despite the fact that it has been very much exoticised
with an Orientalist perspective as a result of the domination of the tourism business.

However, the bazaar itself could be an excellent option to materialise the link
between the Akhi Institution and sustainability, as a spatial icon that has a unique
design and innovation background. The significance of design and innovation in the
bazaar's history as constitutional qualities is not known at all by the public. This lack
of awareness is also present in the bazaar's store owners, despite their decades-long

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58   Studies for a restoration plan started in 2009. The Fatih municipality launched restoration work
     in 2016 that is aimed to be finished in a period of a decade.

active backgrounds, as I will explain, below. Furthermore, I, too, was not aware of this background before I initiated this research, despite my industrial design career in Turkey. The bazaar's authenticity based on design and innovation is only accessible through research books, which is obviously not accessible to wider sections of society.[59] This underlines the need for a specific design heritage management for the bazaar, turning this potential but currently unknown historical capital into a functioning driver for the purposes of present and future benefits in terms of sustainability. In line with the general purpose of this research study, the bazaar's historical capital may become a cultural and business harbour where slow consumption is promoted through designation of consumer experiences that recruit the Akhi myth, the bazaar's unique heritage on production-trade organisation and design-innovation philosophy, and excellence in craftsmanship.

Figure 5.2: Bag stores have become increasingly popular inside the Grand Bazaar. They have been subject to criticism since some are involved in selling counterfeit products.

Figure 5.3: From Gap to Chanel to Hilfiger, a clothing store in the Grand Bazaar offers a variety of well-known brands. Turkish media have reported that the bazaar is rife with counterfeit products.

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59   Research-based design interest for the crafts and trade heritage of the Grand Bazaar is building up. A recent example is the renowned fashion designer Faruk Saraç. In 2016, Saraç created a special fashion collection paying homage to the mostly extinct historical craftsmanship. As promoted in the national media, distinctive clothing and accessories characteristic to the Grand Bazaar craftsmen are reproduced following a research process including traditional weaving techniques. The collection is presented to media with a fashion show titled "Grand Bazaar in the Past".

To this end, an important prerequisite is based on the bazaar's conceptualisation as a living space where display and production qualities are integrated in such a way that, for example, the marketing and branding characteristics are inalienably intertwined with production relationships including human labour. This substantially includes the ateliers and workshops in the spaces surrounding the current touristic bazaar space. Those production spaces are inseparable from the bazaar's production and trade context as sources of human labour including the reproduction and intergenerational transmittance of crafts know-how. Among other things, these spaces posit invaluable assets in terms of connecting consumer experience with production as a key feature for designing services in pursuit of heritage management.

This connection bears historical significance, for instance, in the context of the construction of anti-fashion discourse by the Deutscher Werkbund that was introduced in the analysis of permanent valorisation earlier in this thesis. Schwartz (1996) cites a 1913 article by Karl Ernst Osthaus that associates consumers' alienation from production with the loss of the commodity aesthetics that evades capitalist dictate, the "Style".[60] For Osthaus, the bazaar allows access to the whole production line thanks to its integrated settlement of display, trade, and production. Unlike the "shop window" that isolates workshop and production relations from display and consumer access, the bazaar offers insight into the labour and work behind the commodity. Osthaus (cited in Schwartz 1996: 51) argues that this offered insight maintains "the feeling for Style" in a way that breaks the alienating effect of capitalist consumption: "The fascination of the bazaar is the result of the interest we take in creation and production. By watching, we understand and learn, and herein lies the ultimate reason why the Orient, like earlier Antiquity, never lost Style in any of its crafts."

Despite the Orientalist tone of Osthaus' argument, his century-old stress on consumer access to production resonates with this study in terms of recognising the bazaar's original identity as an experience space where consumers may observe the work and labour essential to handicrafts. His argument attempts to highlight how the traditional concept of the bazaar avoids consumer alienation, and thus temporal strains of fashion, through providing access to production. This is inspiring in terms of associating this original feature with contemporary participatory design frameworks that may stimulate the design of new consumer experiences as a means of reframing the bazaar's business model. For instance, visitor participation can be seen as an empowerment that co-constructs authentic values hand-in-hand with those of craftsmen. The Grand Bazaar, as a participatory design and production space, in this context, may lead to the co-creation of enduring product-user relationships rather than assuming the characteristics of a space framed for passive buyers and ready-to-

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60   Osthaus, Karl Ernst. (1913). *Das Schaufenster. In*: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbund 1913: Kunst in Industrie und Handel, Jena, 59–69.

buy products only. Moreover, these experiences may be bound to heritage tourism as a means to align it with enduring qualities of consumption.

Thus, consumer involvement may entitle the Grand Bazaar as a suitable environment for integrating the strategy proposed by this research in regard to the dynamics of tourism. As stated before, tourism can be seen as unsustainable due to the emissions and consumption involved in the international movement of large numbers of people. However, in line with the main principle of this research, turning consumerist dynamics into an advantage in terms of slowing down consumption patterns, touristic popularity and touristic interest in historical exploration can be directed towards features and holistic experiences that promote slow consumption. Hence, the circle of possible impact would be much greater than if it worked only at the local scale. In addition, this would also eradicate any possible interest conflicts with store owners. The case of Artek is related to tourism at a relatively small scale, although it is certainly a factor, given its location in the touristic Helsinki Design District. The Grand Bazaar presents a much greater scale, both in terms of its physical size, but also in terms of its vast presence in the global tourist imaginary.

Framing the tourism potentials: Why do we need a design mythology?

The Grand Bazaar's potential for heritage tourism is an intriguing topic that requires a specially focused section explaining how this potential may be employed in achieving sustainability goals. We should start this discussion by stating these sustainability goals, which stretch from the sustainability of the bazaar itself to the sustainability of the Turkish arts and craft culture. A wider approach should also recognise that these goals are inherently linked to the promotion of a slower mode of consumption, in accord to this study's feasibility principle.

In the second chapter, I argued that tourism might play a key role in reaching greater audiences by overcoming locality restrictions and turning the voluntary mobility of tourists to an advantage. The Mimisbrunnr Climate Park network in Norway, for example, uses touristic attention to create local economic activity and educate visitors about the impact of the climate change (Vistad *et al.* 2016). Similarly, Antarctic tourism provides evidence that tourism can be engaged in pursuit of raising environmental awareness and influencing future behaviour (Powell *et al.* 2016). In addition to raising awareness centred on the sustainability transformation of consumer culture, this study presents a strategy that illuminates how tourism can provide key methods and environments that would synthesise various interests from stakeholder in private to public sectors.

The stakeholders of the Grand Bazaar are diverse and are from both the public and private sectors. Hence, a synthesis between a great diversity of economic, cultural, and political interests should be established in order to elevate the Bazaar to a sustainable state. Tourism, if managed in a balanced way that respects authentic values, may

be a strategic method to respond to the criteria of these interest groups operating in the Bazaar. The balance addresses the generation of heritage-based authentic values of crafts that meet the bazaar's foundational identity and go beyond the context of short-term monetary ambitions. Such a balance implies dramatic changes in the current production categories for the tourism industry that damage the bazaar's resilience to economic shocks. I will analyse the current problems dominating the bazaar in great detail in the following sections. What we should bear in mind at this stage is the argument that tourism can be a key driver to initiate businesses drawing economic power from excellence in craftsmanship and the creative reproduction of the foundational identity of the bazaar.

Heritage-based approaches to tourism provide valuable lessons from different parts of the world, not only in relation to the above environmental purposes, such as those found in Norway, but also in relation to the revival and economic engagement of traditional crafts. This includes the construction of heritage and its promotion to greater audiences mobilised and motivated by tourism.

In Taiwan, for example, "indigenous artisans" are able to construct authentic values through different methods of producing, displaying, researching, and transmitting an arts and craft heritage (Varutti 2015). Discussing this example informs us about ways in which the tourism potential can meet the unique craftsmanship and production culture that is integral to the foundational identity of the Grand Bazaar. A highly inspiring conclusion by Varutti (2015: 1046) is that Taiwanese indigenous artisans generate their "own discourses and strategies" in pursuit of creating heritage, and thereby adopting the role of a "cultural expert". For Varutti, this has implications for the indigenous crafts heritage in a variety of ways, from the dissemination of crafts knowhow to younger generations to connecting contemporary crafts production with "native culture", even though this production involves creative and innovative applications that may differ from the "tradition".

Characteristic among these Indigenous artisans is the strengthening of their role as cultural expert with cultural research. As Varutti (2015: 1044) put it, these artisans share a mutual "[...] story of loss and recovery, a personal and collective itinerary of research, experimentation, inventive solutions and commitment to the retrieval, reinterpretation and transmission of knowledge." Hence, construction of authenticity is implemented in a way that connects today's understandings of functionality and invention as they are shaped by contemporary needs, concerns, and craft conceptualisations. As it can be argued that the influence of tourism is a strong factor influencing these needs and concepts, the construction of authentic values draws a parallel with Silverman's (2015: 85) "contemporary authenticity". I have introduced Silverman's term in the third chapter to address the socially constructive nature of authenticity and the role of "active situations" such as "globalization, commercialization, mass communication and tourism".

Varutti argues that creating authentic values is affected by different focus areas developed by Indigenous artisans, such as "materiality" and "display and performance".

An interesting factor in owning or possessing those ancient artefacts is that it allows these artisans to act like indigenous inheritors of heritage. They communicate this inheritance via producing "narratives about the object's genealogies, social life, uses, meanings, anecdotes, stories and myths that delve their roots into the cultural identity of the local Indigenous community" (Varutti 2015: 1042). If we recognise the Grand Bazaar's artisans and entrepreneurs as a local community based on a centuries old shared history, such communication methods, which include narrating stories, anecdotes, and myths, may be effectively employed by the craftsmen who adopt the role of cultural experts and researchers imbuing their production with authenticity.

A long list of questions arises at this point, such as how contemporary notions of design and innovation can be employed in the construction and proposition of authentic values while managing resources sustainably. It should be remembered that this employment should be in collaboration with the existing body of Grand Bazaar actors including artisans, entrepreneurs, and other stakeholders, as I will outline below. A certain prerequisite for a sustainable management is the *interest synthesis*. I proposed earlier in the second chapter that the tourism industry provides opportunities to interlink stakeholders from various sectors. In this regard, tourism heritage literature may guide us further by providing principles on managing multi-actor participation.

From a marketing point of view, Chhabra (2010) offers a theoretical framework that presents such principles with an extensive literature review. This framework results in the "strategic sustainable heritage tourism marketing (SSHTM) model". I posit that a short introduction of the model may illustrate how heritage tourism marketing is hardwired to various determinants and factors in terms of both synthesising interests and managing multi-actor networks. This introduction, however, does not aim to give a full picture of the model. Instead, by introducing some key factors influencing the model, my aim is to demonstrate how the Turkish arts and craft myth can be employed effectively in the bazaar by responding to multiple operational and managerial purposes.

Chhabra's (2010: 60–64) "local community involvement and benefits" present a major ingredient of the SSHTM model. Via review of relevant literature on a number of concepts, such as "community building" and "community participation" in tourism, Chhabra gives insight into key operational features of multiple-actor involvement in a hierarchical order. This order is based on step-by-step progress and accumulated intellectual capital that entitle communities with greater operative skills and control over projects. This may have implications for the Grand Bazaar in terms of shaping the interaction between tourists and host communities through such techniques as designing the human interface of various touristic services. From the position of the host community, these services may embrace the "visitor and host contact" that further opens up issues of the education and training of local community actors, *e.g.* entrepreneurs and craftsmen. When following Chhabra's model, methods of community engagement offer guidance that include making "interaction

scenarios" based on various stages of how craftsmen interact with tourists and how tourists get involved in authentic value production instead of being restricted to buying material products. However, the model goes beyond this guidance, as the local community is not the sole actor in a heritage tourism site.

Chhabra (2010: 64–70) addresses "partnership and collaboration", for instance, another set of key ingredient in the SSHTM model suggesting a managerial framework that embraces multi-actor stakeholder interrelationships within a sustainable tourism context. In Chhabra's (2010) categorisation, other partners include

> [...] heritage institutions (heritage sites, attractions, events, and shops), the public sector (chamber of commerce, city or government who decides on tax revenues), the ancillary sector (such as gasoline stations, restaurants, lodging, gift shops, etc.), tourism organizations (such as the conventions and visitor bureaus, state tourism offices, national and regional tourism organizations), [...] and the academic community (the educational institutions). (66)

For Chhabra (2010: 67), effective sustainable marketing of heritage tourism necessitates "good leadership" and "strategic vision" built upon a "multidisciplinary perspective" with "a holistic view of a heritage environment". Certainly, managing the entire network of relations and balancing the accumulated body of interests among the entire list of stakeholders exceeds the job definition of a design heritage manager. However, this long list of participants reflects the dynamic and complex nature of heritage management in a touristic heritage site. Thus, design heritage management is an ingredient within the matrix of relations that is interconnected to the acts and regulations of the matrix. I argue at this point that design heritage management may play a strategic role in creating resources and methods when dealing with the complex requirements of *interest synthesis* in a dynamic environment.

Another ingredient of the SSHTM model that may benefit greatly from this study's design heritage management approach is "interpretation" (Chhabra 2010: 73–76). Interpretation addresses the main message of the heritage site aimed at visitors in order to make them think and, if possible, behave in desired ways. Chhabra's literature review highlights different methods from educational activities to specially devised touristic experiences where this message is conveyed effectively without the noise of either hegemonic monetary ambitions or excessive information that excludes an "entertainment" factor. Interpretation could be a key element in a behaviour transformation project. Design heritage management, apparently, can contribute to the methodological context of conveying messages in a sustainable manner and harmoniously blending creative content, devises, and experiences. In the case of the Grand Bazaar, interpretation represents a set of coherent and clear messages that are conveyed via designed experiences cultivating "heritage sensibility". Further, interpretation is aimed at encouraging the sensibilities to a level of adoption of durable consumption patterns and related behaviour transformation.

A fair question would be about the connection can be made between the Finnish case cited by Chhabra and the touristic application of design heritage management strategy to the Grand Bazaar. The design, or arts and craft, mythology employed in this thesis' proposed strategy is meant to respond to this question and the issues framed by Chhabra. An Akhi myth could be a key asset responding to the above factor list defined by Chhabra.

Firstly, the Akhi myth may constitute the main cultural element facilitating communication between the local/ host community and visitors. Guiding craftsmen to the origins of the bazaar and the principles of their profession, the myth may not only help to organise channels of communication with tourists and visitors, but also address directions on how to retrieve and rediscover lost notions of Turkish arts and craft. In this context, the myth may facilitate the emergence of operational platforms where Turkish craftsmen can become cultural experts and researchers who employ "narratives about the object's genealogies, social life, uses, meanings, anecdotes, stories" just like in the case of the Taiwanese artisans' described by Varutti (2015: 1042).

Secondly, the myth may help to connect design and innovation with the historical capital of the bazaar while operating in the complex web of interests. In this domain, the previously mentioned "partnership" may be established on the grounds of the Akhi myth. The myth provides a mutual ground where designers and local community members, including entrepreneurs, can build up interactive projects that may also involve other participants. A shared myth can also connect heritage institutions, ancillary sector members, and tourism organisations with a mutual visual language and an agreed sequence of narratives that could lead to a shared semantic significance. This could further help establish leadership in strategy implementation.

Finally, a shared myth addresses the third asset, "interpretation". A shared myth may clarify the set of messages given by the bazaar's overall experience and thereby reduce communication noise. This does not, however, say that a single message should dominate the bazaar. Rather, it suggests that coherence among messages will help to avoid ambiguousness and clearly convey the set of desired meanings. These meanings could play a critical role in the raising of "heritage sensibility" among visitors as well as in the promotion of sustainability values and consumer sensitivities. In light of these benefits, I present below how the Akhi myth should be shaped.

5.6 Shaping the Akhi Myth: narrating the Foundational Identity of the Bazaar

The touristic potential that I have begun to discuss, above, relies on the Grand Bazaar's heritage, one not linked solely to a national collectivity, but rather to a greater universal context. With its distinctive history, the Grand Bazaar is integrated in the category of "Historic Areas of Istanbul" that is enlisted in the World Heritage List

by UNESCO (UNESCOb). As these areas communicate the "Outstanding Universal Value of Istanbul" in UNESCO's terms, the bazaar and its memory ethos belong to the "common stock" of humanity built over centuries. Hence, the bazaar, as the most popular touristic attraction of the world in 2014, offers all visitors the ability to join a sense of *universal memory* that is irrespective of national or local background.[61] The sustainability potential may appeal to the whole globe if this *universal memory* can be associated with longevity, as in the case of Artek.

Hence, the tourism factor is highly significant and can be functional in terms of implementing the strategy of the thesis. On the one hand, it stimulates undesirable outcomes such as exoticism and counterfeit products. Certainly, the projection of Istanbul to the tourist market is oversaturated with simplistic Oriental images. On the other, the bazaar's historical and social importance provides the adequate resources not only to overcome these constraints, but also to use touristic interest in the services of facilitating the sustainable transformation of the bazaar. In this vein, the mythologisation of Akhi and its historical role in the Turkish society may support the design and innovation challenge, transforming the current business models of tourism at the bazaar. The potential for tourism comes to the foreground as Islamic Mysticism attracts great interest not only within the Islamic world, but also in the West, through a philosophy that sheds light on the inner spiritual dimensions of human life and existence.

Besides the above benefits defined within the context of Chhabra's (2010) SSHTM model, the Akhi myth can imbue the bazaar and its products with a certain identity that may transcend the simplistic semantic frameworks. The bazaar already has a foundational design, innovation, and trade background with a certain historical significance. However, the authentic identity must be narrated and communicated by means of a consumer myth in order to culturally re-invent the bazaar's identity under contemporary circumstances and needs. What the Akhi myth provides are the essential elements for narration and communication. These include, most importantly, a certain actor and an inclusive life philosophy with diverse sophisticated cultural, spiritual, and historical dimensions. As the Akhi myth can help to re-construct the bazaar's foundational identity, this may benefit from key communicative content that would associate the bazaar with a sense of longevity in the eyes of consumers. Such a sense may rely on the consumer belief that millions of people gather in the Grand Bazaar to experience what I would call the bazaar's heritage, the *spiritual and timeless creative power of the Akhi*.

In this context, with Walker's (2006) connection with spirituality and longevity in mind, the bazaar's heritage may achieve operational capacities that link national de-

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61   The term universal, as employed in this section, should not be confused with the modernist ideals of "universalization" for "order making" as defined by Bauman (1998). It is rather employed to comply with UNESCO's "Universal Value" concept as I associate with the "common stock" of humanity.

sign heritage with the notions of sustainable consumption. This narrative has a global appeal firstly due to the fact that the Akhi philosophy, one of the cultural sources of the myth, allows the ability to go beyond the borders of religion, generating a humanist, universal, and inclusive spirituality. This universality appeals to all segments of consumers, beyond the exclusive restrictions of religious belief. Secondly, the Akhi's connection with the secular circles of production and trade facilitates sophisticated "designerly" ways of consumer involvement both in the myth and the sense of spirituality it offers. At this stage, the bazaar's authentic foundational values of design and innovation provide a close synchrony with the Akhi's particular dedication to societal development and passionate creativity, aiming at excellence in arts and craft.

This synchrony can play an important role not only in narrating the bazaar's ideology, but also to shape and market patterns of consumer involvement. Moreover, all of these domains can produce meanings that would turn the bazaar, in the long run, into a globally renowned centre where the desired narrative is closely connected to sustainability, the focal point of contemporary design and innovation. Artek demonstrates how the national iconic design can be narrated and communicated with the translation of the former creative genius myth into a consumer historical awareness in a way promoting sustainability. Artek uses the link between the Finnish collective memory and the longevity of Finnish design, and the bazaar can take concrete lessons from this case. What I mean is not to implement another "2nd Cycle" project, but to turn the bazaar into a suitable ideological environment for original branding and design projects that promote longevity and sustainable consumption. These projects must engage original and diverse capacities peculiar to touristic and local needs.

Certainly, implementing such projects means substantial change in current business models. However, what I am suggesting is not an overall change across the bazaar that could be implemented overnight, but layers of gradual adoption and experimental re-invention in a microcosm where touristic aspirations can be used in the service of transformation towards sustainability. Tourists' voluntary interest and curiosity in understanding and experiencing Turkish history offers a great deal of potential dynamism and economic activity that can be channelled towards a sustainable path through new experiences promoting slow consumption and building new economic, cultural, and human capacities. If channelled in the right direction, this current tourism activity can be transformed from an obstacle in the way to a sustainable system to an opportunity. This opportunity would turn existing motivations, mechanisms, and drivers of consumption activities into an advantage when thinking through and implementing feasible methods of transformation towards sustainability.

When it comes to the question of what exactly to sell in the Grand Bazaar to tourists, one must turn to the reasons for the shift to the new strategy proposed: design and innovation. As the 15th century socio-political needs required a new material identity for the emerging empire, 21st century needs, as well as understandings within contemporary design and innovation, point to sustainability. In this sense,

there is no one-size-fits-all solution here, but a combination of various solutions that meet under the same umbrella, one framed by the authentic historical and cultural capital of the bazaar. The scale of the bazaar allows integration of alternative design techniques that can fit different socio-cultural aspirations or needs of a great variety of customer segments. Unlike the case of Artek, the Grand Bazaar is a brand that itself harbours thousands of other, different brands, all flourishing in the glow of the overarching brand, or rather, the heritage that the brand of the bazaar represents. In other words, there are thousands of stores that can develop competitive design tactics and construct alternative expressions that can be raised on the shoulders of the bazaar's heritage.

In the previous chapters, both the literature review and the case study of Artek addressed how the social capacities of brands can be exploited in pursuit of slow consumption and a product longevity strategy. These capacities offer great opportunities for this study's proposed strategies, such as how brands establish their own communities in "shared histories"," rituals", and "traditions" that result in the generation of "social capital" (Muniz and O'Guinn 2001, Champniss and Rodés Vilà 2011, Beverland 2005). Certainly, this social capital may encourage sustainable consumer behaviour. Thus, transforming the Grand Bazaar to a "heritage brand", where heritage is strategically employed when creating value propositions as defined by Urde *et al.* (2007), may greatly facilitate achieving this study's ambitions. Moreover, the Grand Bazaar possesses the potential to become a part of a sustainability network, like the aforementioned case of the touristic Mimisbrunnr Climate Park network in Norway, studied by Vistad *et al.* (2016). Similar to the park's programme to educate tourists about climate change, the Grand Bazaar may provide a network that educates consumers about sustainable consumption while establishing collaboration between academic research and local business.

The Akhi myth may play a significant role in this transformation by providing a narrative structure through which a brand history can be built and communicated to visitors and consumers. Accordingly, the harboured stores and workshops may act also like different heritage brands that strategically employ the bazaar's shared Akhi myth with customised focus areas, target orientations, design manoeuvres, and market offerings. In the same vein, the Akhi myth can be customised too, responding to various consumer segments as different stores can approach the myth from different perspectives. As mentioned above, the Akhi philosophy is sophisticated and rich enough to allow elaborations of different aspects. One can, for instance, stress the Islamic elements, while others might construct expressions related to Central Asian cultural content or the Anatolian synthesis itself. Such examples can be easily multiplied in such a way as to respond to the scale and authentic identity of the bazaar operating on the mutual cultural ground and semantic unity of the Akhi myth. These variations and customisations may serve, for example, to connect various consumer segments who can reflect their own personal history of fantasies to the brand history of the Grand Bazaar as defined by Hudson and Balmer (2013) in the categorisa-

tion of "projected heritage". The Akhi myth could also serve to stimulate designers' imaginative power where the Anatolian-Turkish Art capital could be translated to "mythical heritage" dimensions across diverse consumer experiences.

As a result, inspired by the case of Artek, I claim that it is highly possible that the engagement of specific narration and design projects can attach the sum of the bazaar's incredibly diverse products and services with historical, social, and cultural values leading to desired product longevity. Moreover, in the long run, the bazaar can become a hub for the promotion of values in consumption that might challenge unsustainable consumer commitments such as novelty. It is a design challenge, the question of how to generate appropriate projects that can be productive within the context of the bazaar and the strategy proposed by this research.

Today, the Grand Bazaar's potentials related to its historical and cultural significance seem wasted, with the pragmatic commercial focus on cliché or cheap touristic souvenirs predominating (see figures 5.4 and 5.5). As the design profession today extends from a wide range of experiences to a myriad of services, the bazaar offers a great potential to benefit from cutting edge design understandings and innovation. This does not mean, however, that the bazaar should give up selling tangible objects. What I would like to stress is that objects with historical reference can greatly benefit from innovative approaches too. Currently, for example, hundreds of stores sell ceramic products that display decorative classic Ottoman motifs that all replicate each other, with no additional design value from one to the other (see figure 5.6). In this sector, the involvement of innovation and design might mean the inclusion of novel ceramic materials, firing methods, and new aesthetic elements that have an original design value laden with historic cultural capital. Such an approach opens up new avenues for competitive design and business ideas such as guiding visitors to throw pottery, paint tiles, draw motifs, design figures, or simply teaching them traditional Ottoman ceramic and glass making methods. Such capacities can be easily turned to culturally sophisticated and distinctive design experiences where visitors can personally participate and contribute to the bazaar's unique design and crafts culture.

Learning and making are excellent consumer activities that can involve customers in the ethos of the bazaar. Instead of simply buying goods, customers can become actors within the myth. What customised branding expressions could create is the consumer perception for today's craftsmen as ascendants of the Akhi. Hence, craftsmen can become tangible bearers of the bazaar's heritage, in other words, touchpoints for consumers to become integrated in the myth. Accordingly, customers' involvement in the making process may create strong experiences and special memories, imbuing goods with enduring values of the Akhi myth. In this vein, new memories could find a way to become articulated in an ever-growing body of cultural heritage that has universal significance.

This significance embraces locals too. Furthermore, the above desired transformation in the business models may appeal not only to elder Istanbul residents, but to all local consumers from different generations. As I will outline later on in this chap-

ter, emerging ideological aspirations in Turkey may allow such social correspondence where various generations can identify themselves with the bazaar's heritage. Besides the touristic interest, therefore, customised versions of the Akhi myth could help to transform existing consumer motivations to a specific ideological interest in the bazaar. This may lead to product longevity among locals who may increasingly prefer to buy goods from the bazaar instead of modern shopping malls. In turn, this may further address growing capacities that make sustainability understandable through
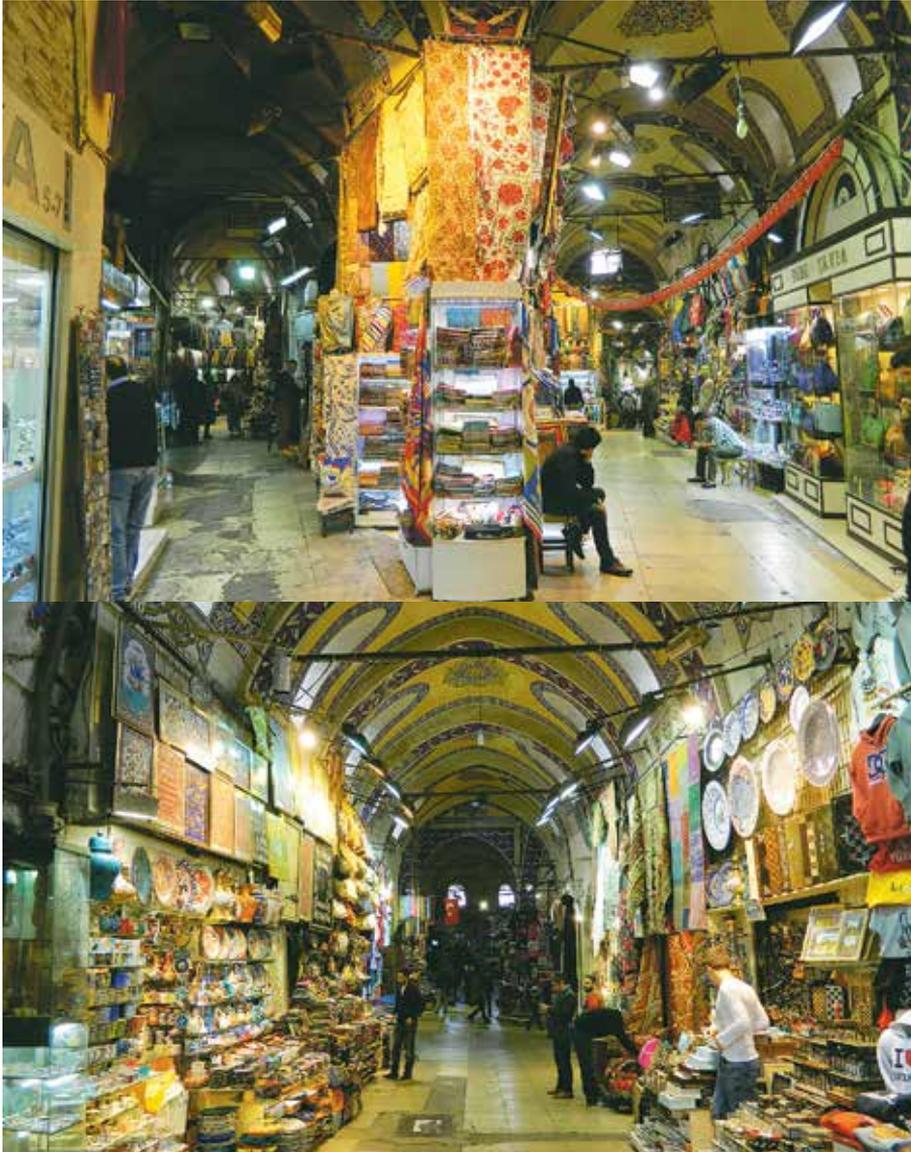
socially accessible narratives. In other words, the mythologisation of Akhi and its customisation may be efficient in terms of the operation of a collective memory in Turkey and the ideological aspirations involved on the way to making sustainability accessible.

This concept may be summarised as sustainability's main pillars, such as justice, fairness, and creativity, becoming embedded and disseminated in an historical and cultural context that has deep roots at the heart of Turkish society. In this context, the Akhi offers a host of potentials since it inhabits the body of Turkish collective memory.[62] In Konya, for example, the most important city in terms of Turkish Islamic Mysticism, the renovation of the traditional market place (Konya Bedesten) has been promoted through a video clip broadcast on national TV channels. The clip focuses entirely on the revitalisation of Akhi values and trade relations. Solidarity among store owners and fairness in trade relations are shown as leading virtues, leaving the interest in making money as a secondary consideration. However, I need to underline that, in the context of Istanbul, the mythologisation of Akhi would not address a straightforward revitalisation of mid-century conditions. Such conditions have long vanished from today's Istanbul, one of the most populated metropolitan areas of the world. Instead, for instance, a customised Akhi myth may capitalise on the nostalgic longing among Istanbul residents. In this context, branding and marketing projects can combine the bazaar's authentic design and innovation background with Istanbul's collective memory based on rituals of shopping and the ceremonial meaning of goods bought from the bazaar.

In the following section, I aim to provide insight into the bazaar through a set of interviews that were conducted for three months with salesmen, store owners, and craftsmen who spend their lives in the bazaar. Hence, the interviews go beyond my personal experience and current media depictions through engaging these people who would become the main actors when implementing a transformation project for the bazaar.

5.7 Inside the Bazaar: Interviews

The interview questions focused on the level of historical awareness of store owners and their opinions on the on-going stream of changes within the bazaar. As I have introduced earlier, during interviews a friend of mine who is a second-generation store owner in the bazaar accompanied me. Due to sensitivity of issues discussed, I keep the identities of the interviewees anonymous by replacing their names with numbers.

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62   The Akhi is celebrated today as a cultural entity. The week of Akhi is officially held every year by the supervision of the Ministry of Customs and Trade (Ministry of Customs and Trade 2014).

The bazaar's perceived temporality: stuck in the present moment

The first research result came as my friend answered my first question. The question was aimed to gauge interviewees' awareness of the bazaar as an environment and historical entity through asking how many stores are located inside the bazaar, as well as the number of entrances and interior bazaar buildings (*bedestan* or *bedesten*)[63] that make up the bazaar. He answered that he may not be able to give the exact numbers:

> *Oh… I do not know exactly, but there must be 17 entrances all around the bazaar.* [Thinking a while]. *As far as I know, there must be two bedestan bazaars. This may need confirmation… You know what they are? We call them bazaars within the bazaar with special focus on a certain type of craftsmanship. The space is filled with really small stores and narrow corridors that tourists love to spend time and look around in. When it comes to number of stores in the Grand Bazaar, I am told there must be close to 3000. But, it is best that you ask the senior sellers.*

This answer could be read as reflecting the general confusion among the inhabitants regarding the bazaar's architectural scale and features. The lack of confidence when answering did not change among relatively younger interviewees. Answers differed from one another; the actual number of entrances is 21 (see figure 5.7). The first interviewee failed to note the actual number of entrances of the bazaar, despite his having spent time here since his childhood. Having different accounts from different interviewees, I found the real number on an information sheet hanging on a wall. A similar confusion continues in studies of the bazaar; too, for example, according to the Istanbul Municipality's website, the bazaar contains 4400 stores (Akçakaya 2010). This numbers differ dramatically from Küçükerman and Mortan's (2008) study, as they found 3300 stores.

These differences may be due to the bazaar's intricate geometric structure, where stores have been built at different layers of history with no regular form, as well as the differing criteria of studies as to what to include when categorising architectural elements. However, the confusion among shopkeepers is a sort of evidence that there is a lack of interest in the physical and historical qualities of the bazaar. For example, none of the interviewees have read a book or any published study on the history of the bazaar. When asked about if they know about the early phases of the bazaar, without exception, all the interviewees stated that what they know is based only on hearsay from older shopkeepers. There is a line of oral transmission for such information that keeps working, and has maybe for centuries.

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63   Bedestan is a covered masonry building where valuable goods were stored and traded. It was the typical market structure in the Ottoman architecture. For example, the Inner (Cevahir) Bedestan is believed to be the oldest part of the Grand Bazaar.
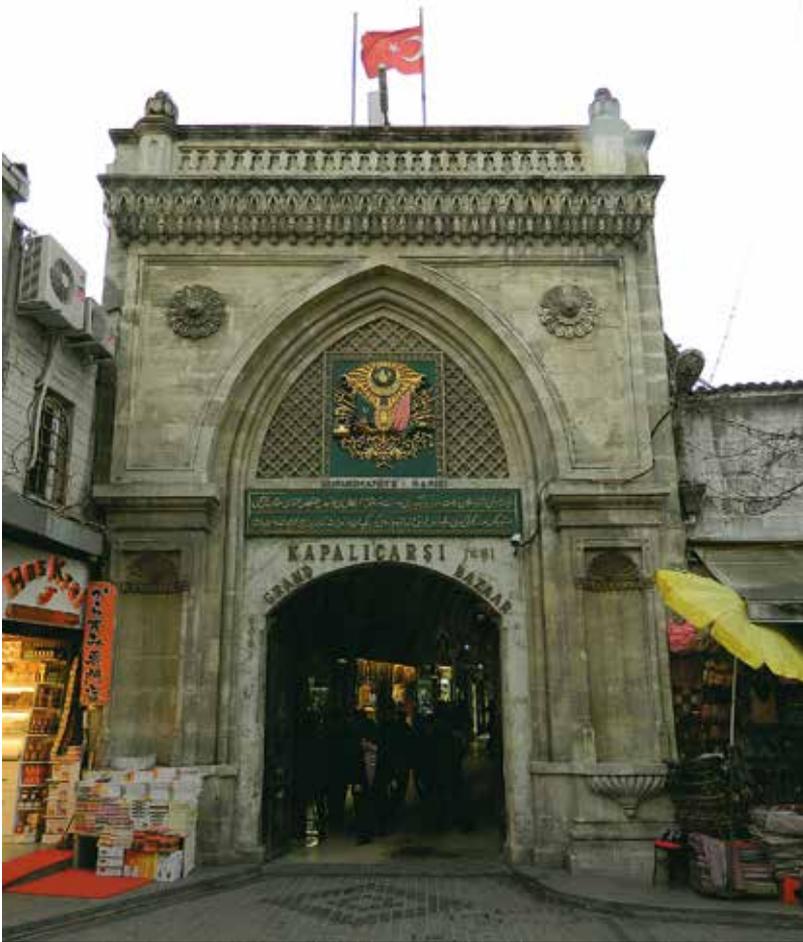
This information, however, does not go deeper than a few sentences that are constrained to certain facts surrounding the bazaar's location, like that it had been a barn for the horses of the great Byzantine hippodrome that was formerly located nearby. The more detailed information is limited within the sphere of living memory of older shopkeepers, going back only 30 or 40 years. The turnover of shopkeepers is fast. None of the interviewees could think of a store that had been run by the same ownership for more than two generations. Even in the cases of generational passage, where a store has been involved with multiple generations within the same family, memories of the bazaar are not necessarily transmitted to the younger generation. The loss of collective memory with every deceased senior member of the bazaar is a real risk, even in such cases.

I experienced this during a conversation between the interviewees 15 and 16, who are a father and son dealing in the gold exchange business. Interviewee 15 has been

actively working in the bazaar since 1964, and is able to provide a relatively long memorial background relative to most other shopkeepers. When asked about past occupations present in the bazaar that have not survived into today, his mention of furniture sellers was a surprise to his son:

> INTERVIEWEE 15: *There were also furniture sellers across the entire alley where the jewellery sellers are located now, right in the parallel alley [indicating with a hand gesture]. Then the furniture business was just finished, almost overnight, as the military, following the coup in 1980, decided to regulate the bazaar's organisation."*
>
> INTERVIEWEE 16: "*Were there furniture sellers in the bazaar?*
>
> INTERVIEWEE 15: *Yes, of course, the parallel alley below us, was completely occupied with furniture sellers. It was then a popular place for wedding couples to arrange for their furniture, like their bedroom suite.*
>
> INTERVIEWEE 16: *What, really?* [Shaking his head as if heard something hard to believe] *I had no idea about them. But, why did the military end the furniture business then?*
>
> INTERVIEWEE 15: *The display of the furniture was the problem. They were blocking the alley where people were trying to pass. There was only a small corridor left for people. When the military officer responsible showed up at the bazaar, he did not like the situation and ordered for the evacuation of the furniture.*
>
> INTERVIEWEE 16: *And then, what did they* [the furniture sellers] *do?*
>
> INTERVIEWEE 15: *Well, obviously, it was the end of business for them. They moved out from the bazaar.*

Interviewee 16 was born in 1985 and has been working in his father's store for over a decade. It is interesting to witness that there is a lack of memory transmission between generations. If I had not asked about the past occupations in the bazaar, interviewee 16 would not have known the story of the furniture sellers. Obviously, there has not been any discussion between the father and son that has taken place in order to discuss the living memory. Could it be simply a lack of interest or curiosity? For interviewee 2, who has been working in the bazaar since the 80s, it is consciousness that acknowledges the past as a cultural entity:

> INTERVIEWEE 2: *The bazaar is not a case that can be likened to, let's say, the Coliseum in Rome. They* [the Italians] *have preserved it as a cultural value because it belongs to a bygone civilisation. You just cannot find* [this kind of cultural preservation] *here. There is no such preservation, because it is not entirely historical in our minds. The bazaar is living. It belongs to the present, rather than to history… It has been like that for centuries. It has been the heart of trade and finance with no break. So, since it is so embedded in our everyday occupations, we do not preserve it, we live it… Did you* [addressing my friend] *see the ceiling ornamentation patterns of the Zincirli Khan? You should have a look, it is amazing. So much can be taken*

for inspiration when designing jewellery. For example, I have spent decades in the bazaar and I just recently happened to raise my head and see the beauty. I must have been there countless times but was not aware… Foreign tourists appreciate our history better than we do.

AUTHOR: *Isn't there any awareness or marketing program that addresses locals?*

INTERVIEWEE 2: *No, I think this is what we lack the most. It feels strange that a first-time visitor is able to understand the history here better than us.*

I read what interviewee 2 said as the domination of the present over the past and future with the urgency of the moment in forms of business or everyday chores predominating. This is so despite the fact that it has become the world's most popular tourist attraction thanks to its temporal background, to its historical capital. This domination reaches such a level that there is a significant indifference towards the basic maintenance of the bazaar. All interviewees complained about cracks and holes in the roof that cause rain water pour in. The problem is not only the roof itself, but the fact that the drainage system is not functional, causing stores to become flooded during heavy rains. A considerable percentage of roof windows are broken, letting rain and snow enter the bazaar directly. The interviewees put the blame on the bazaar traders' association. Interviewee 13, active in the bazaar since 1973, is the one that put his complaints in the bluntest way:

> We have an association that is only able to collect the monthly fee from stores, and that is it. We receive no service. I do not remember how many times we have reported the flooding problem in our alley. No response at all. Toilets are another problem. There are not enough toilets in the bazaar. People have to leave the bazaar.

Indeed, I have heard this toilet problem reported many times in news articles that focus on the bazaar's problems. The shopkeepers very much have a point when they complain about the lack of maintenance. The roof is in such a poor condition at some points that they are strengthened by temporary steel carcases; there are also spots where cracks have become big holes, almost big enough for a man to pass through, such as in the Kürkçüler Khan section. However, the underlying problem is at a deeper level. Shopkeepers themselves are indifferent to the preservation of the bazaar as cultural heritage. Obviously, without any regulation, everyday needs such as air conditioning, lighting, and electrical connections are resolved without paying any respect to the historical integrity of the bazaar by each shopkeeper, with individual coming up with mostly scrappy solutions (see figures 5.8 and 5.9). The inner decorations of stores are based on the taste and budget of owners, generating an overwhelming variety of store displays that break away from the aesthetical integrity, too. Yes, indeed "the bazaar is living". However, it is stuck in the present, or rather in the moment, preoccupied with the moment's vernacular needs and isolated from a broader spectrum of temporality.
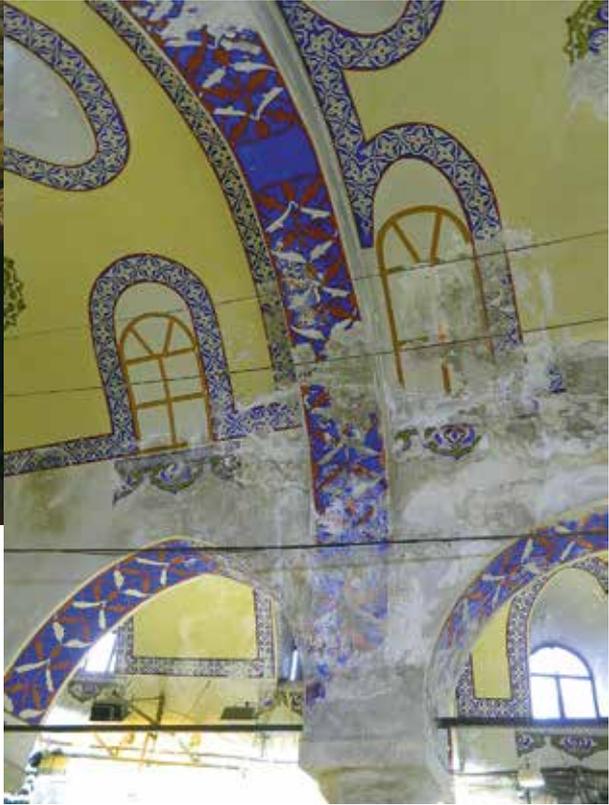
Figures 5.8 and 5.9: Inside the Grand Bazaar, plaster falls off the walls. Instead of once-beautiful murals, the walls reveal bare bricks. Cables bringing power to the shops are attached to the walls haphazardly, with no attention to safety or aesthetics.

In sum, the senior interviewees of the bazaar indicate that a rapidly growing number of new "money grubbers" are clearly indifferent to the historical capital of the bazaar. Even though the senior sellers are increasingly concerned about recent issues, they do not possess a level of activism such as to change the state of affairs. In a similar sense, their knowledge with regards to historical capital does not rely on academic study. For example, there is no known published study among them regarding the bazaar's rich history. The information is constrained at a basic hearsay level that does not go beyond a few sentences. Moreover, the living memory is not transmitted by means of oral methods. It is subject to loss, particularly due to retiring salesmen. All this indifference is reflected in the physical qualities of the bazaar, which feature a substantial lack of organisation.

This picture portrays how much a heritage management approach is needed for the bazaar beyond the context of sustainable consumption. However, it highlights also the obvious challenge of creating awareness firstly among the inhabitants of the bazaar regarding its value and delicacy. In pursuit of sustainable consumption, this could be a starting point to shape out a solid strategy for the Turkish design heritage management specifically tailored for the Grand Bazaar.

Downfall of crafts: culture of replication and easy money

This strategy is tied to the existing business mechanism not only in order to avoid interest conflicts, but also to facilitate feasibility. In this sense, tourism, shaping the bazaar's current business model, imposes new challenges, and presents new opportunities. During our first meeting, interviewee 1 was particularly surprised by the rapid increase of snack stores to which tourists show a lot of interest in buying traditional deserts, dried fruits or nuts.

> **INTERVIEWEE 1:** *They* [the touristic snack stores] *started to emerge two years ago. And yet, they are replacing the jewellery stores in the major alleys. Rent is paid by stores annually. I mean there is no monthly rent here* [the bazaar]*, but instead you give the rent once at the beginning of an annual term. This rent goes up to around four hundred thousand liras*[64] [the equivalent of a hundred thousand Euros] *in popular alleys. As they proliferate all across these alleys, they must be making great profit even after paying the outrageous rent.*
>
> **AUTHOR:** *But, why have these stores become so popular?*
>
> **INTERVIEWEE 1:** *The reason is tourism. For tourists, snacks are affordable, light to carry in luggage and a good option to bring back home as a representative gift from Turkey. Products that do not fit this framework are losing business weight across the entire bazaar.*
>
> **AUTHOR:** *Are the snack stores the sole example?*
>
> **INTERVIEWEE 1:** *No. Bag stores have become equally popular. However, the reason behind their popularity is different. They sell a lot of counterfeit goods of famous brands. It has become incredibly popular… It has become also really rigorous, so that there are different quality and price segments offered. At the highest level of quality, one may find bags almost indistinguishable from the original branded product. As the quality of counterfeit drops, so does the price.*
>
> **AUTHOR:** *Are people informed about the fact of what they have been buying?*
>
> **INTERVIEWEE 1:** *Yes, absolutely. That is why they are coming here. Locals as well as tourists…*
>
> **AUTHOR:** *Aren't there any legal regulations, is there not any governmental act against this?*
>
> **INTERVIEWEE 1:** *Yes, there is. From time to time we see that the brand lawyers conduct raids with the police. They seize the imitation goods. But, I think, it is somehow not working since the business continues with no visible obstacle. The profit is so high that the stores keep selling fake-branded stuff despite the legal measures.*

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64   Turkish Lira

This change in the bazaar is tied to the demography of its visitors. As tourists constitute the majority of visitors, tourism's impact may be expected to rise too. It has always been a hot spot for tourists. However, the tourism factor, as a complete game changer, is a relatively new phenomenon.

> INTERVIEWEE 2: *The considerable increase in tourist visitors is a result of the last decade. We are encountering a rapid increase in the number of tourists.*
> AUTHOR: *Could you give me a percentage?*
> INTERVIEWEE 2: *It is around 70 percent. I think it was only around 30 percent before the 2000s. The percentage has just shifted.*

Such a change is reasonable. Certainly, stores have to keep up with the changing requirements. The bazaar has been resilient for ages due to its ability to adapt. However, the recent change is not about resilience, but "corruption" as interviewee 13 put it.

> INTERVIEWEE 13: *I would say that it is the outcome of the last 20 or 30 years that the ambition to make ever-bigger and ever-easier profits has replaced the ethical courtesy and manners of the bazaar's trade culture. The cultural level has decreased dramatically. Whoever has money can now run a store in the bazaar without being subject to investigation. What I mean is that there is no regulation, for example, regarding the background of new vendors if they have a criminal record or not. As a result, overpricing customers has become a commonplace practice. The competition is based on selling goods as expensively as possible.*
> AUTHOR: *How do you see the future of the bazaar then?*
> INTERVIEWEE 13: *Pitch black, it is absolutely not good. The bazaar's regeneration has become too quick. We are losing the école of craftsmanship. We, who have spent decades in the bazaar, can realise such problems emerging with such rapid change. We used to have here real artisans, for example, Armenian craftsmen who are proud of the quality of their work. They have left to America and Europe.*
> AUTHOR: *Why did they leave?*
> INTERVIEWEE 13: *There are many reasons involved, political too.*

Obviously, there are overarching problems affecting the bazaar's nature and business models such as Turkey's socio-political tensions with regards to its minorities. Ethnic tensions are a part of the problem since many crafts branches are traditionally performed by certain ethnic minorities. For example, for centuries, jewellery artisanship is performed by Armenian and Assyrian descent masters. As these minorities are leaving, the craft know-how is getting lost too. New generations are not interested in a lifestyle dedicated to mastering crafts. The four interviewees, all Armenian descent, did not talk about the political issues. However, asking these jewellery artisans about the masters who left Turkey reveal how common migration among those craftsmen

is. I quote here the account of the interviewee 20 who is the oldest among the actively working artisans and called by others as "master of masters".

> **INTERVIEWEE 20:** *Crafts in Turkey reaches extinction. I am 65 years old. I am in the jewellery business since 1957. I have witnessed that 70…, no up to 85 per cent of craftsmen have already left to the U.S.A., Canada and Europe where they are better off than here. We are the last performers of this art* [jewellery making]. *There is no apprenticeship that can overtake the art. We do still have very talented masters* [pointing with a hand gesture to the interviewee 17], *but there is an absolute lack of youth.*
>
> **INTERVIEWEE 17:** *There is no youth and there should not be, because there is no future! I am 47 years old, in the business for 35 years, and I am no longer able to earn my life with my craft skills… Once the elementary school is finished, we were sent to the bazaar by our parents during summer holidays just to grasp a profession, find a chance to train and advance. It is the opposite now. I keep my children away from the bazaar. They should have a different job, except any sort of crafts … I expect within this year that many workshops will quit the jewellery business. In 5 years, it is possible that craftsmanship is completely wiped out in jewellery.*

The last statement addresses a very serious issue as the bazaar has already lost its character as the training centre for craftsmanship. The traditional skill transmission between generations has been greatly ended as the situation of the jewellery crafts presents. The youngest artisan that I could see was in the mid of his thirties. Ending of training may have further implication as the interviewee 20 addresses a greater threat that may endanger even industries following the downfall of traditional crafts:

> *Crafts training is like the foundation of a building. If you do not lay the foundation properly, this will endanger the entire building.*

As the artisans put it, other traditional craftsmanship suffer similar problems. These problems emerge partly due to unavoidable technological developments that rapidly replace human skills. Globalisation is certainly a strong factor in the mobilisation of production overseas in pursuit of cheap labour. All the artisan interviewees are well aware of the fact that technology cannot be avoided and they openly admit the advantages emerging with technology such as cost saving and speed in production. However, what they stress is the lack of respect for craftsmanship and skills. Big retail companies dominate the market, as a result, the connection between consumers and artisans is lost. Artisans have become an unknown gear in the manufacturing mechanism.

> **INTERVIEWEE 17:** *For the last 15 years, I have felt like that we* [artisans] *are in a ship that constantly sinks. Today it feels like we hit the bottom. There is no depth that we can sink lower.*

AUTHOR: *But do not you think that once you hit the bottom, you can rise again?*

INTERVIEWEE 17: *Yes, it is true.*

INTERVIEWEE 19: *It has been 15–20 years that we have started to work as contract manufacturers under big retail companies. It is like working in a black box for years. You get more and more isolated from the market over years. Once you are made redundant by the company due to some integration of technology, you are left in a state where no one knows you. We have many friends who suffer due to such a condition… We have failed to become brands. People know retailers' name only.*

Artisans are very well aware of the necessity of branding and first-hand relations with the market instead of contract manufacturing. This is accompanied with a significant recognition of the importance of design's role for success. Sevan Bıçakçı, for example, a jewellery artisan who has been able to create his own brand with unique jewel designs, has become a role model for other artisans. Numerous times, they used Sevan Bıçakçı as a model of how the craftsmanship could succeed despite the harsh market conditions.

INTERVIEWEE 18: *We could not translate our skills into a commercial form. This is our failure. We could not foresee today in the past… First of all, we need to explain to consumers the beauty in craftsmanship. The difference of quality between a one-off work, a work of art, and industrial one that has hundreds of copies. Among the great majority of consumers, there is not such a sort of awareness today. People just value the size and brightness of the diamond placed on jewel. The handcraft that created the jewel is somehow secondary.*

AUTHOR: *Do not you think that there is a growing awareness among consumers in this respect?"*

INTERVIEWEE 18: *"Yes, I would agree with that. But, this includes only a small section. We* [artisans] *cannot reach top class consumers. There are gatekeepers in the market, big brands that control such consumer demands.*

INTERVIEWEE 19: *Sevan Bıçakçı has managed to create his own market through special designs that refer to Ottoman* [aesthetics]. *Have you heard him* [asking me]*? What he sells is not gems, his designs instead. Although he does not use high value gems, he is able to quote very high prices just because of his design. He does not work as fast as us. He spends months for only one piece of work. But he sells it for tens, hundreds of thousands that provide him a very good life…*

These accounts are quite encouraging in the sense that these artisans can be open to cooperate with designers in order to establish their own brands if such an opportunity is provided. As the interviewee 17 put it, they are soon entering into a situation where there is no hope left. These artisans obviously do their best to survive and they seem

open to suggestions involving their experiences and skills.[65] This crafts culture has reached today across multiple generations and centuries, it is unacceptable that it is endangered to extinction. There could be a lot of potential for innovative design approaches employing invaluable crafts manufacturing skills or aesthetical repertoire that may play a certain role in the transformation of current consumption patterns to a more sustainable level. Although artisans have so far failed to turn their design awareness into a working business model, a guiding agency can be industrious to realise this potential gaining momentum in distribution of skills, training, and opportunities. Despite such a potential, the current business culture in the Grand Bazaar is far from generating long-term development projects that involve genuine craftsmanship and cooperative production networks. What dominates the bazaar is a continuous pursue for popular trends that promise high profits in short time periods. This is clear in the accounts of the first interviewee, as I am addressing retailers in the bazaar:

> INTERVIEWEE I: *The bazaar has become too tied up with periodic trends and fashion. For example, there is a boom of tourists from Arabian countries. So, goods follow up with their tastes.*
>
> AUTHOR: *How do you know their taste?*
>
> INTERVIEWEE I: *It is based on the popularity of a certain product offered by one or a number of stores. If other stores realise that one is selling a particular good, it is easily copied. And almost everyone starts to sell the same product or similar variations. Hence, the bazaar has become a home for stores replicating each other, motivated by consumer whims. The diversity of products is diminishing.*
>
> AUTHOR: *How do they produce these goods?*
>
> INTERVIEWEE I: *For example, tourists love Turkish evil eye beads as a souvenir. I have a friend who started to sell trinkets, such as key holders and bracelets with traditional evil eye beads attached. He took the samples and went to China. He managed to produce them very efficiently. He is able to sell them now here at a huge profit, four or five times more than the production and transportation cost.*
>
> AUTHOR: *Why did he not produce them here?*
>
> INTERVIEWEE I: *It is the production cost. As far as I am concerned having the production in China is much cheaper. For example, most of the fabrics that are sold in the bazaar originate in countries like Bangladesh, India, and China.*

It is important to note that the bazaar is not only losing craft-making know-how, but also the activity of production itself. So, the constitutional principles that shaped

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65   In addition to the efforts, one may mention also a growing academic interest in the jewellery artisanship of the Grand Bazaar. For example, in 2017, Rezan Has Museum hosted an exhibition entitled "Gem and Craft: In Pursuit of the Masters of Grand Bazaar" based on an academic research project investigating the relationship between craftsmanship, design, and innovation (Rezan Has Museum 2017).

the bazaar are in danger of extinction. The culture of design and innovation has been replaced by a culture of replication of the best-selling product in the cheapest and easiest way in order to maximise profits. Moreover, these best-sellers are nothing but exotic clichés that bear iconic Ottoman symbols on them such as the Tughra – the seal of the Ottoman emperor which was used on official documents, correspondence, and coins, featuring artistic calligraphy. The demands on the part of tourists for affordable and light-weight items are not the only criteria that shape the products reflecting Turkey's so-called historical capital. Such demands also define the quality and depth of historical reference. Tourists look for the easiest representational value of Turkish iconicity, a desire that does not go deeper than İznik tiling motifs, evil eye beads, or the Tughra designs, three of the most common of a small number of elements that dominate touristic goods in the bazaar. İznik tiling dates to the classical age of the Ottoman Empire (15–17th centuries), and has been used in important mosques and palaces as wall decorations. It gained iconic value as the visual representation of the Ottomans' cultural capital. With this recognition, İznik motifs have become the most popular decorative element for touristic souvenir in any form (see figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10: Souvenir scarves display İznik motifs and one of Istanbul's most well-known landmarks, the Maiden Tower.
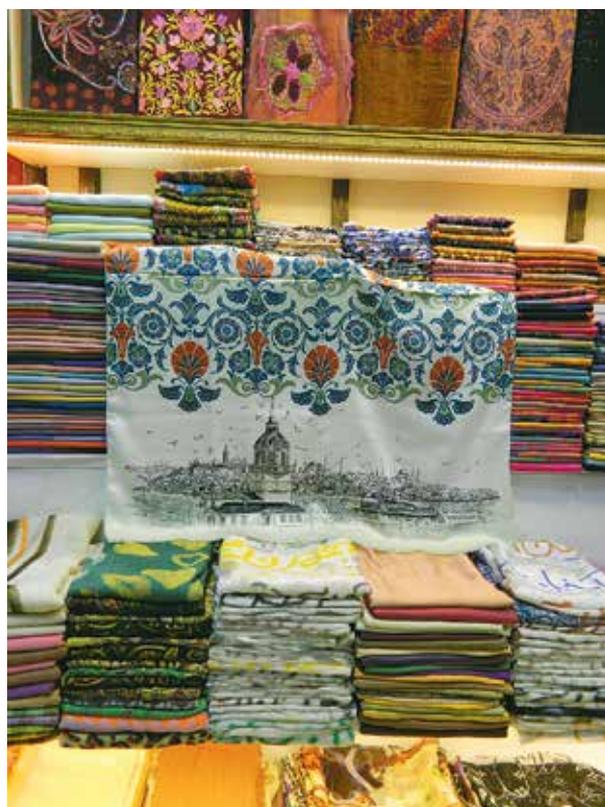
When I took tours inside the bazaar, it was amazing to see the domination of goods that contain these motifs and symbols. Although colours, patterns, forms, and shapes differ, the main mentality shaping these goods is constrained to the idea of using stereotypical and cliché symbols, with certain very minor variations. This became obvious when interviewing a touristic textile goods vendor (interviewee 14) who has a ten-year background in the bazaar.

> *What affects the design of goods is the taste of tourists. The most popular fabric patterns are Tughra and İznik motifs such as the Ottoman tulip and carnation flower motifs. There are also different models that combine Istanbul's historical landmark prints* [the samples I saw feature iconic mosques, the Galata Tower, and the Maiden Tower] *with these motifs.*

This simplistic approach points to a widespread problem in the bazaar with regards to how to express and capitalise the historical dimensions and cultural background of the bazaar and Turkish arts and craft. Ironically, crafts production is excluded from touristic objects that imitate the values of historical periods when the crafts were the only production method. When asked, industrial production is advocated by salesmen as it reduces production costs and thus facilitates profitability. They seem not interested, or simply not aware of, the lost authenticity that is a result, both in terms of production methods and in the simplistic use of cliché motifs. Accordingly, when asked what else to sell other than goods that display motifs or iconic symbols, interviewees in the tourism business, including interviewee 14, could not think of a different idea.

The profitability of this business method shows also that such an awareness does not exist among the touristic consumer segment either, as they prioritise cheaper price over authenticity and design value. Hence, in strong contrast to the main aim of this thesis, the current engagement of historical capital in the bazaar does not support longevity, instead facilitating material waste and accelerated consumption. Accordingly, such an engagement does not meet the criteria of heritage as it fails to provide present and future benefits. This is not only unsustainable in terms of safeguarding the bazaar's heritage, but is also unsustainable at a global scale when considering the unfortunate message it conveys as the most popular touristic attraction in the world. The rapid changes by the stores, *i.e.* by following the most fashionable or popular products and styles, associates the historical capital of the bazaar with the unsustainable character of the fashion system.

The leather clothing sector of the bazaar is not an exception in this context. It has an established space in the bazaar with a considerable historical background. Today, however, what dominates the style and design of the leather clothing is the fashion industry. Interviewees 10 and 11 work as salesmen for the bazaar's most well-known leather brand, which is also one of its oldest. They indicate that the brand's design scheme is subject to change that is bound by typical fashion parameters.

Neither the bazaar's historical capital nor Turkish arts and craft have a role in the design process that could have otherwise created valuable consumer attachments and distinctive brand values. Hence, again in this example, the bazaar's unique potential is wasted to a great extent, reducing its value to those of superficial and fleeting tourist impulses.

Thus, this increasing focus on cheap touristic souvenir and fashion-dominated business models must be shifted to a less-materialised and more authentic and novel set of experiences that can offer a strong identity. As this ideology can be narrated by means of the Akhi myth that I propose, the dimensions of memory may enable customers to link themselves with the ethos of the myth. The interviews manifest once again that it is crucially important that the bazaar should re-invent its authentic origins in the light of today's ideals and values. Although not recognised, the bazaar offers great potentiality for sustainability, generating competitive power for its brands while making slower consumption and product longevity culturally attractive. If heritage continues to be managed in the simplistic and pragmatic manner of today, it is highly possible in the near future that the bazaar will lose its current popularity in the competitive tourism market. This would cause a strong crisis and even the economic collapse of the bazaar due to the already decreased local consumer portfolio.

When looking at the popular Travel Website, Tripadvisor, one can note that a line of criticism among tourists has been developing with regards to pricing and repetition of goods for sale in the bazaar. A user review "The mother of all bazaars", able to compare the Grand Bazaar's today with its recent past, is illustrative:

> When you think of a bazaar this is what you see in front of your eyes. Yet, the looks are a little deceiving. While even 10 years ago this was a busy place full of tourists and locals alike and you could make excellent bargains, now the locals are gone, prices are often fixed and even when you bargain the discounts are not large. So just enjoy the buildings and use your imagination. (Laszlo K. 2015).

In sum, as these interview accounts confirm, the bazaar has broken away from its original foundational values and a real sense of cultural heritage. Globalisation and socio-political and economic problems have placed great stress on traditional craftsmanship. As the icon of Ottoman arts and crafts, the bazaar has become a place where historical capital is engaged as a source for touristic exoticism and commercial pragmatism. In pursuit of higher profits, the prioritisation of tourist demands causes rapid changes tied to whims and fads, threatening the authenticity of the bazaar.

On the one hand, these emerge as difficult challenges in making way to the strategy advocated in this chapter. On the other hand, such problems underscore the necessity of a heritage management program in pursuit of greater good. The current situation is definitely unsustainable, such that it requires immediate attention. It is a saddening fact that the icon of the unique accumulation of thousands of years arts

and crafts culture and the centre for design and innovation currently serves interest groups driving at commercial ends only. However, a heritage management approach, inspired by the Finnish sample, may break this domination and bring heritage to the service of global society. As interviewee 15 proudly states "the bazaar is the father concept of all contemporary malls". Considering this cultural and historical significance, the Grand Bazaar still has the potential to provide an original heritage management program with compelling implications as regards sustainability transformation in Turkey. The bazaar possesses the necessary cultural capital, physical environment, and social accessibility, despite all of its problems. It is the human capacities and connected paradigm that must be changed when consumers identify themselves with historical capital and thus when businesses make money out of it. This fact shows how a strategy derived from Artek's design heritage management in particular can be useful in turning the bazaar's historical and cultural capital towards design heritage in pursuit of sustainable transformation.

In this vein, both visitors and businessmen will have to go through a challenging social and interactive learning process if the bazaar is intended to achieve a sustainable state. But, is there any concrete evidence to show that the Bazaar's current entrepreneurship bear the design capacity to respond to such challenges?

Showing a successful example from the Bazaar may help us to acknowledge the intellectual capital that may be able to handle a social learning process in creative and designerly ways. A promising example, in this context, could be "Dhoku", a rug brand whose flagship store is located in the heart of the Bazaar. Dhoku may illustrate that a design-driven heritage understanding is not completely absent in the Bazaar. What makes this argument liable is not the tangible product line of the brand, but rather the brand's established design network. This network is able to tie the Turkish arts and craft capital with contemporary understandings of design and innovation. Dhoku, for example, collaborates with reputed Turkish designers where the antique Turkish Anatolian motifs and carpet weaving techniques are translated into contemporary artistic and design language. Such projects are also translated into commercial ends as they have become a part of the brand's current product line.

The brand's "make it home" concept, for example, gives some insight into the brand's positioning in the triangle of heritage, design, and sustainability. Brands' statements defining the concept, provides a framework with which one can locate the contemporary consumer as an "urban nomad" within the contemporary experience of increasing mobility and social media use. "Nomad" is not a coincidental concept but obviously a specific reference to the heritage of the Nomadic culture of Anatolian Turks (*Yörük*) who are well known for their weaving tradition and nomadic lifestyle. Dhoku, in this sense, defines its products in a creative framework; not as simple as rugs or carpets. Dhoku products are promoted as a "centrepiece to relax and socialize around" for the urban nomad with an emphasis on "lasting and authentic" qualities. These qualities transcend the understanding of two-dimensional

structure of rugs and traditional weaving techniques. Socialising, for example, is formulated according to the contemporary consumer trends where consumer can transform rug models into three-dimensional design pieces including an outdoor tent. Woven with "innovative" techniques, such design models are defined as turning any given place to a "home" for urban nomads in a playful manner with a touch on "sustainability of centuries old cultures and fair trade practices" (Dhoku).

Dhoku is distinctive in the Bazaar as the brand employs design thinking features when integrating the historical capital of arts and craft with today's lifestyles. Traditional patterns are not simply copied and transferred to production via pastiche, but rather reproduced with a holistic approach that includes the innovative reinterpretation of traditional weaving techniques and conventional product functions. In the context of heritage, Dhoku does not only recreate patterns of Anatolian rug culture, but also imbues the contemporary rug market with a mythological construction of the nomadic Yörük lifestyle.

Although this construction is slightly implied rather than distinctly crafted and extensively communicated, it may provide us with tangible evidence to recognise that the Bazaar currently holds a nucleus of intellectual design capacity. This capacity may promise the potential for managing heritage with sophisticated cultural conceptualisations and commercial mythologisations of the bazaar's arts and craft capital. Dhoku's collaboration with contemporary designers, in addition, illustrates that the Bazaar has an operating design network. Besides these professional collaborations, Dhoku participates Istanbul Design Biennials hosting exhibitions and events. In 2014, during the second Istanbul Design Biennial, an exhibition, entitled "Instructions/Interpretations", was realised by Dhoku. The exhibition aimed to challenge the conventional mode of design authorship realised by the imposition of "completed and predetermined design ordered to be woven". Allowing weavers to interpret and translate "instructions", given by several architects, artists, and designers, the exhibition involved kilims that are co-authored by weavers and instructors (Ozgen Design Studio 2014). In 2016, the third Istanbul Design Biennial included collective rug *(kilim)* weaving experiments with biennial visitors.

This does not mean, however, that such capacities and networks are efficiently engaged throughout the Bazaar. Nevertheless, the case of Dhoku points to a ground to lay the foundation of a comprehensive design transformation. To this end, the Akhi myth may offer a suitable initiation for an attempt at transformation in the Grand Bazaar. Artek's case may offer here a concrete example and teach multiple lessons in turning historical arts and craft capital towards design heritage in feasible ways. As Artek used the Finnish design mythology by means of the appropriate marketing project, the bazaar's businesses may follow a similar path that can stimulate voluntary contributions by the bazaar's key groups of actors: visitors and businesses. This may lead to a success similar to the case of Artek, as the competitive achievement of the bazaar would parallel customer satisfaction, which in turn may lead to the promotion of a more sustainable consumption culture in the bazaar.

This suggestion itself opens up new questions and the need for further research into greater sociological accounts of Turkey. Yes, the Akhi philosophy offers rich and accessible source for myth-oriented and cultural assets. Moreover, the current problems that I have mapped as the use of simplistic clichés can be dislodged through contemporary design and innovative methods. As such methods have historical ties to the bazaar's foundational identity, they do not threaten its authenticity; in contrast, they strengthen it. However, one needs to know if there is a social demand around the globe and in Turkey itself for a design mythology that offers consumers the opportunity to identify themselves with design's historical capital.

The bazaar's current business focus on tourism may necessitate the initiation of the strategy with a concentration on touristic consumers for practical reasons, in accordance with the main feasibility tactic of this research study. However, this does not mean that locals and national consumers should be excluded. Investigation of the Turkish social, economic, and design domains is important since a mere touristic focus is not sustainable, in and of itself, for the bazaar. It should gain back greater popularity among locals as a unique provider of an authentic ideology and related design services. Furthermore, the people who would implement transformation, design experiences, and run businesses in the bazaar are Turkish designers and entrepreneurs that belong to the same socio-cultural and economic fabric.

There are, in this context, rising questions concerning the existence of the requisite economic and professional grounds in Turkey. Is Turkish consumer spending, for example, high enough to afford relatively expensive design goods or experiences? As an emerging economy, Turkish consumption patterns are critical to identify whether there is a need for a slow-down process. At this stage, the qualities of the Turkish design profession bear utmost importance to show whether the Turkish design scene is developed enough to design and innovate experiences for the bazaar or not. Such questions can be multiplied, as the current level of awareness of store owners in the bazaar show that there is an urgent need for employment of craftsmen and designers. In this vein, for instance, it may be a crucial matter to investigate if there is any productive and established connection between traditional craftsmen and a new generation modern industrial designers.

To this end, I held a third series of interviews with designers and entrepreneurs who have already established collaborative networks with craftsmen. I call these interviewees "collaborators". I first met with founders of three design agencies that operate in Istanbul – Sasanna Design, Özlem Tuna Design Office, and ECNP Jewelry. I also met with Dhoku's founder Memet Güreli, and during this meeting tried to engage and depict their insights into the current condition of the Turkish design market and their future expectations about design and crafts collaboration. Beside these interviews, I also consulted Aslı Kıyak İngin, an academician who organised and implemented district-based safeguarding projects on the industrial heritage of Istanbul, such as "Made in Şişhane" and "Usta İşi Beyoğlu".

The collaborators

In this section, I aim to explore the perspectives of designers and entrepreneurs in addition to the interview insights gained from the Grand Bazaar's local community, such as gem-based jewellery artisans. Collaborators agreed to a great extent with the above line of criticism on the Grand Bazaar's current problems and the subsidence of Turkish crafts presented throughout this chapter so far. Despite this overall agreement, collaborators were able to offer deeper insights into the nature of existing relationships and collaborations as a means to evolve solutions for heritage management.

In the final series of interviews, the questions largely addressed the interviewee's projections into the future and their on-going methods to find a way out from the current predicaments. Each interviewee approached the questions from a different angle. For example, Memet Güreli, the founder of the rug brand Dhoku, discussed law enforcement as a means of maintaining intellectual property rights and combating with fake production. For him, a more meticulous law enforcement is key to convincing bazaar entrepreneurs that copying is not a sustainable way of producing and trading. He believes that only after using persuasion that may include heavier law charges will creative methods of design and production find a path into the Grand Bazaar. Hence, Güreli pointed out a governmental action plan that could critically facilitate the reframing of the bazaar's business models.

ECNP Jewelry suggested a somewhat similar approach, in terms of reliance on a governmental action plan. ECNP's emphasis, however, was on education rather than the legal enforcement of property rights. ECNP's framework addressed the absence of new generation artisans as the focal point of the current and future problems in the crafts. This absence not only causes the loss of handicraft skills and know-how, but also leads to rising costs in the employment of craftsmen in some craft categories. These rising costs in turn create a more pervasive reliance on simplistic and cheaper production formulas, such as computerised printing and cutting methods where people employed on the production line are alienated from the real sense of touch of their materials. In the jewellery sector, for instance, reliance primarily on computer programmes has already caused the emergence of a new generation of jewellery designers who know the material only on a computer screen and have no tactile experience of the objects they create. As a result, an empirical and tacit knowledge of the craft is, to a great extent, lost.

What compounds this problem is a lack of design "vision" among existing craftsmen. According to ECNP, craftsmen understand the importance of design in selling their products and competing effectively in the marketplace. However, because they lack a proper design education, their design attempts are limited to decorative pastiche applications of traditional motifs, which lack design value. Further, lack of design vision widens the gap between the new generation of designers and the old generation of craftsmen. This lack of relationship between generations could be intervened by a governmental education plan that includes universities' design departments. ECNP

suggested a new education unit for next-generation artisans such as a technical high school, where tacit crafts knowledge and skills are combined with a "proper" design vision under the supervision of university design departments. ECNP believes it would be possible to have a sustainable transformation in the Turkish arts and craft culture only after establishing a sustainable education system, which would also have implications for the Grand Bazaar and future designer and craftsmen collaborations.

Despite the problems between craftsmen and designers, there are operational networks that reach a level of intimacy almost like "family relations", in Özlem Tuna's words (2016). The craftsmen with whom she has worked for over a decade have almost become "a family member" to her. However, establishing such relations has not been easy. Tuna, in this sense, is a successful example as she learned a whole new set of new communication methods and craft skills that were completely absent in the formal education in the department of ceramics during her education. "*The market was a whole new world to me* […] *I was like an alien…*" says Tuna when describing the early years of her career in the face of human relations and production techniques of crafts production in Istanbul. As a young female designer, who was seeking innovative forms and functions, she was not taken "seriously" by traditionally minded craftsmen. "Change" to conventional forms was seen as an absurd demand, and was therefore neglected. Only after she learned the terminology of crafts and technical skills did she start to overcome the craftsmen's resistance to establishing a collaborative relationship. This collaboration, so far, has helped to partly replace the resistance with an understanding where craftsmen attempt to implement "product development", coming up with "ideas" to improve existing models and production methods. It is not a coincidence that one of her office's mottos reflects this "learning" experience, defining the Grand Bazaar as "like a university of hand workmanship" (Tuna 2016). Design researchers have noted this kind of learning experience. According to Kaya and Yagız (2011), Istanbul harbours an "informal" productive collaboration between professional designers who have taken modern industrial design education and craftsmen who are bound to traditional production methods. For these researchers, the collaboration provides a bridge for the crafts heritage to enter the world of contemporary designers and stimulate the emergence of novel "designing typologies" that are an alternative to the formal attitudes of industrial designers in Turkey (Kaya and Yagız 2011).

Despite these emerging alternatives for industrial designers, it would be too early to suggest that Turkish craftsmen exemplify characteristics of cultural experts and researchers like those in the Taiwanese case presented by Varutti (2015). However, as Tuna's interview shows, the recent decade marked a positive transformation in terms of designer and craftsmen collaboration as both sides approach to each other in order to understand each other's demands. Nevertheless, for Tuna, a successful heritage management necessitates inclusion of society. Production alone is not sufficient to implement a sustainable transformation in existing production and the trade culture of arts and craft, including the Grand Bazaar. Consumers' informed

demands are a key factor that may facilitate transformation. As Tuna continues, she marks that such a demand is currently absent to a great degree. Turkish consumers, in her observations with regards to the ceramics sector, prefer to buy trendy, cheap, and mass-produced objects that are not necessarily associated with product longevity. Despite consumer interest in the Turkish historical revivalism in craft products, this interest is not translated into production techniques such as authentic handicraft. Thus, the market is not strong enough to support high-end handicraft offerings such as those that characterise her office's production line. She explains this as the main reason her office works almost completely to outside markets such as Dubai.

A positive sign in the heightening an awareness of design, though perhaps not in terms of consumer appreciation of handicraft, is the new Istanbul Design Biennial, which has been held only three times so far. The popularity of the biennial gives promise to the hope that design strategy application in Turkey might resonate among Turkish consumers despite all the problems. This popularity also promises the growth of crucial sensibilities, such as heritage and handicraft sensibilities, among Turkish consumers, and I will focus on design's popularity in Turkey in the next chapter. What made me consider events promoting design was my interview of Sasanna Design. The office has successively participated in the biennial since 2014. They took part in "The Design Walks" event, where biennial visitors were guided through "design-oriented" production places, including shops, offices, workshops, and ateliers throughout the city, as previously announced in the programme and ticket sales. As Sasanna Design put it, it was "really surprising" for them to see a larger and more diverse number of visitors from all the walks of life and exceeding their expectations. Instead of Design Walk visitors from a restricted design context, such of university students, a greater number of visitors came from varying age groups and professions unconnected to design, including "housewives" with no professional background. The designers from Sasanna Design were even more surprised by the quality of questions these visitors asked, which covered a wide range of interest including design and production processes. Moreover, these visitors visited the design office after the end of the biennial in order to shop.

One of the reasons why I presented the above interview accounts is to demonstrate that the network of relationships in the Turkish arts, craft and design environment bears a complexity that escapes generalisation. Despite the breakdown of the crafts trade, remaining craftsmen in some certain sectors can sell their labour at a good rate, unlike the jewellery artisans I interviewed. For instance, the labour prices in the marble and wood sectors have increased to such a degree that designers in Istanbul seek to work with artisans from other cities. Sasanna Design has already established networks with marble craftsmen from different cities because the design office can no longer afford the artisanship prices in Istanbul. These high labour prices illustrate, on one hand, why most production avoids handcraft production. On the other hand, they indicate that there is a limited but important market demand that may be utilised to start projects shaped by this study's proposed strategy.

There are also external factors that have an impact on crafts. For Sasanna Design, the rise in material prices, such as silver, and the introduction of new production technologies, such as laser cutting in the early 2000s, have greatly shaped today's productions. Computerised production systems, for example, have become popular in synchrony with various kinds of plastics that "cheapened" production. These rapidly changed the home decoration market offerings from handcrafted expensive products to much cheaper computerised versions that do not require any craft skills. Their impact included a rapid saturation of the market with entrepreneurs who sought only to respond to transient consumer whims with mass production. Moreover, this saturation has separated the emerging middle classes from the craft-oriented products. Today, Sasanna Design's collection includes both craft-oriented and mass-produced products as a strategy to cover the market as extensively as possible and to survive economically. Perhaps, the most telling insight here lies in Sasanna Design's prospects for the future, as they call the current trend "a learning process" for the emerging consumer class. Thus, Sasanna Design draws a bright picture for the future. For the owners of Sasanna, soon or later with passing time, increasingly experienced consumers will achieve a level of awareness where they start to appreciate the enduring value of handicrafts and prefer more "authentic" products despite higher prices. They conclude that the improvement of the market conditions is a "matter of time" and will take place gradually.

This learning process includes designers. Özlem Tuna, for example, calls Istanbul's Historical Peninsula, the geographical field that encapsulates the Grand Bazaar and the surrounding workshops and ateliers, a live "open air museum". "A museum is not necessarily based on products," observes Tuna. There is a "unique structure of production" in this district that has survived for ages, sustained the "same mentality of production", and evolved with the same "guild system". She compares the famous Topkapı Palace Museum with the intangible heritage of the "unique structure of production", asserting that they both bear an equal importance that should be appreciated: *"As we cannot afford closing the Topkapı Palace, we cannot afford letting the craft production* [become] *extinct"*.

Tuna further states that her design office takes great care in engaging artisans and raw material providers who reside or work within the Historical Peninsula and neighbouring districts such as Beyoğlu and Şişhane. This effort is taken not only out of a sense of loyalty to the cultural framework of the peninsula, but also with an awareness of sustainability. Office workers walk to ateliers and workshops, or take public transport in order to reduce carbon dioxide emissions.[66] Product packaging

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66   Prior to the interview, when taking directions to her office on phone, I was advised by Tuna, who is an environment activist, of a particular route where I could use the metro system and walk about 2 kilometers. She was slightly insistent that I take this particular route and walk to their office.

contains recyclable materials. Tuna's interview was one of the most engaging among others that framed environmental issues within the context of crafts and product longevity that would reduce the rate of consumption. The office encourages the reuse of its products and reduction of consumption by services such as a repair service for its jewellery buyers. The sustainability framework includes CSR communication in the form of annual reports, and also has products made through the recycling of discarded materials.

In addition to the use of discarded materials, what makes Tuna's collection distinctive is the scope of heritage. Based on the historical capital of the Historical Peninsula, the collection items embrace mosaic motifs inspired by Byzantine mosaic tiling. Tuna is critical again when explaining that there is a sense of indifference to the Byzantine capital among Turkish consumers due to biased conceptualisations of Istanbul's pre-Ottoman Christian periods. The consumer "denial" of Istanbul's non-Islamic history harms heritage attempts by restricting it to a limited historical period and political discourse. This has had an impact as the heritage design market has become oversaturated with similar historical concepts. Sasanna Design, for example, says that they have already started to focus on the non-Ottoman Turkish historical capital, as market offerings have become mere copies of one another. Sasanna Design defines their current condition as a research process where they seek ways to emphasise Turkey's shamanic and pagan heritage rather than its Ottoman historical one.

Sasanna Design states that the remnants of pre-Islamic Turkic beliefs can be still actively experienced in today's Turkey where diverse belief systems are intertwined in everyday life. Although Istanbul's pre-Ottoman Christian heritage is eschewed by a politically oriented consumer segment, Turkic pre-Islamic heritage seems to be receiving consumer demand. This demand is a strong contributor to why Sasanna Design is addressing the Turkic belief climate. I have observed that both Sasanna Design and Tuna have developed a pragmatic approach to achieving the profit requirements necessary to survive economically. Despite Tuna's advanced remarks on sustainability, she emphasises that her collection contains design models that are based on popular shapes and forms among the Middle Eastern markets such as Dubai.

A similar compensatory framework could be extended towards to the field of building human relations with craftsmen who do not share the same worldview or life philosophy, as in the case of workshop employees who have embraced Orthodox Islamic values. In the first glance, a female and secular designer's partnership with such a workshop might seem unlikely to an outsider due to its "clash" of values. However, Hülya Çelik Pabuçcuoğlu (2016), from Sasanna Design, addresses the issue of a mutual communication and partnership platform where two sides respect each other and find ways to collaborate based on work ethics:

> *I collaborate with workshops where employees do not shake my hand* [because of Islamic sensibilities that avoid physical contact with females], *but I know that they like me.* […] *I absolutely do not have a problem with those who sincerely*

experience their faith. Once, a workshop rejected producing my design as it involved an alcoholic beverage dispenser. An employee called me saying that his faith does not allow him to produce design for alcohol consumption. I totally respect this. What I do not respect is the ones who lack work ethics.

This example is representative of the human capacity that allows craftsmen and designers from fundamentally different backgrounds to form partnership platforms based on ethical frameworks rather than ideological and politico-social positions. This could be highly beneficial to overcoming the political conflicts that surround the Turkish-Islamic heritage, a subject on which I will focus in the next chapter.

Given these interview accounts, a workshop can be called a "social space", one shaped by a myriad of dynamics from politics to economy, where designers and craftsmen learn, adapt, and evolve. For Güreli, the current problems between design and crafts are consolidated with the lack of a common and popular "social space" that is shared effectively by both sides. For him, designers and craftsmen are isolated in their own distinct comfort zones, rarely interacting. The above three design studios are examples of those that have broken through such zones and established operational social spaces. The Grand Bazaar, when considering its economic potential and cultural significance, enters the picture as a potential social space that may respond to both sides' needs by facilitating the interaction. Moreover, thanks to the proposed strategy and the Akhi Myth, it is very likely that the bazaar's social significance and touristic popularity can be engaged with design methods facilitating the inclusion of consumers and visitors in the social space as active agents. Such inclusiveness may be realised by the emerging methods of collaborative design. Accordingly, design methods can be employed further to innovate design services that may serve traditional production by creating new roles for both designers and visitors in the bazaar. The inclusion of consumers and visitors in the bazaar is a crucial element both to stimulate consumers' "learning process" of valuing crafts and heritage as well as to promote durable consumption.

Beside these characteristics, what further consolidates the Grand Bazaar as this kind of social space is the existing qualities of traditional workshops and the relationship among craftsmen that has been shaped by the passage of centuries. For Aslı Kıyak İngin, an academician who works on collaborative networks between designers and craftsmen, the production character of craft districts in Istanbul is a distinct one that can be defined as a combination of competition and solidarity. Artisans are integrated into their district through their workshops and the network of relations where workshops and ateliers, for example, function like a tight-knit community. Workshops and ateliers become collective meeting points where artisans meet, socialise, and help each other beyond the contexts of work and business. Hence, accepting the Grand Bazaar as a social space of learning, designing, and production is not an artificially imagined concept, but rather a centuries-old tradition that is threatened by extinction today.

These traditional production and craft districts share a similar fate with the Grand Bazaar; they too are threatened by a complex dynamic. A significant example from Istanbul is the Şişhane district, which is located in the city centre and has a century-old tradition of retail and craft. The district's authentic small-scale production culture is threatened by gentrification projects along with a political stance that favours shifting these production workshops and ateliers from the centre to the periphery of the city. In 2006, İngin founded and organised a project to safeguard this craft neighbourhood entitled "Made in Şişhane" (see İngin 2013a). İngin describes the relations in Şişhane as a dense and complex web of small-scale production, manual labour, display, and trade that should be called an "academy", although it would look like "chaos" to an outsider. Through apprenticeships, the workshops in the area host knowledge transfer from one generation to another. İngin (2011) sees this transfer web in Şişhane as an intangible cultural heritage that should be preserved. This web, however, was challenged by several economic crises, especially by a national one in the early 2000s that transformed the neighbourhood into a large showroom for Chinese products. Although this adaptation saved the district from a complete economic breakdown, it did not help to save the craft qualities of the place. Şişhane has become a synonym for cheap copy production that was mockingly called "Çinhane" ('China'hane). As Ingin (2016) recalls, the district became a place where designers wouldn't like to be seen due to area's low reputation.

Given these conditions, the project aimed to change the existing low status of crafts and make the designer and craftsmen relations stronger with the hierarchy between modern designers and craftsmen would to be eradicated. Inviting designers and architects who were already working there, one of the initial attempts took place through a display during the Design Week Istanbul show in 2006. In order to transform the perception of the area among creative professionals, the display presented the production background of goods in Şişhane as something that should not be hidden from the eye of consumers, but in contrast was something that possessing a unique and authentic value.

Şişhane bears several significant similarities with the Grand Bazaar in terms of this form of intangible cultural heritage in crafts and labour as well as the threats it faces from such as impacts as tourism. Hence, the projects and actions used to preserve the heritage in Şişhane are very relevant to the case of the Grand Bazaar and may very likely provide the lessons that could guide the implementation of this study's proposed strategy. Despite the economic and political pressures to shift production from the area, Phillips (2011: 61) calls the area as "[…] one of the very rare, totally intact heritage areas in the world, where the traditional skills, generations-old family businesses and the building substance that has evolved around them still tell their own 'live' story, not as a part of a tourist guide." As Phillips continues her description, she highlights that Şişhane could be an "[…] exemplary model of how a cultural heritage area can be preserved, successfully modernized and commercially upgraded as a high revenue earning skill-based micro economy – or 'cottage industry' – business model."

Informed by this importance, İngin's project also aimed to change the political attitude towards the district's labour and production character. As workshops and ateliers are seen as an obstacle that hampers the tourism potential of the district, state officials favour shifting these production spaces to the city's periphery. Despite this attitude, the "Made in Şişhane" project was meant to develop a contrasting understanding of how the culture of crafts and production may be employed to boost tourism. In this context, projects emerged to transform perceptions of "consumption-oriented tourism" to "production-oriented tourism" through engaging workshops as instruments in the tourism business. In 2009, based on the research question "How would foreign designers work in Şişhane?", several Dutch Designers were invited to the neighbourhood to design and produce lightning equipment by engaging the district's craft network (see Baltacı, 2013). The district's complex network initially looked like a "jungle" to them, as İngin (2016) reports their statement, however design results were successfully, and were later presented in an exhibition in Istanbul devised to promote the district's reputation (Made in Sishane a). In 2012, the "Made in Şişhane" project participated in the Istanbul Design Biennial with an exhibition entitled "Crafting Neighbourhood, Unmediated Design". Participation in the biennial also involved a workshop carried out by German and Turkish designers and design students who engaged the neighbourhood's design potentials (İngin 2013b). Tourism was later explored further with a workshop as part of Istanbul's 2014 Design Biennial with a performance to create a "design manual for tourists" (Made in Sishane b).

In addition to the exploration of the district's tourism potential, the "Made in Şişhane" project also explored the district's potential in terms of "design pedagogy". Several discussions and meetings were held between the district's craftsmen and members of Bilgi University's Industrial Design Department to discover ways to share and develop educational insight into design and crafts collaborations, such as "The Craftsman: Experience, Knowledge and Collaboration" (Made in Sishane c). Further, the Şişhane production network has also attracted academic interest in the domain of industrial design education as a local research area. During the academic years of 2008–2009, students who were enrolled in the Management of Industrial Design and Advanced Topics in Design Management courses of Istanbul Technical University analysed the district's production network with case studies (Er, Ö. 2011).

Educational ambition has shaped another project, organised by İngin, Culture City Foundation (Kültür Kenti Vakfı), and Bilgi University, in the neighbour district Beyoğlu; this time with the active participation of the district municipality. The project "Usta İşi Beyoğlu" was launched in 2015 and included a "contemporary apprenticeship" event involving an eight-month internship programme where design students work for craftsmen. The project involved other collaboration platforms such as "Beyoğlu creative ateliers" where professional native and foreign designers meet craftsmen for projects. These events are accompanied by physical improvements in the ateliers in terms of workplace safety and health issues (Usta İşi Beyoğlu). İngin

(2016) reports that they already have observed some cases where student and craftsmen relations evolved into closer collaborations that continued after students had graduated.

İngin's over-a-decade-long experience may have strong managerial implications for this study's strategy and the context of the Grand Bazaar. Firstly, the inclusion of the municipality in the latter project should be seen as an achievement. With an ambitious tourism programme, Beyoğlu municipality is conducting Istanbul's one of the most controversial gentrification projects and involves the shift of production places from the touristic neighbourhoods. The municipality's engagement in the project could signal a shift in their mind set to recognise the cultural value of crafts and small-scale production. This could promise also the municipality's continuing support in carrying out projects to revive crafts culture and establish design collaborations. Although İngin (2016) finds it too early to indicate a significant change in the political attitude towards crafts culture in the district, she acknowledges that similar projects may stimulate more awareness to recognise the potentials inherent in neighbourhoods. These potentials include tourism. İngin's concept of "production-oriented tourism" resonates with this study's approach to the Grand Bazaar.

Secondly, the above projects demonstrate a growing academic interest in crafts culture and heritage. This interest may mean that a study of the Grand Bazaar is very likely to find supportive interest by the academic and design circles. The current network, which includes one of Istanbul's biggest district municipalities, is mature enough to carry out complex projects with successful results. Moreover, the active participation of Beyoğlu Municipality may also promise a similar participation by the municipality that is responsible for the district where the Grand Bazaar and surrounding ateliers are located.

Thirdly, these projects have an impact on the craftsmen's mind-set. The project results show that craftsmen can be eager to collaborate and make long-term bonds with new-generation designers in well-calculated projects that provide benefits simultaneously to both sides. Copying is a continuing problem that was raised many times during the interviews. Despite this, İngin (2016) sees copying as a process in learning. For her, craftsmen should not be expected to easily and immediately adopt the creative principles of design. Rather, we should expect a gradual adoption where copying is an interim period. Moreover, copying works necessitates levels of creativity in terms of production methods and material application improvised for various reasons such as an economical use of resources. I argue that the existing practice of copying can be engaged to advantage in spreading desired business models among craftsmen. In the Grand Bazaar, for example, a successful pioneering model can spontaneously spread and reach larger sectors and consumer groups through copying. Hence, in close synchrony with a part of this study's strategy, the existing dynamics and drivers in a marketplace or consumer culture may be turned into advantage, irrespective of how much they may seem disadvantageous in the first sight.

Finally, the sequence of developments and progress in İngin's projects since 2006 can be perceived as a guide. The initial aim of raising awareness of Şişhane's design and craft potential among native designers and architects has reached greater lengths with the extension towards the Beyoğlu district. This includes, for instance, the multidimensional exploration of tourism potentially engaging foreign designers and random tourists who may be guided by a "design manual". Further, we see that the inclusion of an education aspect in projects opens new collaborative forms, such as internship programmes, and has stimulated the pursuit of physical improvements in workplace safety and health conditions in ateliers. The relevant benefits are multi-layered. The collaborations create platforms to transmit craft experience and knowledge to new generations. In exchange, creativity principles and computerised modelling methods of modern design find a platform to access traditional workshops. These exchanges create additional benefits for academic industrial design education as student-craftsman collaborations may influence the academic mind-set and curriculum allowing a more intense focus on developing craft skills.

Certainly, İngin's projects could have a mythological framework in the branding of craft districts. In İngin's projects, despite the underlining of the historical background of Şişhane, there has been no attempt to mythologise the district's craft and production network. However, informed by the previously mentioned Finnish case, I argue that a design myth may be useful in terms of creating socially accessible narratives that attract designer and consumer interest in historical design or the craft capital of the district. For example, in the case of Şişhane, a myth specific to the district and its heroic craft network could motivate different stakeholders, including consumers, to become a part of the district's historical narrative in pursuit of diverse benefits. Moreover, the myth may help heritage managers to respond to the multiplicity and ambiguity of consumer culture by referring to craftsmanship in Şişhane as the cultural extension of the Anatolian-Turkish Art heritage. This could further facilitate the formation of "symbolic innovation" in the district with a potential for dramatic change in the "intangible attributes" of the district, associated by designers, politicians, and consumers (see Hirschman 1982).

A myth may offer also a resource for generating internal motivation among participants, as in the context of guiding craftsmen to the origins of their profession, which could facilitate their commitment in a variety of forms. Such a commitment is also likely to motivate designers and students to collaborate with craftsmen. I argue further that a myth may function as a shared cultural ground among the craftsmen community and its stakeholders, including visitors and consumers, by establishing a mutual language and semantic unity across the social interchange of projects. Besides avoiding ambivalence, this may also help to connect actors with an intra-organisational cultural bond that might help to reduce managerial challenges. Hence, it is possible to argue that a myth may facilitate community participation and strategy implementation leadership efforts.

Incubation, participation, and governing

In the implementation of the proposed strategy, a significant component may be a governing body that engages large number of actors with diverse interests. İngin's experience, along with the growing scope of her projects, may provide relevant managerial lessons in this domain. For example, İngin (2016) does not suggest seeking large-scale financial support in the early steps of a project concerning the Grand Bazaar. Inclusion of a financial supporter, such as the Istanbul Development Agency (İstanbul Kalkınma Ajansı), as in İngin's case, may lead to the imposition of restrictive managerial regulations. For İngin, it is important to recognise that such financial and advisory assistance may have a negative impact due to the supporter's bureaucratic regulations and processes, and these may cause unforeseeable restrictions during project implementation.

A way of dealing with such challenges is to found a special centre as a governing body where heritage-driven projects are planned, communicated, managed, and led. However, before establishing such a governing body, preliminary steps should be taken to ensure using a relatively small budget and actor involvement. Based on her experience, İngin suggests that comprehensive, multi-actor projects should grow gradually. Rapid growth or the immediate inclusion of a large number of actors is very likely to hamper effective operation and management. Practicality is crucial, especially in the initial steps of a project. Perhaps, one of the most interesting insights in İngin's interview is the notion of "empathetic thinking". "I have started to think and behave like a craftsman," says İngin to highlight the significance of empathy when designating projects and activities for craftsmen. It may be vital to engage the local community of the bazaar with active roles in the transformation of the bazaar from decision making to operational handling of the strategy and its design projects.

For İngin, it was also important to recognise that there is no universal managerial formula that can be copied and directly applied in large-scale case studies that attempt cross-cultural application of the proposed strategy. Each case is likely to have its own dynamics and drivers, which could necessitate different, even contrasting, managerial tactics. Chhabra's (2010) SSHTM model resurfaces here as a feasible framework. In the case of the Grand Bazaar, İngin agrees that a pilot project involving only a controlled number of craftsmen and designers may be a good option for the launch of the proposed strategy. She suggests further that one should extend projects step-by-step with a local tactic of "action-based growth" where each action or event can add new participants and layers to the strategy implementation. This clearly resonates with Chhabra's hierarchical order of multiple-actor involvement. If applicable, an existing cooperative network among craftsmen, academia, students, and designers may be engaged prior to the foundation of the special centre, or governing body of strategy implementation.

After all, the overall aim of the transformation in the Grand Bazaar could be conceptualised through referring to Meadows' (2008) "systems thinking", which

was introduced in the second chapter. The Grand Bazaar should strive to turn into a "self-organizing" and "resilient" system with its entire cultural and social capital, including its human capital, composed of the local community and all external stakeholders. This means that the bazaar should be able to "learn" from the past and "diversify" according to environmental and cultural conditions, and this should be followed by a growing volume of specific experiences that will let the bazaar become more complex yet "evolve" in a way that transforms and empowers its communities towards a sustainable state. The same applies to the whole society, where the bazaar's sustainability transformation would be seen as a step forward towards societal transformation.

However, in order to achieve this final transformation, experience and development will need to proceed gradually, step-by-step. I configure four linear processes that represent the development of the strategy implementation and the construction of a "resilient" local community in the Grand Bazaar. I have simplified the processes for the sake of easy introduction and understanding. However, it should be kept in mind that the realisation of these processes is highly prone to economic and political crises, which may dramatically hamper the suggested managerial and temporal frameworks. Furthermore, it should be noted that the transition from one process to another is slow and gradual rather than an immediate one. This transition may generate interrelated set of actions where certain elements that have already proceeded to a more advanced level may impact elements that exist in a previous stage. Hence, despite the linear formulation of process development presented below, a more complex interrelation among processes is likely, and that may include alternative forms of exchange relations.

Initially, the process should address an internal learning among the actors about the benefits and potentials of the Akhi Myth. The process should engage the actors of the existing network in an academic framework. As shown above in the context of İngin's projects and the collaborating designers' work experience, an existing network possesses a sufficient level of experience and other operational capacities. Employing these capacities may significantly facilitate a limited but effective internal learning project without the need of extensive budgetary spending and governmental inclusion. Through later actions, in accord to the "action-based growth" strategy, the scope of the projects and actions may be expanded, as I will show below, engaging new actors such as the municipality and bazaar's administration. These later actions may involve a greater network with regulatory and political frameworks, which may change the nature and structure of the leadership and necessitate a concrete dedicated governing body. However, I prioritise an internal learning process since neither the local community members nor the collaborator interviewees could present in-depth knowledge about the heritage of court artisans, Akhi Philosophy, and the foundational principles of the Grand Bazaar. Given this situation, the learning should aim first of all to establish a level of knowledge necessary to initiate design projects that are geared to the mythologisation of the Akhis, Anatolian-Turkish Art, and the Grand Bazaar.

What should be remembered is that these projects may involve the bazaar's historical elements and a fiction narrative suitable to the previously explained social nature of heritage, both with the help of marketing literature and Artek's case. Hudson and Balmer's (2013: 349–354) articulation of metacategories of heritage, introduced in the second chapter, may serve to guide the academic managers of the incubation process in the designation of initial projects and internal learning. On one hand, the "structural" historical elements of the bazaar, such as its foundation date, could be employed to support the projects in terms of the bazar's historical strengths, from "permanence and perpetuation" and "stability and strength" to "origin and precedence". Recognition of "reconstructed heritage" and "mythical heritage" dimensions may help to devise the "interpretive" and "interactive" understandings of the relationship between the past and the present. Such recognition may also shape design projects, community involvement, and visitor communication, with reference to collective imagination, collective memory, and social construction.

These projects may impose an initial operational framework for the construction of a mythology of heritage. In later processes, various deployments of heritage categories would help to project a diversification addressing different target groups, such as tourists and local consumers. Accordingly, the initial framework is expected to be enlarged, customised, and made more complex in its advanced stages, not only through the inclusion of different heritage categories but also through the participation of a growing network of actors. In order to proceed to more advanced stages, the initial process should involve a clear explanation of diverse economic and cultural benefits concerning all the participants that would generate motivations among the participants. The growth of an existing network in İngin's projects demonstrates that such an understanding is already established. I call this internal learning process the "incubation process", which may take up to five academic years from devising to implementing initial projects that would be continuously tested and improved (see chart 5.1).

As I stated earlier, heritage management should embrace target-oriented design manoeuvres, rhetorical devices, and communication tactics for the bazaar's different consumer segments in consideration of differing heritage understandings within these segments. The incubation process would be followed by the voluntary diversification of the bazaar's local community motivated by their own experience in addition to continuing academic governing and facilitation. Moreover, participation should not only engage improved pilot projects that are readily devised by the academic institutions, but also projects devised in terms of the community's own creative contribution. In this vein, I would expect the local community members who show first signs of creativity to be those who can generate their own authentic values, as in the case of Taiwanese artisans described by Varutti (2015). It's not unreasonable to expect at this stage in the implementation of the proposed strategy that the craftsmen of the Grand Bazaar would gain strength and motivation from their common story of "loss and recovery" of the Anatolian-Turkish Art heritage. This process may include the birth of variations and customisations of the Akhi Myth.

Incubation process 3–5 academic years	Diversification process 5–6 academic years	Hierarchical expansion process	Empowerment process
Existing network	Internally developing network	Externally developing network	Established network
Academia Craftsmen Design Students Designers	Academia Local community Design Students Designers + Marketing/Branding support	Special governing body by external/internal committee members	Special governing body by internal committee members
External facilitator + external motivation	External/internal facilitator + external/internal motivation	Regulatory frameworks imposed by NGOs and government	Self-organising and self- regulatory frameworks, voluntary external partnerships

Actions:
- Internal learning
- Academic initiation/
  governing
- Initial projects
- Myth building

Actions:
- Experience/complexification
- Academic governing
- Improved pilot projects

Actions:
- Copying/experience/
  complexification
- Spontaneous projects
- Sustainability promotion
- CSR communication
- Educational programmes for
  new adopters
- Mediation between the local
  community and external
  partners

Actions:
- Continuous renewal/
  development
- Established projects
- Sustainability promotion
- CSR communication

The growing complexity in the project could lead to an advanced stage that has close synchrony with the artisan characteristics presented in the aforementioned study by Varutti (2015: 1044), such as "a personal and collective itinerary of research, experimentation, inventive solutions and commitment to the retrieval, reinterpretation and transmission of knowledge". The development of complexity could be addressed as a "diversification process" where different craftsmen become "cultural experts" in their own rights and capable of proposing alternative authentic values. Branding and marketing tactics may enter at this stage at the process, where each craftsman and its workshop or store could start to engage the repertoire of "heritage branding" with the help and supervision of academic partners. Considering İngin's suggestion's, I do not propose the inclusion of a governmental body, such as the municipality, during the duration of this process, but rather suggest that governmental inclusion be delayed until the next level in the process when strategy implementation needs a concrete managerial centre. Delaying government inclusion would help to avoid political interests and regulations during the early steps of establishing ties with between circles of academia, craftsmen, and designers for pilot projects. Only

Chart 5.1: The theoretical strategy implementation chart displays four processes that are inspired by Meadows' (2008) "systems thinking" framework and Chhabra's (2010) interpretation of Chogull's (1996) community participation ladder.

after successful pilot project results should a governmental body join the partnership as part of a specialised governing centre. This could be extremely important in cases where the local community and government have on-going issues over property, taxes, etc. Due to its widening quantitative and qualitative scope, the second process may take up to six academic years.

In the third step of the process, diversification should be expanded across the bazaar and design circles with a growing range of local community participation, which would necessitate a gradually developing series of actions or steps. The controversial culture of copying among craftsmen in the bazaar can be expected to be beneficial during this expansion as any successful results of pilot projects may generate motivation copy these projects inside the bazaar. In line with İngin's characterisation of copying as a process of learning, one may expect that simple copying acts in the form of spontaneous projects in response to the original projects could evolve towards expansion, diversification, and growing complexity over the long term. Copying or not, these projects will be shaped by the cultivation of "shared histories" among the expanding network of stakeholders, and may turn the existing audiences of the bazaar into a "brand community". This is a crucial requirement where the key characteristics of collective memory intertwine with branding capacities to address audiences that socially construct assertions of authenticity and adopt sustainability propositions for the bazaar (see Beverland 2005).

Expansion can be expected as the start of the promotion of durable consumption patterns to the visitors of the bazaar, including Istanbul inhabitants as well as tourists. The process should therefore also engage a periodical CSR communication about bazaar and strategy-oriented projects. I name this process the "hierarchical expansion process", as inspired by Chhabra's (2010: 63) interpretation of Chogull's (1996) community participation ladder for underdeveloped countries. For example, in the context of sustainable heritage tourism management, Chhabra borrows eight ladders from Chogull's ladder in order to provide a performance assessment chart for community builders. In this study, the ladder could also describe how an effective community should operate. The existing situation, after consideration the interviews with the Grand Bazaar community, shows that a high level of craft community participation has not yet been achieved in projects.

Moreover, lack of governmental interest in the improvement of crafts culture and the intention to shift workshops to the Istanbul's periphery take place on the lowest rungs of the hierarchy. However, there are also signs of improvement that point to a higher level of community development thanks to the above projects based on academic participation and inclusion of NGOs and political actors such as the Beyoğlu district municipality. The maturing and expanding partnership among the craftsmen, designers, academy, and municipality illustrates that the craft community is climbing the ladder to a more participatory level. Furthermore, the expansion starts to include the bazaar context. In the spring semester of 2017, Bilgi University's industrial design department started a new internship programme where students

become apprentices in jewellery workshops located in Büyük Yeni Han, a traditional production space where silversmiths work.

Eventually, expansion within the bazaar will require a special management centre to control and manage what the project hopes is a growing number of actors, expenses, and externally-imposed regulatory frameworks. As İngin suggests such a centre may be highly useful to keep the community focused on aims and goals in order to prevent the projects being hijacked by different interest groups. In addition, the centre could provide educational programmes for the new myth adopters from the local community. The centre should also act as a mediator between external partners and the local community. This centre may be composed of representative committee members from stakeholder groups. Such a partnership is described in Chogull's (1996: 436) ladder order as "the second highest rung", or "partnership", where "structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and eventually other informal mechanisms for resolving problems and conflicts" enter the community organisation. In this process, it seems likely that governmental inclusion will be important. However, a top-down process dictated by governmental policies is not a desired method of participation in a community when prioritising a self-organising system for the bazaar. For example, the "highest rung on the ladder" as originally defined by Chogull (1996: 435) is the "Hierarchy Level 1: Empowerment" where "community members" are required to initiate their own progress and improvement in their life conditions. At this point, the local community may also establish partnerships with external organisations such as NGOs.[67]

In light of Chogull's definition of the highest rung on the hierarchy ladder, I call the final process of the proposed strategy's implementation the "empowerment process". This process is aimed at having a fully-established local community in the Grand Bazaar – or a "resilient" and "self-organizing" system in Meadows' terms (2008) – as the result of continuously developing design projects, accumulating experience, interactive managerial formulae, and expanding partnerships. The local community moves towards possessing the competitive capacities necessary to improve its own conditions through self-regulatory frameworks. Accordingly, this process is expected to have less governmental involvement with a growing representation of the local community in the committees of the governing body.

However, it is up to the local community to establish external partnerships by its own will. CSR communication should be implemented at this stage encapsulating the entire Grand Bazaar. Given the aforementioned capacities of CSR communication by Blombäck and Scandelius (2013), the mythological structure of the Grand

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67   In Chhabra's SSHTM model, Chhabra presents eight hierarchy levels of community participation that were originally created by Arnstein in 1969 and later modified by Chogull in 1996 when applying Arnstein's citizen participation model to developing countries. For Arnstein's original study see: Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969). "A Ladder of Citizen Participation". *Journal of American Institute of Planners*, 35, 216-224.

Bazaar should be strengthened with a planned and transparent CSR communication. For example, the foundational principles of the bazaar may be communicated with a mapping of contemporary CSR activities as a continuation of the bazaar's heritage. In other words, mythologisation of the bazaar's historical capital and running creative design and branding activities should be supported with transparent reports that communicate CSR aspects and results. This is necessary to establish a "responsible" "heritage brand" image for the bazaar and elevating not only the bazaar's public image but also the bazaar's promotional capacities for the transformation of consumer behaviour. In addition, such CSR communication may facilitate inclusion of further academic research and interest expanding the scientific network.

Certainly, for such a symbiotic development introduced shortly in this section, public participation is a significant aspect. What are the characteristics of the contemporary Turkish public who is expected to participate the above activities and monitor CSR development? In this domain, public awareness and interest about design and sustainability is important to recognise as, for example, knowing to what degree Turkish consumers are familiar with design participation methods may play an important role when designing experiences. There is also a political dimension within the consideration of local design capacities that requires assessment, for instance whether there are specific governmental or association supports for the purposes of design entrepreneurship.

Such questions build a framework that can be adopted by future researchers from different countries who would like to run a design heritage management programme in their own cultural context. Hence, the next section has been kept dense to provide the capacity to guide future adoption attempts by other researchers.
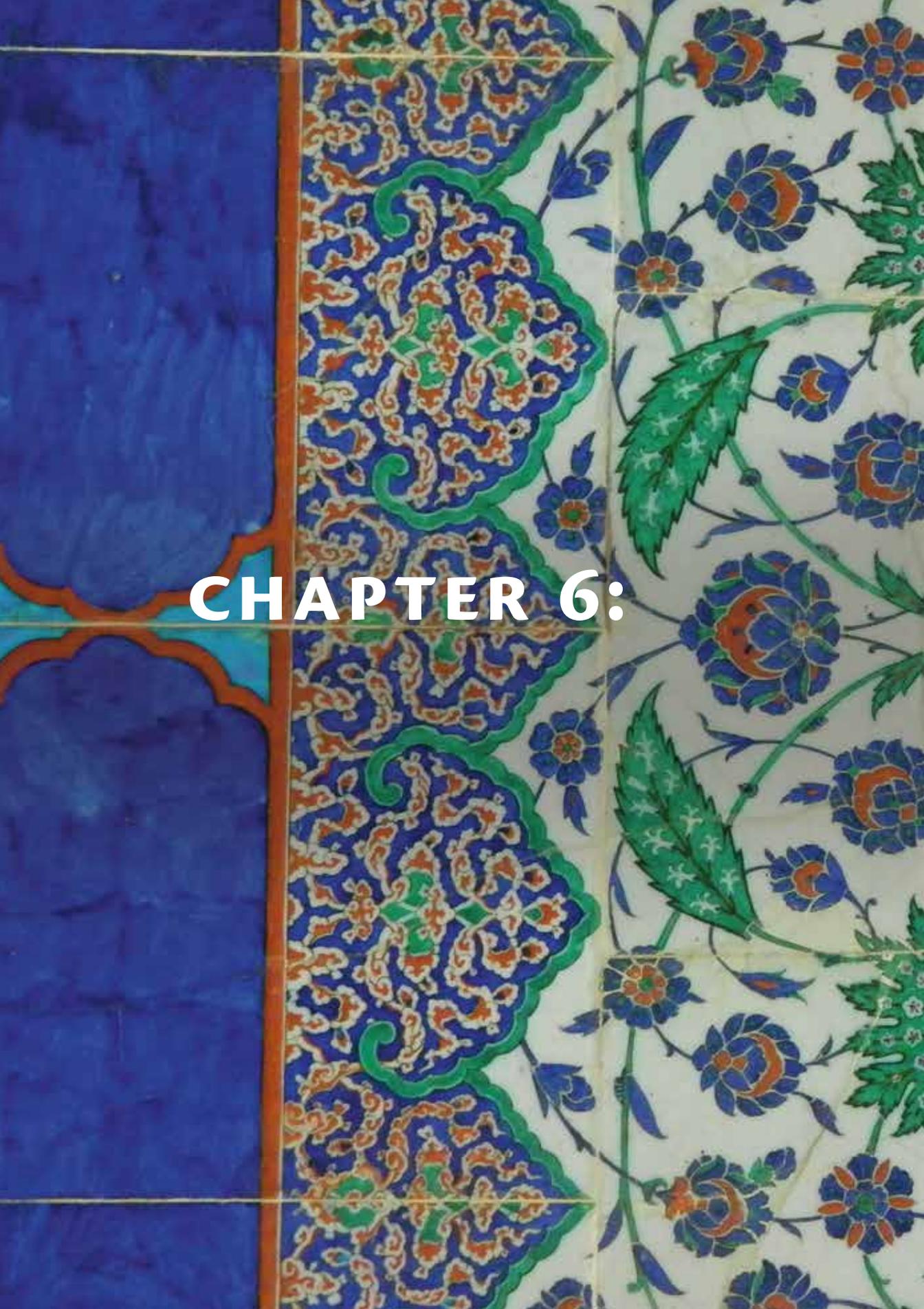
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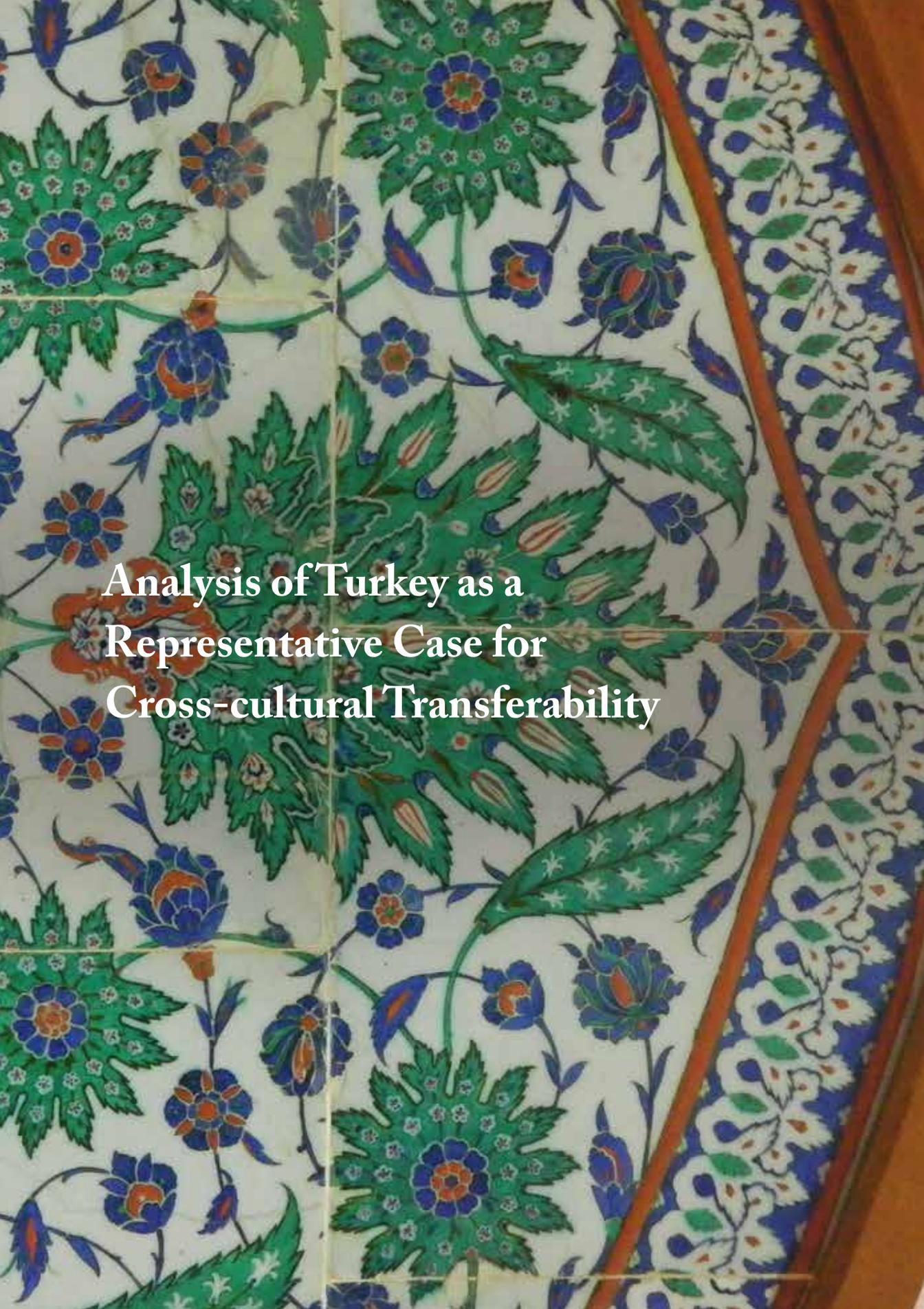
Analysis of Turkey as a Representative Case for Cross-cultural Transferability

6.1 The Emerging Turkish Market

Seeking answers to the above questions, I will start in this section by drawing a general synopsis of the current Turkish economy, buttressing this with historical accounts to show the centrality of the role of consumption in the Westernisation of Turkey. Highlighting the importance of consumption as a cultural asset, I stress emerging income status and related consumer patterns to show that there is a need for a strategy to divert consumption towards sustainable patterns. I note the importance of avoiding major conflicts of interest, *i.e.* of making a grand call for a curbing of consumption altogether. Secondly, I focus on Turkish design's capacities in academic, public, business, and governmental domains to assess whether these domains contain the necessary intellectual and operational capabilities or not. In the third section, I highlight the recent interest in national historical capital and discuss related aspirations in Turkish consumer culture. In the fourth section, I would like to define the opportunities presented by the Grand Bazaar that may facilitate the desired transformation and associated heritage management strategy.

The economic and cultural status of consumption

Following liberalisation programs launched in the 80s, the Turkish economy – currently a member of the G20 (The Group of Twenty) forum for 20 major national economies – has achieved an overall steady growth. With this growth, a middle class has emerged with growing disposable income and thus consumer spending capacities. According to World Bank (2014a) indicators, gross domestic product (GDP) per capita has risen from 4.220 U.S. Dollars in 2000 to 10.972 U.S. Dollars in 2013. As rising prosperity has also affected broader segments of society, poverty has fallen by half since 2002. Consequently, the middle class' share in the economy has grown from 18% in 1993 to 41% in 2010 (World Bank 2014b). Although recent years' economic recession has shadowed the narrative of economic achievement, Turkey currently constitutes the world's 18th largest economy, with economic and business environments in rapid transition. Turkey is addressed by global financial actors such as the World Bank and the global media as an important emerging market. The term "emerging market" itself is defined by the International Finance Corporation (IFC) based on a number of national expenditure and income calculation methods that utilise annual economic data such as GNI per capita or GDP.[68]

In this context a recent World Bank (2014c) report designates Turkey's economic growth as approaching the threshold of "high-income status". This development is expected to continue in the coming decades, further elevating Turkey in the ranking

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68   GNI: Gross national income

list of largest economies of the world (OECD 2012 and HSBC 2012). This positive image has recently been tarnished by regional socio-political conflicts in the Middle East. The Turkish economic vulnerability becomes an increasing concern for the country's financial administration. However, despite the slowdown of economic growth in recent years, the World Bank indicates that within five years, Turkey could proceed to the level of a high-income country (Hogg 2015). Moreover, there is no sign of substantial changes in consumer habits and lifestyle choices in Turkey. Hence, any decline in consumer spending alongside the economic downturn trend cannot be expected to result in enduring changes in the Turkish consumer culture.

In this light, it is worth noting, as consumption is responsible for 70% of economic output as of 2011, that we can see here the development of today's consumerism and its cultural forms. As I will outline below, there is also an historical factor that is linked to an inequality between the weights of production and consumption in the context of Turkish modernisation. This imbalance is connected to the contemporary national, economic, and social character of the country. This character is hardwired to the status of national industry and its creative capacities, employing design, as I will elaborate on below. It will come as no surprise that the *Financial Times* (2012), with regard to the 2011 percentage of consumption as related to economic output, calls the Turkish economy "consumption-oriented".

The main driver of Turkey's economic growth in the 2000s has been domestic demand (OECD 2014). This trend continues to grow, consumer spending reaching a new all-time high in the third quarter of 2014 (Trading Economics 2014). The projected growth expectations for the advertising sector reveal that consumer spending in Turkey will be subject to a growing media push by all channels of advertising. For example, Turkey is currently the second largest internet advertisement market after Russia in the Middle and East Europe. Advertising revenues in 2013 of 740 million US Dollars (USD) are expected to grow to 1.333 billion USD by 2018. When it comes to outdoor advertisement, according to 2013 revenue data there was 198 million USD spent, marking 86% growth from the year 2009. By 2018, it is expected to reach 295 million USD. TV advertisement revenue encompasses the greatest share of total advertising dollars, amounting to 1.56 billion USD in 2013. This is also projected to grow, to 2.27 billion USD by 2018 (PWC 2014).

As a result of the large and growing domestic market, multinational corporations have been investing heavily in Turkey. The Anglo–Dutch consumer goods company Unilever, for example, recently tripled its business in Turkey over the course of 11 years (*Financial Times* 2012). This growth and related changing consumption habits resonate in various segments of the economy including, for example, cultural products. This can be illustrated with figures related to the national cinema industry. The number of audience attendance at cinemas rose dramatically from 14.503.052 in 2003 to 45.077.509 in a decade, reaching an all-time high as indicated by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK 2014a). Travel figures are also relevant. The Turkish aviation industry hit an all-time high in 2013 of 150 million passengers, marking a

14.6% increase from the previous year. The rapid growth of this market is perhaps better illustrated by the fact that passengers flying domestic lines annually grew from 8 million in 2002 to an astonishing 76.1 million in 2013 (*Hurriyet Daily News* 2014). Although the rate of economic growth has slowed down in 2014, consumer spending on airlines was steady, with the number of domestic passengers rising to 86.5 million, exceeding the nation's population by 8.6 million (*Milliyet* 2015). Yet as we know, even as economic growth and mobility result in increasing life standards, they impose costs on the world's ecosystems. According to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (2013), Turkey has encountered by far the highest increase in greenhouse gas emissions between 1990 and 2011 among the 43 countries of the OECD.

The central role of consumption in recent economic development is connected to deep-seated ideological aspects in the historical foundations of modern Turkish society. Accordingly, one may not expect to transform the current consumer culture without an appropriate cultural strategy involving an engagement with this history, and the politics that have been involved. The potential social and cultural capital of traditional arts and craft is inevitably linked to the role of consumption in Turkey's history as a means of social experience and display of ideological affiliations. For example, consumption has had a central role in the modernisation of Turkish society as a socio-cultural activity, rather than production (Orçan 2004). By the elites, adopting Westerner consumption was seen as a powerful method to become Westerner and to transform society towards the Western culture. The most striking example could be the modern Republic's (established in 1923) immediate reformations, for instance, that encouraged men and women to wear modern Western clothing. Turkey's Westernisation, in this vein, started to become visible in vernacular cultural forms through the means of consumption as early as the second half of the 19th century.

However, one can trace the adoption of European consumer patterns as a means of modernisation and as an expression of a political agenda by ruling Ottoman elites and state institutions back to the 18th century. It later penetrated to foreigners and non-Muslim communities who also adopted luxury as a way of living, as cars and housing units functioned as a tools of prestige-building, too. However, such an acceptance was not available to the Islamic majority due to inherent contradictions of conspicuous consumption to traditionally acclaimed Islamic virtues. This contradiction was subject to such societal tensions that the leading actor of modernisation in the Ottoman period, the royal dynasty, avoided displaying such consumption patterns publicly for a long period of time. However, the latter half of the 19th century marked a turn with the launch of reforms and investments in the Westernisation of social order and in the industrialisation of the economy. The construction of the new royal palace, Dolmabahçe Palace, for example, deserves a special mention here. As the royal dynasty abandoned Topkapı Palace – which had been the royal palace for four centuries – it symbolically left the "Oriental identity". The new palace functioned as the "Symbol of Reforms" and was diligently constructed by means of

the era's cutting edge Western technology and design, underscoring the commitment to industrialisation and Westernisation (Küçükerman 2007: 259). The royal dynasty's change to a domestic milieu arranged in the manner of a Western flat, decorated with Western furnishings, was a symbolical display that acknowledged changing cultural norms of the good life, and its display through consumption preferences.

This timeframe also encapsulates the imposition of frameworks of consumption state regulations on the public. This can be best seen, for example, in the clothing styles that started from military uniforms and spread to the public. The introduction of the fez headgear by official declaration in 1832 to all the subjects of the empire is a striking example in terms of the development of mass production and consumption relations (Orçan 2004). It is also quite illustrative in stressing the political instrumentalisation of consumption, as the fez declaration was oriented towards both Muslim and non-Muslim communities. As a sign of emerging liberties, introduction was meant to eradicate any visible distinctions among these communities (Deringil 1993). During the early years of the Republic, focus of reforms included citizens' appearance. For example, Sümerbank – the state-owned bank and industrial holding established in 1933, was engaged in the promotion of a uniform and secular appearance for all citizens of Turkey through production of clothes and fabrics. (Himam and Pasin 2011).

The development of consumer culture in Turkey has not historically been confined to politics only, but corresponds to a greater societal agenda, as Western lifestyles started to become popular and to be widely available by the middle of the 20th century through urbanisation (Orçan 2004). In this period, furnishings, for example, were involved in social and cultural purposes where Turkish consumers experienced social distinction and group belonging in ways recognising the difference between Western and Turkish styles through consumption (Gürel 2009). This period also witnessed large-scale Western aid programs, the results of which included a new technical university (Middle East Technical University) (METU) in Ankara, Turkey's capital city, and the first plan regarding establishing an industrial design programme, itself at METU (Er, Korkut, and Er 2003)[69]. It is obvious that foreign aid programs added new layers to the ideological and political context of industrialisation and consumption. However, the real fruition of public demand for Western style consumption took place when social, political, and economic circumstances finally matured in the 80s. Orçan (2004: 239) argues that this period is characterised by the emergence of "*consumer ideology*" in Turkey. In line with the increasing popularity of Westerner consumption, shopping spaces become modernised. In the 70s, for instance, supermarkets started to appear; the 90s saw the first shopping malls. As of October 2014, there are 342 shopping malls across Turkey, with 16 opening just

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69   METU has recently been ranked 7th among the top 15 design schools in America and Europe, winning the spot in the Red Dot Design Ranking 2014 (Acar 2014).

since 2013. There are 112 malls in Istanbul, the cultural and economic heart of Turkey, alone (*Milliyet* 2014).

Today, this consumer ideology in Turkey embraces not only pro-Western circles of society, but also the proponents of the recently-risen Islamist movement that promotes an anti-Western ideology with explicit political and cultural agendas. In this vein, one can argue that the consumerism in Turkey is able to accommodate even contesting ideologies in a way demonstrating the wide acceptance and adoption. Alongside with a politicisation process, Islam became commodified in the 80s and 90s (Sandikci and Ger 2001). The growth of the faith-based halal market in Turkey, for example, illustrates how the Islamist movement in Turkey adopts consumption as a social platform where anti-Western ideals are marketed and negotiated. In contrast to the claims that categorise Islam as "anti-modern and anti-market", the growing halal market in Turkey provides Islamists with an ideologically favourable "consumptionscape" where theology serves to appropriation of "modernism and capitalism" (Izberk-Bilgin 2013: 51). As Islamism converges with consumerism in a way reinforce each other, an ever-widening section of society embraces consumption in the formation of societal ideals even though their ideological affiliations may seem contradictory at first sight.

This is no coincidence that contesting ideologies in Turkey find their way to reach people in consumerist forms. The emergence of consumer ideology in the 80s may seem to indicate that such consumerism is not mature enough to engage with the kind of remediation that I am proposing in this chapter. As noted above, however, consumerism in fact has quite a deep history in Turkey. As the elites and non-Muslim communities founded the pillars of the Westerner consumer culture in ideologically expressive ways, consumption has gained wide recognition over generations as a socio-cultural activity by wider segments of society, even if they were not able to thoroughly participate for economic or social reasons. The recent growth of the halal market highlights how consumerism effectively penetrates into the very heart of emerging social dynamics. Hence, engaging cultural strategies when contemplating projects to curb fast and wasteful consumption may well be an effectively operational idea for Turkey.

Another aspect that should be considered in terms of the emerging market factor is the booming tourism sector, as businesses leverage consumption rates. Tens of millions of foreign consumers form a critical factor that should be considered in the sustainable development of the economy and slow down of consumption. In this sense, the growing touristic interest in the Grand Bazaar runs parallel to a more general boom in tourism in Turkey, one that has in recent years grown at a faster rate than the global average. The number of foreign tourists rose from 27 million in 2009 to 34.9 million in 2013 (Ministry of Culture and Tourism). Turkey aims to enter the list of the top five countries in terms of tourism revenues by 2023, the 100th anniversary of the Declaration of the Turkish Republic (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2007). The government is also seeking to increase the tourism sector's

contribution to the national GDP in 2012 from 32.3 billion USD to a level exceeding 60 billion USD by 2023. Beyond the monetary context, tourism is the second largest employment provider after the public sector in Turkey, accounting for 9% of Turkey's employment. Since 2015, the Turkish tourism industry has been experiencing a considerable decrease in the number of foreign touristic visits due to increasingly volatile regional conflicts in the Middle East and related security problems in Turkey. However, despite their significant impact on the sector, such problems should be seen as temporary obstacles that do not hamper the real potential of tourism. For instance, the government has been offering specific incentive programs and policies to support investment, reduce tax rates, utility prices, and bureaucratic barriers to touristic enterprises (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Investment Support and Promotion Agency 2013).

Communication strategies, to this end, rely on a marketing approach with a specific promotion focus on the "cultural diversity" of Turkey. This illustrates a recent shift in the marketing and operational orientation from previous emphases on the natural riches of Turkey (called sea-sand-sun trio tourism) to cultural values and experiences. Launched in 2014, Turkey's first branding campaign, the global "Home of" concept, reflects this strategy to its full extent. In the campaign, the unchanging main by-line "Home of" is coupled with variable texts as a second by-line that expresses Turkey as the starting point of distinguished historical, religious, and cultural phenomena, concepts and constructs. In this vein, along with photographs, some poster slogans include "Home of Christianity" and "Home of Rumi", stressing today's Turkey's role as the geography accommodating the early phases of Christianity, and life of the famous Islamic Sufi mystic scholar and poet Rumi. Hence, what draws tourists to Turkey has been changing from a focus on its basic natural riches to more sophisticated cultural experiences that depend on a great variety of distinguished cultural and sacred qualities. In this light, the previous chapter's suggested strategy aiming to design authentic arts and craft experiences in a setting of sustainability transformation fully corresponds to emerging touristic interests as well as to Turkey's main tourism strategy. The related design projects, in this sense, may be able to catch greater touristic attention and also benefit from the supportive means of the existing branding campaign.

In sum, Turkey's specific "consumption-oriented" economic growth and consumer spending rates are alarming signs in terms of the rapid adoption of Western consumption patterns. The dramatic rise of greenhouse gas emissions, in addition, demonstrates the urgent need for intervention. However, the growing appetite for consumption, as shown by the rapid rise of malls all around Turkey and advertising investments, necessitates a careful strategy that shall avoid consumer and business interest conflicts. In light of these conditions, Turkish economic conditions can be suitable for the adoption of this research's transformation strategy, one translating consumer aspirations to product longevity and new business opportunities. At this stage, the established consumer culture in the socio-political scene can facilitate the implementation of the desired

strategy by means of transformation, such as the introduction of a sustainability identity in the bazaar. What strengthens the feasibility of the above suggested project for the bazaar is also the recent, and successful, tourism agenda, one that prioritises experiences of "cultural diversity" of Turkey. The project's suitability to touristic trends and the national tourism agenda generates new potentials that can take advantage of existing channels and possible governmental incentives.

After all, the general status of the emerging market characteristics of Turkey stress the need and mature social, economic, and cultural grounds for the implementation of a design heritage management strategy that is inspired by the Finnish case. As the next step, I would like to focus on the status of the design profession in Turkey in order to assess its intellectual and operational capacities and whether they are strong enough to implement the strategy in academic, public, business, and governmental domains.

Design's background and popularity in Turkey

Design has experienced in recent times quite a rapid popularisation in Turkey. As its role and importance can be traced to different sectors, there are persistent structural problems, such as in industry, due to Turkey's relatively late recognition of design's importance. Presenting highly detailed data, I would like to point out that the current level of design capacities in Turkey promise rapidly maturing grounds for this chapter's suggested design heritage management strategy. Moreover, it is my argument that translation of arts and craft capital to design heritage in Turkey could help to support developing design capacities across academic, public, and business sectors.

The academic sector is the most illustrative example, expressing the popularity of design as a profession. The first industrial design programme was introduced by the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in 1971; since then the number of design programmes has increased with an accelerating pace, with a particular intensity in the 2000s. The year 2007, for example, saw three foundation universities (Okan University, Haliç University, and Işık University) establish industrial design programmes. In 2013, with the inclusion of Özyeğin University, the number of undergraduate programmes in industrial design reached 25 in Turkey (Resmi Gazete 2014). Besides the industrial design programmes, Turkish universities provide 35 graphic design undergraduate programmes, as well as 25 fashion and textile design programmes (Resmi Gazete 2014).

The increasing popularity of design departments in Turkey can be linked to the above-mentioned economic growth and the related growth in the scale of Turkish industry. This can be observed in the jump in value of national exports, which increased almost 6 times between 2000 and 2013, jumping from 28 billion USD to nearly 152 billion USD (TÜİK 2014b). However, the national export figures can be deceptive in assessing the qualifications of the industries. Turkey's innovation performance figures, for instance, remain in the lowest category among European countries,

as a "modest innovator", way below the European Union average despite steady improvement since 2006 (European Commission 2014). In the same line, analysing the relationship between design education and industry, Turkey remains behind in terms of critical industrial and design capacities ranging from the provision of intellectual properties to development of new business fields (Erkarslan 2013). As research and development investments remain insufficient, industry fails to provide adequate positions to designers. When it comes to SME's operating in the apparel and footwear industry, one of the major Turkish industries, there is a lack of understanding linking design and business success (Berk 2009).

A similar lack of understanding is also present in the policy making mechanism such as in the context of intellectual property protection in design. For example, despite the growing number of industrial design registration applications to the Turkish Patent Institute, the growth does not necessarily offer a sign of new product development. Companies use design registration to kill competition due to faulty execution of intellectual property protection (Suluk and Er, Ö. 2012).[70] These contradictions may be explained by the slow recognition of design's capacities on the part of the state and the country's industries, in contrast to the strength by which design has been embraced within Turkish academies.

For example, Cinar (2006: 7) has written that "[…] in Turkey neither governmental nor non-governmental design support was given to industry. Not surprisingly, in the Turkish government's agenda design is not accepted as a profession." It was as late as 2008 that an official financial program to support the establishment and promotion of design and innovation culture in Turkey was given legal status (Resmi Gazete 2008). Following this, a new subsidisation program that included a design section was launched in 2010 for SMEs (KOSGEB 2010). SMEs are important players in the Turkish business environment since they covered, for example, 99.8% of total industry and business establishments in Turkey as of 2012. However, their contribution to the export figures of 2013 remained 59.2% (TÜİK 2014c). In order to increase design awareness among SMEs and to establish networks between these enterprises and designers, Istanbul Technical University and the Istanbul Chamber of Industry have been running the "Design for SMEs" program since 2003 (see Kobiler için Tasarım).

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70   The number of applications rose from 10.622 in 2000 to 45.091 in 2013. The Turkish-origin applications outnumbers foreign applications greatly as, for example, the Turkish-origin applications reached43.626 in 2013 (Turkish Patent Institute 2014). This performance in 2013 carried Turkey to the 4th rank in the Intellectual Property (IP) filing in designs among 100 countries both in the categories of resident and total (resident and abroad) IP filing activities by origin, according to the World Intellectual Property Indicators (World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) 2014). According to WIPO statistics, Turkey ranked 3rd in the international industrial design registration Hague System, after the European Union and Switzerland, among 20 designated Hague members in 2013 (WIPO 2014).

These kinds of projects may not be expected to stimulate changes overnight in terms of engaging the mindsets in the industrial mechanisms of SMEs. However, the above financial design support program for SMEs seems to be gaining in popularity, as between 2011 and 2013 a number of "design companies", "design offices" and various associations were granted nearly 8 million TL (the equivalent of 2 million Euros [2017]) (Resmi Gazete 2014). In 2016, financial design support was extended both in scope and scale including tax reduction options for companies entitled as "design centres" (Resmi Gazete 2016).[71] The year 2003 marked the beginning of efforts by the Turkish Exporters Assembly (TIM) to gain public funding in order to implement the first design support program exclusively for textile and clothing industries. In the same year, TIM also paid for efforts to establish a Design Council of Turkey with the cooperation of Industrial Designers' Society of Turkey (ETMK) and industrial design schools (Er 2009). Moreover, gaining legal status in 2012, "Turkey's Export Strategy and Action Plan for 2023" adopted design as one of several critical instruments, alongside others like branding and market diversification, adopted with the intent of boosting Turkish exports (Resmi Gazete 2012). The Plan, laid out publicly by the Ministry of Economy and TIM, ambitiously aims to increase Turkey's export volume to 500 billion US Dollars by 2023, taking up a 1.5% share of the world's trade and becoming one of the world's 10 largest economies. To this end, the export strategy introduces 72 actions, some of which involve design as an asset. Action number 12, for example, presents a special strategy and action plan focusing on developing a comprehensive design development agenda alone. With the official announcement of this plan in 2014, in line with an ambitious export strategy, a larger and advanced set of improvement plans has been framed in five operation fields that cover 34 actions on design-related issues. These vary from policy making and state grants, to public awareness campaigns and the establishment of coordination among academic and industrial actors as well as public institutions and professional associations (Resmi Gazete 2014).

Despite the industry's problems in the employment of up-to-date design qualities and Turkey's relatively belated introduction of a national design agenda, the growth of exports seems to have had a parallel effect on the use of design. In the design-intensive furniture industry, for example, Turkish companies managed to increase their export rate eight times in a decade, climbing from the rank of the world's 26th biggest furniture exporter to the 13th. In a single year, 2014, the volume of furniture exports increased by 10%. By 2023, the industry aims to reach the 5th rank globally, with a 10 billion USD export volume, according to Ahmet Güleç (Dünya Ekonomi Politika 2015).[72]

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71   According to the policy mechanism, in order to be eligible to become a design centre, a company must employ at least 10 design personnel.

72   This information was cited by Ahmet Güleç in his welcoming speech to the Istanbul Furniture Fair held over 26–31 January 2015. Ahmet Güleç is the chair of the board of the Union of Furniture Industrialists and Businessmen Association (MOSFED).

The furniture industry's success echoes across different industries as well, the 2000s, for example, witnessed the rise of international recognition and achievements of Turkish designers and companies. The Turkish bathroom products and tiles brand VitrA can be shown one of the examples that developed its brand recognition from a local status to a global one through engaging industrial design as a strategic tool (Topaloğlu and Er Ö. 2010). International recognition of Turkish designers can be measured by their success at the Red Dot Awards. In each 2013 and 2014, for example, VitrA won two Red Dots (VitrA and VitrA). In 2013, Turkey's two biggest durable consumer goods and electronics manufacture brands, Arçelik and Vestel, received a total of 12 (9 + 3 respectively) Red Dot awards (Arçelik A.Ş. 2013; Vestel Elektronik ve Sanayii Ticaret A.Ş. 2013). This success continued in the following years too. In 2016, for example, Arçelik won 5 Red Dot awards (*Milliyet* 2016).

When it comes to national design competitions, there are currently 13 industrial design competitions of which the oldest competition's first implementation dates back only to 2005. (Resmi Gazete 2014). The biennial Design Turkey Industrial Design Awards, initiated in 2008, for example, is one of the most prestigious design competitions, implemented as part of the Turquality Project that aims to establish competitive national brands (see Republic of Turkey Ministry of Economy). The competition is implemented in two categories: product and conceptual design awards. As the latter is open to international applications, the competition receives international recognition through endorsements by the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (see ICSID).

These recent developments in the industrial and business environments resonate also at the public level, by means of special design events. The oldest event, Istanbul Design Week, goes back to 2005. The week serves as an international platform where, as an annual organisation, designers, design students, companies, and design enthusiasts are provided with activities including workshops, seminars, conferences, and exhibitions (see Istanbul Design Week). The Istanbul Design Biennial is another major event that has been able to generate a lot of interest at national and international scales since 2012. The second Istanbul Design Biennial had over 100.000 visitors between 01 November and 14 December 2014 (Özgentürk 2015). This is an important number showing the rapidly growing public interest in design and design culture, particularly when considering that the biennial has only a two-year history.

Another example demonstrating design in the public consciousness is the Design Atelier Kadiköy (TAK), named after one of Istanbul's most populated districts, with 500 000 residents as one of the milieus around Istanbul home to the burgeoning middle class. Founded in 2013, it aims to establish a platform to bring together designers, local residents, and supporters in order to find solutions to Kadiköy's spatial problems. The organisation is formed by three main collaborators: the Kadiköy Municipality, the design consultancy company, Kentsel Strateji, and the civil society institution, ÇEKÜL. TAK works mainly on a voluntary support basis, facilitating collaboration between Kadikoy residents, municipal officials, and professional and

student designers. Residents can participate in open access reviews of plans at differ-ent stages of production such that their ideas can be considered by the officials and designers working on the project. By means of these procedures, they have access to professional designers and design students who can consider the feasibility of the ideas and implement those that make sense within projects. In 2013, for example, TAK announced 12 programs that invited Kadiköy residents to collaborate with design projects involving a wide section of creative activities, from increasing the brand value of Kadiköy through product design, to restructuring selected Kadiköy boulevards and public spaces (TAK 2014). TAK's empowering co-productive urban projects suggests that the contemporary Turkish design agenda involves a level of maturity in design awareness developing among public.

As I have shown above, Turkey is rapidly gaining ground across all related sectors in design. This development has been noticed and analysed in the academic design literature. Employment of such analysis and the categories involved may have implications for future adopters of my own research strategy in pursuit of design heritage management in different emerging market contexts. These categories may help to adopt a common language and methods of analysis furthering design capaci-ties among different researchers. The categorisation that I propose depends on Er's (1997) study of a stage-based conceptual model. Adopting the latter study's terminol-ogy, Özcan (2009) claims that by the end of the twentieth century, Turkey's academic actors initiated an "Embryonic Phase", where industrial design develops as a concept but fails to achieve momentum as an established activity in industrial environments.

However, analysing developments from 2000 onwards, Özcan continues by noting that Turkey's case can be expected to reach more advanced stages as conceptualised in Er's model, including the "Take-off Phase", where design becomes a part of corporate strategies and competitive national programmes. In Er's own assessment of 2009, however, the "Embryonic Phase" in Turkey was in fact passed over in the 60s and 70s; since then, following a struggle over "Emergence", "Stagnation", and "Re-emergence" phases, Turkey has already commenced the "Take-off Phase" as of 2001, due to global and national circumstances involving political, economic, and cultural aspects. These aspects, including increasing globalisation, Turkey's membership in the EU's customs union, as well as the 2001 national financial crisis leading to the collapse of the Turkish market, resulted in the growing adoption of design among Turkish companies as a means of strengthening their competitive forces in the international market arena. In this vein, Balcıoğlu and Emgin (2014) observe that since 2005, which marked the end of the "Take-off Phase", Turkey entered the "Consolidation Phase" where Turkey has increasingly become subject to the global interest of design-related sectors in line with increasing national economic, cultural, and academic capabilities.[73]

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73   Balcıoğlu and Emgin (2014) identify the "Take-off Phase" as starting in 1995 with Turkey's involvement in the EU's customs union.

Recent developments concerning design's status, as I have summarised above, including governmental strategy setting and policy making in the service of design support and promotion, the growing interest of SMEs in design subventions, the popularity of design among the public, and IP filing activities, suggest that design will continue to mature in the 2010s. These recent steps are impressive since as a case of late and rapid industrialisation, Turkey adopted an export-based industrial model through economic liberalisation as late as the 1980s. It was in the 90s that companies started to transition from an equipment manufacturer (OEM) export base to an original design manufacturer (ODM) strategy, within which design becomes an effective tool for differentiation and market advantage (Er 2009). However, lacking a natural socio-economic and political growth path in Europe, design and industry's development in Turkey is still trying to overcome historically-grounded problems that go back to Ottoman periods as Turks failed to adopt the competitive dynamism of revolutionary industrialisation within both intellectual and cultural domains.

This does not mean, however, that Turkey lacks a form of industrial heritage. Ranging from the inauguration of factories to industrialisation regulations, the Ottomans showed commitment to industrialisation in the 19th century in response to the domination of Western actors, particularly the British, over the entire Ottoman economic and political landscape. For instance, ambitious participation in successive World Exhibitions and the establishment of the first ever national public exhibition in 1863 were key industrial promotion events in which the Ottoman state participated. Through these, the influences of industrialisation trickled through to tradesmen, artisans, and eventually to the public. Participation in the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, for example, was an opportunity not only for an international presence on the part of Ottoman industry, but also to develop a "[…] critical self-examination and reassessment, both in terms of production systems and the products of industry, and the national identity" (Turan 2009: 77). In 1855, despite the problems of being involved in the Crimean War, the empire was able to participate in the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, showing off approximately 2000 of the Empire's products (Küçükerman and Mortan 2008). In the International Exhibition of 1862, unlike in previous exhibitions, the Ottoman participation included industrial products alongside traditional products and raw material. However, the exhibition also served to reveal a large technology and know-how gap between Western and Ottoman industries (Küçükerman and Mortan 2010).

Hence, despite such efforts, when it comes to the era of the modern Republic a legacy of industrial weakness, including a weak bourgeoisie, is of note. This has prevented private industrial investments from establishing and developing creative activities, instead focusing on easier tasks such as assembling imported parts (Cem 2007). Besides the character of private investment, there is also the character of state policies in terms of causes in the delay of design's emergence in education and practice to the end of the 20th century, such as the state's monopolistic approaches to industry and agriculture (Özcan 2009). Only after abandoning ISI policy at the

turn of the 80s, and the introduction of an export-oriented industrialisation model has there been the stimulus required for the emergence of new industrial actors. The need for designers that will be facilitated as the transition to the ODM export stage proceeds.

However, what Özcan (2009: 284) concludes also involves the factor of "globalization and multifaceted internal and external developments" that have facilitated Turkey's recent rise in industrial design due to "the foundations embedded in the adoptive culture and geography" of Turkey. Hence, despite the overarching historical disadvantage of under-industrialisation as well as to periodical problems, (such as the 1999 earthquake, that shook the country's financial and economic heart, and the 2001 national financial crisis) Turkey has been able to engage its core cultural assets towards a sense of development in design that embraces contemporary global dynamics.

In this context, the Turkish historical legacy does not only involve under-industrialisation, but rather, from a broader perspective, a rich aesthetical and cultural background in forms of traditions and customs. This capital very much suits Özcan's mention of "foundations" and brings us to the topic of heritage and its management in the service of a sustainable society. Hence, despite the historical shortcomings of underindustrialisation, the Turkish design profession possesses rapidly developing intellectual and operational capacities in academic, public, governmental, and business domains. New design policies, for example, connected to the 2023 strategy, promise potential monetary incentives for design investments in the bazaar as an addition to tourism incentives. I have highlighted some key indicators showing that Turkish design may be able to translate arts and craft capital to heritage in feasible ways. Moreover, the implementation of the suggested project can help to support these capacities further with the project's focus on the employment of cutting-edge design understandings and innovation.

As a next step, I would like to analyse Turkish consumer culture with regards to emerging consumer aspirations that could be engaged in the suggested heritage management project.

The "Memory Boom" in the Turkish market and design

This section will focus on the ideological character of the current Turkish consumer culture. In doing so, I would like to adopt Winter's (2006) term "memory boom", that was defined in the second chapter. The term is useful in describing today's generations' popular and distinctive consumer interests in the past. In this sense, the term may be engaged to provide insight into the present consumer boom and its ideological aspects in Turkey. Turkey's unique social and political characteristics bind the memory boom with a consumerist framework where Turkish consumers increasingly identify themselves with a pre-modernist historical and ideological

framework. Understanding related consumer aspirations is important since they may be employed in the heritage management project. Moreover, the Turkish memory boom may address a unique opportunity that could play an essential role for the implementation of transformation in the Grand Bazaar, as I will outline in the next section.

In this sense, Turkey has been undergoing its own unique memory boom as the rise of political Islam since the 90s has started to challenge the Turkish secular national identity with a conservative and populist agenda. This identity had been imposed by previous modernist, secularist, and authoritarian state policies as constitutional elements of the republic. However, when the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came into power in 2002, emerging economic and political conditions with record-breaking consumer capacities created a favourable cultural atmosphere transcending the previous ideological scheme of consumption. Supported by the introduction of conservative national culture policies, the emerging middle class started to discover new sources of fashion and distinction within the previously-excluded Turkish Islamic cultural heritage.

As I stated above, state policies and ideological agendas had been effective in the establishment of consumer culture in Turkey since the early stages of Westernisation. With the rise of consumer ideology in the 80s – the popular participation of the masses in consumer culture – it is understandable that the 2000s witnessed such an ideologically-loaded consumer boom under these changing cultural, social, economic, and political conditions. As consumers challenge the modernist and secularist national identity with a Turkish-Islamic past, this re-discovery of Turkish-Islamic identity, the memory boom in other words, has commercial and popular ramifications of concern to design and other creative disciplines. For example, popular TV soap operas, despite their historically unrealistic approach, function as a key cultural driver to stimulate popular interest into history and build an atmosphere for the new conservative psychology. This is manifested to such an extent that they have inspired the architectural concepts of new building complexes (Kahraman 2013). As these popular culture and commercial activities construct a new collective memory for the nation, related consumer aspirations may be seen as a suitable ground for the emergence of an opportunity to re-invent the Grand Bazaar in the eyes of Turkish consumers. The Akhi Myth, for instance, as described previously, may imbue the bazaar with the rich cultural and ideological framework with which these consumers can identify themselves. Accordingly, ideological values communicated in the bazaar may serve the promotion of slower modes of consumption and longevity that eventually lead to the adoption of voluntary sustainable consumer behaviour.

However, the memory boom imposes risks as it can be a catalyst stimulating commercial pragmatism and fast consumption. Does the evidence of consumer spending in Turkey related to memory raise concerns that consumer interest in the past has not been translated into an ethos of longevity? If the Grand Bazaar constitutes a microcosm for the general market approach when engaging the historical

capital in commercial forms, one would expect that there are similar authenticity and sustainability problems elsewhere when we consider consumption and the memory boom. This would mean that the rich historical arts and craft capital and related potentials serve to extend the domination of resource-intensive consumption, in strong contrast to its potentials for the promotion of longevity. Yet it would also indicate how much a heritage management program is needed in Turkey, and how a fresh approach to the Grand Bazaar could establish an example for the entire market.

The new architectural projects that attempt to display the new Turkish-Islamic identity compose a case where we can discuss how ambivalently authenticity is constructed. Kahraman (2013: 55–55), for example, is critical about the fresh public interest on revivalist attempts establish a highly "*theatrical*" approach. These include the recent re-building of past "symbolic and monumental" buildings as what he calls "*replications*". New public buildings, such as schools, imitate Turkish-Islamic architecture styles as pastiche façade treatments, receiving increasing level of criticism from the architectural intelligentsia. With an increasing pace, the urban landscape includes buildings with superficial transfers from Turkish-Islamic architectural motifs and symbols expressing a state-sponsored revivalist culture based on the new political climate.

This line of criticism may seem specific to the current AKP government and its populist architectural language. However, "*theatrical*" language and "*replications*" do not only exist in this political context. They are reflected in the public domain and in innumerable commercial products where the memory boom becomes most visible in Turkey. A striking example is the design of public post boxes currently installed on streets across Turkey by the national post and telegraph directorate following a public survey. In 2008, the directorate initiated an online survey offering 16 design options. Users were asked to vote for the model they would like to use. Nearly 33 thousand participants voted in sum. According to their votes, the option which is a small scale architectural replication of iconic Seljuq mausoleums (Kümbet), became the most popular. Other options included both modern and conventional post box designs that contain the visual language of what one would expect from the shape of a post box (NtvMsnbc 2008). However, voters chose a miniature model of monumental tomb architecture that is authentically a result of the Seljuq burial customs (see figure 6.1). Hence, besides the political manifestations of the ruling party, this example shows that there is a public demand for historical referencing despite the problematic *theatricality*. This problem is quite significant in this example involving a distinctive break of contextual integrity as the traditional repository design for the remains of the dead turns to a store of postal envelops.

Monitoring the commercial market provides a better picture since the 2000s witnessed a proliferation in product styling that is mainly recognisable through simply transferring iconic Turkish-Islamic motifs to contemporary objects. There is such a great variety in this context that such objects range from decorative ceramic tiles to even the most mundane objects, such as domestic LPG tanks. In 2012, Aygaz, Turkey's public LPG company and the leading company in the sector, started a

Figure 6.1: The post box installed due to public votes. With octagonal torso, pyramidal dome, and façade treatments, the post box is a miniaturisation of the Seljuk mausoleum architecture.

marketing campaign in which they covered small cylinder tanks of propane with stretch sleeve labels that feature the most well-known motif details of traditional İznik tiles, such as tulip and pomegranate patterns (Aygaz 2013). The label on each cylinder bears a message indicating the company's aim to support Turkey's "cultural treasure" and transmit centuries-old works of art to the future through its popularisation in Turkish households. The Aygaz is a striking example of how Iznik tiles are not only simply attached to touristic souvenirs. When it comes to establishing a link to historical capital in product styling for the domestic market, the same simplistic method of sentimental nostalgic attachment applies.

Certainly, Aygaz is not the only example of this. Another significant version of this stereotypical use of historical capital is Turkey's leading GSM network company and mobile operator, Turkcell. In 2013, when the company launched the first domestic smart phone, model T40, developed exclusively by Turkish designers and engineers, the marketing campaign emphasized the concept of the "Turkish Touch", which shaped both casing models and ringtones. The casing models display Turkish ethnic iconography such as the evil eye bead, and Turkish rug and İznik motifs, whereas the ringtones and alarms feature sounds from traditional Turkish folk instruments (Turkcell Medya 2013).

Exactly as in the case of the Grand Bazaar, the iconic Tughra is the other popular styling motif that has been reduced to a stereotypical decorative element. Tughra

is superficially applied to a great variety of products available in the national market, such as various clothing items, tea glasses, kettles, coffee cups, mugs, pens, jewellery items, prayer's beads, lighters, wrist watches, and phone casings, to name just some of them. This inflation in the use and popular appeal of historical capital is hard to be categorised as a design approach connected to historical capital preservation or heritage management. Instead, Tughra and İznik motifs represent how icons can easily become clichés as their popularity allow copying in almost all commercial contexts, from cheap souvenirs, to fast-food buffets, all of which want to build a link to history in the most simplified and simplifying way (see figure 6.2).

Aygaz's use of İznik motifs and Turkcell's interpretation of the "Turkish Touch" unfold onto an underlying desire for iconic traditional elements as they are used in the service of establishing communicative links to national identity in contemporary Turkish consumer culture. In the case of the Tughra, the variety of products from lighters to prayer beads signifies the socio-cultural need and an account of the consumer appetite that connect themselves to historical capital through possession, consumption, and social display of aesthetically distinctive motifs.

Despite this socio-cultural need and consumer appetite, none of above examples of historical referencing are powerful enough to claim any ties to sustainable consumption. In contrast, as in the case of the current tourist market operating in the Grand Bazaar, they are involved in efforts to increase sales in a way stimulating material flow.

Figure 6.2: The walls of a fast food shop just outside the Grand Bazaar are covered with İznik tiling. Once decorating important mosque s and palaces, İznik tiles have become a matter of touristic cliché.

From a cultural standpoint, they cannot be seen as design activities seeking a national design identity in the inspirational light of a long local cultural heritage. More importantly, these examples of popular motif-attaching pastiche show how the Grand Bazaar is representative of the approach of the domestic market, as well as the tourist market. In other words, natives, descendant generations of Ottoman culture, are provided with goods that offer an experience of a link to history in design in the same simplistic and stereotypical way tourists are. Nevertheless, it is critical for the purpose of this chapter, to recognise the national consumer desire for historical links in design. Moreover, there is a line of design interest that responds to this consumer desire in creative ways that could promise an emerging design intellect.

Hence, besides these examples of stereotypical pastiche, permanent valorisation in consumer culture is not constrained to a proliferating use of traditionalist motifs. Gaining popularity in the 2000s, there is also an increasing level of commercial interest by the professional design sphere in redesigning traditional products that have become identical with Turkish culture over a long time period. Keying into traditional aesthetics, this design interest is important to be fully recognised as it may establish the main ground for designer participation in the Grand Bazaar when the desired heritage project is launched. Kunter Şekercioğlu's Turkish coffee cup design "Dervish", for example, demonstrates that historical capital can be incorporated in modern design forms rather than be destined for pastiche motifs. The cup design, which received the Superior Design Award 2010 in the Design Turkey Competition, is located on a distinctive cup plate and inspired by the flying skirts of the frock (*tennure*) of whirling Sufi dervishes during the religious ceremony called "*Sema*". Referring to coffee's first popular use as a drink among Ethiopian Sufi dervishes, from long before its historical spread around the world, the design integrates the iconic flying white skirt that appears during the harmonious and repetitive circling movement into a new version embodied by the cup (Kilit Taşı Tasarım). The plate's concave and convex surfaces suggest a different cup holding position for users, changing the traditional form significantly. We see here an effective use of permanently valorised historical quality, one where the design incorporates the tennure's movement within its entire form (see figure 6.3).

Despite its successful incorporation of the cultural element, its relation with the context of kitsch remains problematic. The Mevlevi system of thought imposes a strict and all-comprehensive symbolic framework including, for example, dervishes' clothing pieces, which bear sophisticated and specific meanings. Tennure, for example, represents "*kefen*", the Islamic shroud that covers the Dervish's ego as he abandons all his earthly desires and concerns during the whirling performance, the spiritual journey towards Perfection and God. After all, the seven-centuries-old Sema bears a strong symbolism where body, mind, and heart unite in the state of utter harmony with the operation of the universe and its multiple representations. Hence, when considering this deepness of the authentic meaning of the ritual, despite the attempt to associate coffee with Sufi values due to its historical narrative, the ritual's reduction to a coffee cup remains problematic. However, it can still be perceived as

a positive sign in showing that the professional intention and creative capabilities
in design may pave the road for more authentic and innovative design attempts.
Such attempts do not necessarily embrace a straightforward translation of historical
cultural elements into concrete modern forms but in the shape of the comprehensive
experiences explained above in the context of the Akhi Myth.

Currently, the design scene is becoming richer, with similar examples of prod-
ucts that are derived from Turkish tea and coffee culture. The common characteristic
of these products common is their connection between historical aspects to existing
functions that have remained popular in living everyday cuisine and leisure rituals.
The Turkish teapot (çaydanlık) and its accessories, such as the "thin waist" tea glass,
for instance, frame the symbols that mark the distinctive qualities of Turkish society
and thus could be called "iconic" (Öğüt 2009). Other specific examples are the Turk-
ish hanging tea serving tray, the Turkish coffee cup, the Turkish coffee cooking pot
(cezve), and the traditional water pipe (nargile).[74] Most of these re-design efforts
employ a modern lens that brings the traditional style to a modern aesthetical articu-
lation, whereas some also introduce new technologies to the function of the object.
Şekercioğlu's Good Design Award 2008-winning cezve design (from that year's
Design Turkey Competition), for instance, remains loyal to the traditional oriental
lines of the coffee pot form; it changes, however, the heat source from a manually
arranged hob/fire to an inbuilt automatic electrical resistance that is engaged with a
button (see figure 6.4).

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74   These emerging examples of redesigns and pastiche have triggered academic studies in the
      design field that attempt to develop definitions and critical approaches (see Kaygan 2008,
      Balcıoğlu 2012).

Balcıoğlu and Emgin (2014) address the search for identity among Turkish designers, explaining the current landscape of Turkish design while stressing the dilemmas created by the current turbulent socio-political environment when it comes to the integration of traditional components and history as a factor in design. As the paper concludes, it remains a question yet to be answered whether the current direction of traditional aesthetics will lead to more commercialised outcomes or to a more reliable and innovative design development strategy.

With the above examples of both pastiche and more creative redesign, exotic reductionism is clearly an important challenge to the cultivation of a heritage understanding that goes beyond mere commercial ends. Yet the latter is achievable. Design Turkey's award for the Dervish design shows that this problem of reductionism has not been recognised by the jury. However, managing Turkish cultural and design heritage has to deal with the challenging question of how to employ this heritage with heavily loaded religious and traditional icons in secular consumer fields, without falling into the trap of reductionism. The problem may be explained through the concept of "transfer of consciousness". "Consciousness", in the sense indicated here, is shaped in the "mystic and religious culture", and cannot be easily transferred to "material and rational culture". As Kahraman (2013: 203) points out, such a transfer bears challenges as it requires either a sense of resignation from authentic value and meaning, or the employment of far-fetched methods. If these two cultural worlds are meant to come together in one way or another, any direct borrowing of tradition is not an available option.

For example, without knowing how to use the Ottoman script, if an artist deals with Ottoman art and Islamic calligraphy, this inevitably brings out a sense of Orientalism, as Kahraman (2013) observes in the field of art. As a growing number of Turkish artists borrow "mystic symbols" extracted from "Eastern" culture, this intro-

duces the danger that such artistic attempts may "orientalise" themselves and become "kitsch", stuck in a simple form of ornamentalism (Kahraman 2013: 204). However, tradition can be digested within the modern intellect, as he suggests. At this stage, the Akhi Myth and the heritage of the Grand Bazaar may shape a channel for the "transfer of consciousness" in designed and innovative ways, without the resignation of authentic values. Emerging understandings of authenticity, at this stage, may provide designers with diverse capacities that can strategically combine fantasy and fabrication with historically legitimated heritage elements of the bazaar. For example, "contemporary authenticity", as defined by Silverman (2015), may allow us to recognise the socially-constructive, case-specific, and dynamic nature of authenticity with consideration of the overarching powers that shape both the bazaar's market conditions and this study's proposed strategy. As I stated earlier in the third chapter, a unique definition of authenticity may be configured employing Lowenthal's (1998: 18) fabrication and fiction conceptualisation that "give our lives a lasting shape", but excluding Belk's (1990: 671) "fake and forged" objects that cannot "possibly contain the powerful memories of 'the real thing'".

Certainly, insights from brand management impose a great deal of importance on shaping the relations between an operational authenticity conceptualisation and design projects that conduct the proposed strategy. This includes, for example, Beverland's (2005) emphasis on the non-commercial appearance of authenticity assertions in the eyes of consumers. In this light, the Grand Bazaar's authenticity should not only exert a socially constructivist, case-specific, and dynamic nature, but also embrace the design and philosophical language of a "loyal friend" that cultivates "shared histories" and downplays underlying commercial ambitions. In this domain, the Grand Bazaar's sustainability commitment separate from commercial motives could function as an authentic brand attribute.

The bazaar's constitutional values of design and innovation, as well as the Akhi philosophy of societal achievement of excellence in morals, solidarity, and productivity, open up a suitable avenue to engage the "mystic and religious" tradition with today's "secular and rational" sustainability. As today's intellect addresses sustainable ends in thousands of ways, this facilitates employment of methods beyond pastiche or shallow aesthetic translations. In this vein, the suggested project for the Grand Bazaar may guide emerging design capabilities and engage the growing interest in historical capital to find innovative ways to value historical capital. The connection of such ways to the enhancement of a sustainable consumer culture is the ultimate goal of this chapter, demonstrating that the inspiration of the Finnish case can have implications in Turkey and contribute to the "common stock" of humanity.

The most crucial question is how to discover these innovative methods and ways forward. I certainly see this question as a design challenge. I have shown so far throughout this chapter that the Grand Bazaar can host such a design challenge in an effective manner through its popularity, iconicity, historical role, and connection to the Akhi philosophy. In addition, I have also shown that Turkey possesses

economic, social, and cultural characteristics to run a badly-needed heritage management project with emerging design capacities responding to consumer interests. This chapter's scope does not include a full designation of a concrete design project. Rather, I would like to make an open call to designers in the final sections of the conclusions chapter. However, before proceeding to this stage, I would like to focus on the context of collective memory and the ideological load of historical capital in Turkish consumer culture. This may shed light on the reasons why the general market in Turkey embraces a pastiche methodology that is not substantially different than the shallow touristic attitude that currently dominates the Grand Bazaar. Such insight may be crucially important when designing projects since it touches at the very foundations of collective memory in Turkey, highlighting how the pre-modernist history is employed in ideological affairs and related consumer culture. This investigation is also important as a guide to future adopters of this research's proposed strategy since many emerging markets have undergone a complex modernisation process, such as colonialism, that brings out memorial and ideological issues.

Recognising the market opportunity: the dilemmas of memory and authenticity

There are two main dilemmas that make it particularly difficult to establish products tapping into memories of the Turkey of the past in a profound way. The first is a process of deliberate social forgetting that took place during Turkish modernisation. The second is the common abusive use of historical capital for political benefit that has led to a public understanding where cultural capital is overloaded with political ideologies. Both dilemmas can be accounted for in the aforementioned shortcomings in the design and architectural fields. I would like to argue in this section that, rather than imposing additional cultural challenges, these dilemmas help to define the opportunity for the bazaar's transformation.

In order to understand the dilemma of the collective memory in Turkey, one should start with the qualities and methods of Turkish modernism. This may provide certain assistance as the main logic of Turkish modernisation aims to reject the Ottoman Classical cultural heritage and replace it with the Western. Such an attitude starts as early in the 19th century; the modern republic's cultural development proceeds on the cultural grounds of this rejection. This rejection is addressed by Kahraman (2013) with the notion of Orientalism. This suggests that the model of the modern Republic in Turkey produces a "specific epistemology" that is built on a sense of "*internalised Orientalism*" where the ideology uses a Western lens to gaze upon the culture into which it was born (Kahraman 2002: 184).

The establishment of the Turkish modern republic in 1923 ended the reign of the Ottoman Empire and converted the six-centuries-old Sunni-Islamic state into a secular, modern nation-state. Including the early attempts of the late Ottoman

period to do so, Turkish modernism is categorised as a model that seeks to perform a radical break away from the continuity of the past. In this context, Çetin (2003) shows, for example, that the Turkish model has similar dynamics with many Islamic countries. In these countries, the change towards modernism took place not due to internal societal developments and dynamics. Instead, the change proceeded through primarily top-down process dominated by a ruling bureaucratic elite.

Central to this problem could be the methodology of the revolutionary push, as the Turkish model of modernism is not defined by a genuine societal transformation, but rather by the institutions and control mechanisms of the state, which aimed to modernise Turkish society even though the subjects remained reluctant to cooperate over the course of the entire modernisation process (Çetin 2003). The radical reforms took place in the cultural, social, economic, and political spheres following the establishment of the secular republic. The secular civil code addressed the public sphere in radical ways. It converted the Ottoman social order to a modern nation citizenry with civil rights creating a national ethos centred on "contemporary civilization". Reforms based on modernist ideals extended from language and script, to appearance and the education system that challenged centuries-old complex traditional social values and customs. Sümerbank, as shown earlier, again, serves as a good example with which to illustrate how design and fashion have been effectively used to impose modernism into the interplay of private spheres, beyond legislation and institutional change.

As the new modern Turkish nationalism came to be constructed, the problematic relationship with memory shaped the perception of Ottoman cultural heritage among emerging Republic generations emerged. Kahraman (2004: 41–42) uses the term "epistemological rupture" when addressing the adoption of Western rationalism and authoritarian modernism. This contradiction progressed to a unique extent, as İhsanoğlu (2003: 55) interprets from a conservative point of view, where "Modern Turks" in fact lack the ability today to "understand" and "comprehend" their own heritage as well as to "transmit" it to future generations.

Moreover, it would hardly be to exaggerate to claim that present Turkish historical cultural capital bears a sense of "lost authenticity". This is due to a political overload that is the outcome of Turkish-Islamic historical capital's ongoing exploitation as a source of legitimacy for the cultivation of political ideologies and related social engineering.[75] Accordingly, pursuing a national authenticity and a visual identity with reference to national heritage has long been an aspirational and experimental field in Turkey. It was first implemented by modern Turkish architects. As this desire has always been politically motivated, a selective approach towards heritage was embraced as a predominant criterion. The National Architectural Renaissance, for

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75 Developing the concept of "lost authenticity", I am inspired by Kandiyoti's (2014) critical views on Turkish Modernism.

example, which appeared in the early 20th century as an "anti-Orientalist" response to the cosmopolitan styles of the Ottoman Empire, was the first "self-conscious" and "modern" architectural discourse in Turkey, as Bozdoğan (2012: 36) notes. As this movement distinctively championed Seljuk and Ottoman revivalism, it ended with the changing state model and the introduction of a secularist world view that condemns Ottoman culture and champions Turkish Nationalism. Bozdoğan and Akcan (2012: 49) explain the emerging architecture's aesthetical language through two accounts that represent the Republic's political ambitions as being based on nation building while seeking to become a competitive modern actor inspired by the West: "[…] the desired new Turkish architecture that would represent the new nation state needed to evoke both a futuristic and an archaic dimension. It had to connect simultaneously to both Western and national sources and, above all, to mediate the potential conflict between these aspirations." The architectural field took inspiration from an emerging line of studies on pre-Islamic Turkish history and folklore, aiming to legitimise the desired Turkish nationalism with an intellectual and historical root.[76]

The pursuit of an aesthetic tapping into both the future-orientation of the West and the rootedness of the national past evident in the genealogy of modern national architecture is echoed in the design field too. Sedat Hakkı Eldem, for example, a prominent figure in the "national style" of both the fields of architecture and design, sought to accomplish such rootedness by borrowing from pre-Ottoman folkloric elements, such as fabric patterns and carpet motifs, and everyday items of the Seljuks, nomadic Turkish tribes and other ancient Anatolian civilisations. Foldable mechanisms from nomadic Turks or central Asiatic carpet patterns, as well as Seljuk stonework, became historical reference points in his designs (Turan 2010). Eldem's designs have subsequently been of limited influence upon mainstream design attitudes. In fact, one of the major problems in Turkish modernism, as present in Eldem's architecture, is the overtone of national identity and the related politics that are inevitably involved (Bozdoğan 2014). Hence, these former attempts to define a national authenticity and build a heritage understanding have not been able to transcend the constrained discourses of identity politics.

Today, when one looks through this historical perspective, the proliferation of objects and architectural styling addressing Turkish-Islamic historical capital becomes more understandable. First of all, it displays the strength of Turkish consumers' aspirations with regards to national identity. Secondly, it shows the public demand for a collective memory based on a mutual historical discourse that goes beyond the limits of previous secularist politics.

Despite this demand, as the examples from design and architectural examples, these aspirations are unsatisfactorily stuck today in a nationalist and exclusivist ideo-

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76   A striking example of these studies is the "Sun Language Theory" that goes as far as to claim that Turkish was the mother of all human languages.

CHAPTER 6

logical framework. I call the narrative of this framework as *glorious Turkish-Islamic history*. In line with the populist political argument, this ideology stresses the military, technological, and cultural superiority of Turkish-Islamic history over other cultures. The ideology, first of all, legitimises the claim of the leading political party as the inheritor of this superior Turkish-Islamic heritage. Accordingly, this assigns the political actors as successors of the mythical characters of the *glorious* history.

However, resonating with the public image of the government, the *glory* of this exclusivist ideology seems to become tarnished by rising societal problems. The ideology's tight connection with a certain group of political actors hampers the ideology's validity once this group fails to succeed, for instance, in the economy or foreign relations. Such a strong political connection is a dead end since a political actor cannot be expected to be successful all the time. Hence, as rising segments of society show discontent with current policies and politicians, the ideology becomes equally weak.

In the beginning of the 2000s, the *glorious Turkish-Islamic history* ideology was able to respond to the era's opportunity, one that had been previously characterised by repressing the aforementioned secularist political context. However, over the course of a decade, this ideology has become stuck in shallow approaches that oversaturate the market. For example, TV soap operas, which played an important role in the dissemination of the *glorious Turkish-Islamic history* narrative, started to lose popularity as their "heroism" and "ethnocentrism" lost their previous audience attraction (Atay 2013). I read this TV example as shallow exclusivist and nationalist cultural proposals that cannot be maintained since they lack either a philosophical or a sophisticated mythical depth that can be sustained in the long run. Moreover, their benefits are stuck within the context of a relatively small political and commercial interest group, and fail to resonate in the greater societal context, particularly as concerns future generations. Accordingly, their proposed collective memory can only establish links with the same shallow exclusivist and nationalist context of the *glorious Turkish-Islamic history* narrative. As a result, I would like to claim that strong aspirations in the market are increasingly dissatisfied with the existing ideology and with related commercial proposals.

However, this dissatisfaction does not mean that consumer aspirations with a national history are vanishing. Rather, it addresses a new opportunity that transcends the political ambitions and exclusivist context. At this stage, such an opportunity can be recognised through the universality and inclusivity of the Turkish-Islamic cultural heritage with which consumers can identify themselves on a mutual memorial basis. Moreover, the Akhi myth and the bazaar's foundational values can shift the political context to arts and craft. This may transform the Turkish consumers' ideological affiliations' future connection from being held exclusively by political actors towards a more inclusive actor context, such as craftsmen and designers.

In this vein, I argue that the suggested *spiritual and timeless creative power of the Akhi* heritage is able to appeal not only to tourists, but also to Turkish consumers

through the communication of universal and inclusive values. The Grand Bazaar provides great potentiality as an excellent context to engage these dissatisfied consumer aspirations with the Akhi philosophy and the bazaar's connection to design and innovation. The potentiality may involve for example, construction of a sense of collective memory based on Anatolian-Turkish Art heritage and the Akhi myth. In this sense, the chapter's strategy comes to the foreground, as the longevity and tangibility of arts and craft can be used to construct memories. In other words, the omnipresent problem of heritage in Turkey, as described by İhsanoğlu (2003), can be overcome with the everyday use of craft objects across generations.

To this end, in addition to Turkish design's emerging capacities, mentioned in the above section, there is also a growing intellectual design capacity that can involve innovative strategies and pursue productive collaboration with craftsmen. This capacity deserves a special mention here since it has direct implications on the operational feasibility of the bazaar's desired transformation. What I mean by operational feasibility is a growing level of awareness among designers and architects that promises a line of innovative strategies when translating historical cultural capital into contemporary design projects. Balcıoğlu and Emgin (2014) describe such projects in a strategy framework.

> This strategy does not include appropriation of traditional objects. Instead, links to culture are made discursively rather than materially. The result is not a redesign, but a new design or a design innovation. The products deriving from such an approach either respond to a so-called traditional or cultural function or represent a traditional form through a contemporary aesthetic. (107)

Besides the growth of this strategy, the collaboration between designers and craftsmen should be mentioned once again as design research has already noted the collaboration network that I have presented in the previous chapter such as by Kaya and Yagız (2011). Moreover, the collaboration between Turkish designers and craftsmen seems to receive a growing level of academic interest. The "Crafted in Istanbul Project", for example, initiated in 2012 by Istanbul Technical University, shared an electronic map of 99 craftsmen workshops in Istanbul that aimed to reach designers and build a productive link between the two creative actors, an initiative that may lead to the revitalisation of crafts culture in Turkey (Crafted in Istanbul). When it comes to the context of formal frameworks, Paşabahçe Glass Factories can be shown as a successful example that has revived the well-known designs of the Imperial Beykoz Porcelain and Glass Factory –founded during the late Ottoman industrialisation process – and has continued producing since 1970 by means of traditional methods (Bengisu and Bengisu 2013).

Seeing this growing awareness, I can claim more confidently that the suggested *spiritual and timeless creative power of the Akhi* narrative may be able to free Turkish historical capital from political ambitions and their populist reflections. In addition,

this may also construct a mutual understanding for the purposes of promoting Turkish authenticity. This would be a critical advantage, since unlike the Finnish iconicity of modern design heritage, Turkish historical capital has become an ideologically overloaded expressive tool. Adopted by two polarised socio-political segments, *i.e.* Secularist and Islamist political positions, there needs to be a way to route around this double bind as a path towards working productively with the *real* authenticity of Turkey and Turkish culture. While supporters of secularist policies embraced the icons of the early Republic period, Islamists adopted Turkish-Islamic iconicity in competitive consumption forms allowing social display (Özyürek 2011).

I have stated above that the ideological affiliation of Turkish consumption is an advantage for Turkish consumers. This depends on the assumption that they have had the cultural experience of consumption to understand and participate when a new ideology for the bazaar is created. On the other hand, however, this imposes its own risks, since consumption of certain objects with historical capital could become a discriminatory symbol used for the ends of political and ideological affiliation. In the 80s, for instance, women's religious veils became an icon among Islamists to challenge the modernist Republics reforms with a nationalist argument that wearing the veil revitalises "Turkey's local culture [that] had been repressed through years of Westernization" (Navaro-Yashin 2002: 20). Nevertheless, Navaro-Yahin's and Özyürek's studies are important to note that consumerist practices historically constitute the shared ground for both Islamists and secularists to conspicuously display their political manifestations and social standing. The aforementioned growth of halal market in Turkey, for example, highlights how this shared ground expands. Certainly, this kind of involvement of consumption in political discourse has had strong implications on design's inevitable involvement in such political manoeuvring. A highly illustrative example is the change in the design of the emblem of Turkey's capital city, Ankara, in 1994 by the Islamist municipality. It was changed from a Hittite Sun, shaped by Modernist ideals referring to pre-Islamic civilisations, to a hybrid emblem that contains minarets and a mosque dome that refers to the Kocatepe Mosque, as its most striking visual elements (see Ersan 2007).

The above example of architectural pastiche façade treatment by means of Turkish-Islamic symbols on public buildings could be categorised within this framework as being invested with politics, signifying the continuation of socio-political tensions and the role of historical iconicity as a cultural source for political legitimacy. It is certain that this "theatricality" deepens the memory problem, moving another step away from the sense of an authentic approach to Turkish history and its cultural heritage, increasing the epistemological gap rather than filling it. Once again, in this sense, binding the sense of authenticity with the universal values of the Akhi seems to be the right tactic to overcome the problem of political overload among consumers. In this sense the suggested heritage framework of the bazaar can escape restrictive identity frameworks, such as nationality, Islam, secularity, and tradition. This can contribute to the establishment of a new epistemology through design's

involvement in arts and craft capital bridging the past and the present, and avoid a design approach to sustainable consumption being swallowed up by competing political discourses.

CHAPTER 7:

Conclusions

7.1 Conclusions

The unsustainable consumer culture continues to be one of the major contributors to the present sustainability crisis. Despite, or because of, growing environmental awareness across the globe, there is a definite gap between consumer attitude and behaviour. Alarmingly, resource-intensive Western consumption patterns are increasingly being adopted by the burgeoning middle classes of populous developing countries such as India and China. Despite the grave dangers threatening the entire global ecosystem, intergovernmental attempts have thus far failed to execute environmental policies effectively. This is best illustrated by the short history of attempts to control global climate change. Immediate conflicts of interest, such as financial losses connected to the downgrading of production levels, prevent governments from investing in long-term environmental benefits. Individuals are not so different from governments when facing a choice between immediate self-interest and greater societal good in the long run.

As shown in this thesis, design research is inherently involved in this discussion. Since the 1970s, design's role in environmental destruction has been recognised on many levels. This recognition, however, has included a certain approach that privileges design as a provider of solutions to a myriad of problems in the human environment. Hitherto, this approach has achieved great academic popularity, shaping diverse interdisciplinary and systematic frameworks for design practice and research.

This doctoral study originated from this ongoing development of design research dedicated to serving sustainable development and human welfare and which particularly responds to the above problem of consumption. The aim of this thesis was to develop a management strategy for design's historical capital in order to contribute to the transformation of unsustainable consumption patterns. Stressing design's strategic potential to turn the cultural, economic, and social drivers of the problems of sustainability into advantages, I have explored how design heritage can be employed strategically to avoid major conflicts of interest, thus allowing a feasible sustainability transformation.

To this end, I have firstly started to build a design heritage understanding that assists this study's hypothetical strategy. I have argued, for example, that heritage-related consumer interests might serve wider society by addressing the crossroads where consumer and business benefits meet the requirements of sustainability. Referring to classical heritage studies, such as Lowenthal (2005), who highlights the growing recognition of an interconnection between natural and cultural heritages, I have pointed out a potential connection between the notions of heritage and the conservation of the earth's resources and ecosystems. I have recognised the socially constructive nature of heritage thanks to Lowenthal (2005) and Harvey (2001), which has helped me to consolidate the above connection, including drawing a line between the "creative" notions of heritage and design itself. I have thus argued that contemporary sustainability concerns may shape the benefits we expect to draw from

heritage, employing our design capacities to negotiate and build a shared future on the pillars of our mutual historical capital.

Next, I expanded the above heritage connection between design and environmental protection across the political, cultural, social, and economic factors of sustainability. This enabled me to apply an interdisciplinary framework composed of corporate marketing, brand management, and tourism research disciplines to researching heritage. This framework is an essential tool not only for responding to the ever-growing managerial scope of the design discipline, but also for complying with the substantial conditions for making a sustainability transformation feasible. I have addressed the tourism sector, for example, as a networking platform to synthesise the interests of various stakeholders from the public and private sectors. In light of the existing sustainable heritage tourism examples, such as the Mimisbrunnr Climate Park network in Norway studied by Vistad *et al.* (2016), I have suggested that design heritage tourism may offer networking opportunities to connect business with local community involvement, environmental awareness raising, and scientific research.

Corporate brand heritage has received special attention demonstrating new layers of the strong and complex link between heritage branding, business interests, design, and also sustainability. Referring to a review of the relevant theories of corporate marketing and brand management, I have attempted to define the role of design heritage within corporate brand heritage. The most substantial reasons for this placement are firstly the impact of corporate brand heritage as a competitive market advantage, which I explained via studies such as Wiedmann *et al.* (2011), Hudson (2011), and Ballantyne (2006). For example, I have introduced the term "heritage brand" coined by Urde *et al.* (2007) to define companies that embrace heritage as an integral management element in brand value propositions. Secondly, I have focused on the branding literature, scrutinising the strategic capacity of brands to cultivate shared memories and collective identities that may lead to the establishment of brand communities that in turn reshape brands as social constructs. This review of branding has allowed me to suggest that brands may offer large narrative structures in which consumers can locate their personal stories. Accordingly, considering market advantages and social capacities, I have offered that corporate brand heritage may be of key importance to engaging design heritage for this study's ambitions.

An important result of the cases drawn from the marketing literature, such as Cunard cruise line's heritage branding, is the recognition of remembrance as a creative and social engagement rather than an archival system characterised with historical accuracy. Defining remembrance itself as an act of heritage, I have suggested that collective memory may be a promising cultural ground capable of enabling diverse heritage-driven design projects. Companies, for example, can employ fictitious mythological elements when exploiting heritage. Referring to Lowenthal (1998) and Balmer (2013), I have strengthened the connection between the mechanism of collective memory and heritage by stressing the subjective nature of heritage that approaches the past through a selective perspective allowing fictive interventions which

transcend the limits of factual history. I have argued that such interventions may not evoke ambiguity or inauthenticity, but rather correspond to richer design resources for creative management activities to utilise target-oriented design manoeuvres, rhetorical devices, and communication tactics in the service of sustainability. To explain this, I have referred to several studies, such as Lowenthal's (1998) articulation of heritage, which adopts fiction as the "complement" of fact rather than its "opposite". However, I have also drawn a line excluding Belk's (1990: 671) "fake and forged" objects that cannot "possibly contain the powerful memories of 'the real thing'".

Following this recognition, I have addressed the marketing literature to show how fiction can be employed by corporate brands in heritage management activities. To this end, I have referred to Hudson and Balmer's (2013) articulation of heritage categories. I have discussed the "mythical heritage" dimension, for example, to show that the consumers' interpretation of the past may achieve an imaginary level which corresponds to a fictitious "romanticised and idealised" employment of history. In this context, I have recognised the potential of popular retro operations.

Informed by current commercial examples, I have stated for example that retro is linked to a sense of consumerist amusement as it turns the past – the Old – into new experiences. A certain criticism emerges here: that such experiences circulate in the accelerated loop of change instead of marking a slowing down. This led me to acknowledge that the connection between sustainability and heritage is not spontaneous. Rather, it may require a well-calculated value proposal and sophisticated brand communication; in other words, an intentional brand and design intervention. This, however, has not forced me to exclude retro or nostalgia. Instead, given the commercial and social significance of these concepts, I have sought ways of incorporating retro in the hypothetical strategy. A certain challenge emerged in the ambiguity of retro, which evades a normative definition, a fixed meaning that is valid in all conditions. To solve this issue, referring to Belk (1990), I have stressed that retrospective fabrication of the past should stimulate a sense of authenticity if design heritage is meant to utilise memorial properties and clearly promote durable consumption. This statement necessitated the definition of authenticity in a sense that goes beyond a confined framework which merely equates authenticity with a stable historical legitimacy. I have aimed to adopt a broader understanding of authenticity that may suit the socially constructive interplay of heritage, memory, and diverse interests that define economics, consumer culture, and business contexts and outcomes including retro and nostalgia. To this end, I turned once again to the heritage tourism literature and introduced Silverman's (2015) "contemporary authenticity".

In the next section, I add the durable consumption aspect to the above memory and heritage articulation in order to fully explain how I formulated the complex network of interrelations between design heritage and sustainability. I have firstly underlined a new layer of connection between memory and the concepts that can be associated specifically with durable consumption, such as the preservation of possessions and long-lasting product attachment (Schifferstein and Zwartkruis-Pelgrim

2008; Belk 1991b). I have also pointed to the emerging perspectives that associate commercial gains with design strategies favouring product longevity (Mugge *et al.* 2005 and Verganti 2009). I have concluded that design heritage can be managed in diverse creative ways to engage the memorial qualities of artefacts and support voluntary sustainable consumer behaviour.

In proposing the heritage management strategy, I am inspired and guided by the unique temporal dimension of permanent valorisation in design. This dimension draws a close contextual synchrony with heritage in terms of "omni-temporality", a term used by Balmer (2013) to define corporate heritage identity. In the context of permanent valorisation, as I have defined, this special temporality takes on a unique position that may be seen as a bridge connecting the properties of personal and collective memories. Informed by the social memory studies, I have conceptualised collective memory as a social mechanism where narrative structures of the past that are continuously broken and then reconstructed. This has helped me to highlight memory's association with the creative human capacities that encapsulates, for example, the connection between memory and "emotions" as well as "fiction" (Belk 1991b).

In addition to the unique temporal dimension, I have chosen permanent valorisation in design for pragmatic reasons. Such valorisation offers enduring social, cultural, and economic capacities that can be utilised for synchronising relevant stakeholder interests. These capacities are well known to the design research community. However, their potential role in the promotion of a slower mode of consumption that defies novelty-based consumption patterns, remains unexplored. In pursuit to achieve a more specific conclusion, I have argued that a management strategy can promote durable consumption through combining the existing commercial and cultural popularity of permanent valorisation in design with consumerist aspirations and socially enduring values. I have suggested that these values should be important to a given society or to members of a social group and correspond to a shared pool of knowledge such as the collective memory on design. Accordingly, I have highlighted the role of culture-specific application of the proposed strategy that can be adopted in different cultural settings and may lead to the emergence of a global design heritage management methodology in the long run.

As the first sample case, I have focused on the Finnish furniture producer Artek's recent marketing and business efforts to manage the company's well-established historical capital. I have shown that the company's heritage management may demonstrate that the earlier theoretical discussions have operational value to some extent in real life. Accordingly, the Finnish case may show that consumer aspirations can be controlled or managed through the engagement of historical design capital. I have particularly shown that Artek's projects aim to situate Finnish consumers' fascination with mid-century design icons and other historic, critically acclaimed home decoration items in opposition to fashion's novelty commitment. I have stated that the Finnish case may possess the potential that leads to voluntary engagement of large sections of consumers with slower modes of consumption

while producing economic capital. Accordingly, this suggests a way to achieve more sustainable consumption patterns.

My analysis of Artek concentrates primarily on the development of the 2nd Cycle project from a public relations project to a store-based business model both in Finland and Germany. I have provided insight into how the assets of Artek's unique historical brand are employed to appeal to contemporary consumerist aspirations in order to support enduring ownership patterns that in turn strengthen and enrich these assets in a cross-feeding process. I have explained how the company achieves benefits through aligning its brand with higher ethical values of environmental consciousness via the buy-back-for-resale programme. I have demonstrated, for example, how this programme encourages durable consumption and generates marketing opportunities through communicating the qualities of Artek products, including the brand new models. I have shown how sustainability awareness is built and how culture-specific values, such as Finnish national values, are positioned in such a way as to defy the commitment to novelty of fast fashion. I put emphasis on the company's mediating role to transfer and reproduce collective memory via the management of design heritage. I have also presented 2nd Cycle as a representative business model of a profit-making case that can serve as an example for other furniture companies seeking to develop and manage a sense of heritage from long-standing models.

A related research contribution of this doctoral study is the 2nd Cycle project's implications for Finnish consumer and design culture stressing specific cultural characteristics. The project may function as a sample case for scaling up the desired management strategy across different cultures. To this end, I focused on the current image of design heritage and permanent valorisation in design as perceived by Finnish consumers and younger generations of designers. I have argued that Artek's distinctive sustainability agenda may transform the symbolic features of Finnish iconic design, transforming an archaic and elitist market image to an inclusive, sustainable, and forward-looking one. This transformation includes, for instance, the historically significant myths of creative genius and design hero currently being exploited, as 2nd Cycle customers are uniquely motivated and empowered to join the hero myth through an appreciation of enduring ownership patterns. I have suggested that this transformation may lead to the emergence of new heroes and geniuses of twenty-first-century design among empowered consumers who consume responsibly and care about sustainability.

Inspired by the heritage management case of Artek in Finland, I have attempted to adapt a management programme for Turkey as a demonstration that the Finnish case can be scaled across different cultures. I focused on Turkey as a test case in order to explore the possibilities of cross-cultural application in an emerging market with a culturally distinctive arts and craft tradition that is witnessing alarmingly increasing consumption levels.

7.2 Principles of Scalability: common Stock for Design Heritage Management

Stressing that Turkish heritage can serve sustainable ends in a way similar to the way that it has in Finland, in this section, I would like to derive a set of principles for cross-cultural application. In doing so, I seek to demonstrate that the Finnish case can be scalable across the globe by means of contributing to the global common stock. I also seek to sharpen a lens showing how to change existing, unproductive conceptualisations of history and build up a new perspective to help conceive of an historical authenticity that would be immune to political and commercial abuse across the globe.

In developing this set of principles, I further seek to demonstrate that the adaptation of the Finnish case may result in the provision of sustainable development by means of harnessing a culture's unique characteristics through the management strategy adapted. In Turkey, for example, I argue that this research and the management strategy it promotes can contribute to the reconstruction of dilemmas over national authenticity and collective memory by means of a de-politicised heritage understanding. As I argue further, the strategy may also contribute to the safeguarding of the monumental Grand Bazaar, a place currently encountering pressing problems. Most importantly, the strategy may facilitate the promotion of slow consumption in pursuit of the cultivation of voluntary behavioural change on the part of consumers. Consequently, the Turkish context, understood as being inflected by the Akhi institution and the iconic Grand Bazaar, spells out the potential for a culture-specific design heritage management such that the principal aspects of the Finnish case may suggest a level of feasibility for other cultures. Furthermore, the Turkish case, with its conceptualisation and methodology, may become exemplary for planners and decision-makers in other emerging markets bearing similar patterns of economic development, consumer culture, and modernisation. These patterns may include historical backgrounds with comparable issues related to collective memory and national authenticity.

In the light of the analysis of the Finnish case and its theoretical adaptation in Turkey, I summarise a list of principles below that can be pursued in operations in different countries that are similar enough for successful cross-cultural adaptation:

1. The feasibility of a transformation to sustainability necessitates avoiding significant interest conflicts with commercial actors. The management of a deeply-rooted cultural heritage in a given society should cherish existing business mechanism(s) and consumer aspirations as key aspects of strategies leading to sustainable consumption.

2. The management strategy should employ culture-specific historical qualities in order to cultivate desired consumer behaviour with a design methodology in opposition to structural unsustainability, such as fast fashion.

3. These historical qualities should be embodied by permanently valorised mediators that have a strong position in the collective memory of the society. In this context, the depth of history and its relation to a particular heritage product, such as an icon, depends on the characteristics of the society and culture.

4. These mediators shall be assigned with significant roles in the consumer narratives that lead to the creation and communication of the desired design or arts and craft mythology. These myths shall be produced from scratch or modified in order to link collective memory to the desired ideology. A richer myth has the advantage of allowing for the management of slightly different versions of the myth – the narratives – that can be targeted towards different specific consumer groups.

5. With the presence of ever-changing social phenomena, the link between collective memory and mythology must be constantly refreshed. This may lead to the gaining of capacities to attach up-to-date values to icons or brands in a way that re-modifies design myths.

6. Cross-cultural scalability necessitates case-specific managerial tactics for the implementation of the desired strategy. This may include local community participation. Depending on the scale and context of the case, implementation may be initiated with a controlled number of local community collaborators via an internal learning process regarding design myths. With the "action-based growth" tactic, project-based hierarchical expansion can be carried out ladder by ladder, including external actors and financial layers that will diversify and complexify the strategy. At advanced levels, a special governing body should be founded to lead strategy implementation and to synthesise stakeholder interests in a committee management system. The ultimate aim should be the "empowerment" of the local community so that it can run the strategy via established projects in a self-organised, resilient, and systematic fashion.

In my attempt to demonstrate the potential for the adaptation of a design heritage management approach, first of all, I have shown that Turkey is an emerging market that constitutes fertile ground for such an approach due to its growing disposable income and adoption of consumer culture by ever-widening segments of society. This "consumer-oriented" economy clearly necessitates a special approach to slow consumption without violating mainstream consumer aspirations and economic interests. In pursuit of a fundamental, steady, and long-term approach to social change, asking people to simply stop will clearly conflict with these now deeply-held aspirations and interests, and thus won't be operative. Turkey's rapidly increasing greenhouse

gas emissions, however, highlight the urgency for substantial change in consumption behaviours. Hence, the strategy, emerging from the hypothesis, is highly applicable as a means of executing the desired change from within the consumerist model, turning the cultural, economic, and social drivers of the problems of sustainability in a world of consumption into an advantage. In light of Artek's case, I have suggested that the Turkish context may provide a suitable climate to carry out an adaptation of the Finnish strategy of engaging historical capital despite the fundamental social, cultural, heritage, and mythological differences between the two milieus.

Besides economic factors, I am able to make this claim due to the rich historical capital of arts and craft that depends on a deep cultural reservoir that dates back thousands of years. This reservoir could be subject to the promising operational and intellectual capacities in academic and professional design fields in Turkey. As I have reported, a growing design awareness among public, governmental, and industrial actors facilitates the adaptation of a special heritage management to the Turkish context. Moreover, as evident in its popular culture, the atmosphere of the Turkish memory boom highlights distinctive consumer aspirations with regards to historical capital that can be engaged by design activities and used to cultivate particular consumer behaviours.

However, this, first of all, necessitates a conceptualisation of the complex history that focuses it into a distinctive concept in order to translate it into a definable form of heritage. Unlike the Finnish design heritage context, when contemplating the Turkish case, I was in the midst of a great variety of uncertainties due to the historical scale and complexity of subjects involved. In order to address a definite category, I have adopted Kuban's concept of Anatolian-Turkish Art as the homogenous and characteristic Turkish art representing centuries of cultural accumulation and synthesis. I have suggested that the Akhi brotherhood, as the institution representative of Anatolian-Turkish Art, could be the anonymous actor of a consumer myth for Turkey. In pursuit of mythologisation, I have stressed the Akhi's organisational and moral capacities as a wide cultural ground that could help to establish a renewed Turkish design heritage in the service of sustainability. I have stated that the Akhi philosophy and its teachings, synthesising mystic and humanist values, and integrated in a societal development framework, could be creatively linked to today's understanding of sustainability in the form of design heritage. The distinctive visuality of Islamic Mysticism, in addition, may provide the Akhi myth with a reservoir of well-known cultural components and practices that might facilitate the phases of construction of an arts and craft myth in Turkey, as well as its visualisation and communication. This has important practical consequences, since the dearth of modern signs and the cultural reasoning wrapped around the valorisation of anonymity on the part of Akhi philosophy requires a different kind of visualisation than that of the Finnish case, whose myths are represented by well-known design persona with distinctive faces.

In search of the means of establishing a specific mythology, given such contrasting cultural and ethical frameworks, I have first recognised the Akhi's key environ-

ment, the marketplace, as a space where the mystic dimensions of the Akhi belief system blend with the secular circles of production, consumption, and trade. The marketplace provides an ideal opportunity to combine the Akhi myth with everyday behaviours of production and consumption. In this context, I have accepted the marketplace as the spatial iconic element where design heritage projects can be implemented. What shapes this acceptance is the market place's deep-rooted place in Anatolian civilisations, including that of the Hellenistic era, as a central component of urban life, trade, and production. In this vein, the marketplace provides both a physical space and conceptual framework to operationalise the inclusivity of the Akhi myth and to assign new roles to today's actors such as designers, consumers, entrepreneurs, and craftsmen. In light of this research's main principles, of a search for feasibility and efficiency in a transformation towards sustainability, the marketplace functions as a key facilitator where all actors of production, trade, and consumption interact. This interaction can be translated to a synergy employing these diverse actors in the service of adopting positive roles and volunteer behaviour in favour of sustainable consumption.

As the particular permanently valorised medium of the sustainability strategy I am advocating for the Turkish milieu, I have chosen Istanbul's monumental Grand Bazaar, the most iconic marketplace in Turkey. Besides its special place in my personal memory and that of the cohort that I belong to middle class Turks, the bazaar is a highly popular touristic locale. This character highlights the potentials of the Grand Bazaar specifically since the bazaar, as a globally known icon, can promote sustainable consumption behaviour at a global scale. Currently, tourism is a driver of some of the main problems that the bazaar currently faces, as I have described by means of the data collected through my ethnographic work. However, I have argued that the touristic interest in the bazaar should also be seen as an invaluable element that would enable the gaining of momentum in the initial processes of the desired heritage management strategy. In this vein, I have argued that tourism is not an obstacle towards the desired objectives; if managed well, in fact, it may facilitate the implementation of the strategy as a crucial business driver that can be transformed towards the strategy's purposes. In this vein, tourism could be the very engine of the strategy when launching the transformation of the bazaar, its recuperation to be addressed as a design challenge.

What is needed here is the adoption of design thinking that could for example, replace selling stereotypical goods produced somewhere else, with selling the experience of the Akhi myth in carefully designed ways. These ways may involve a great diversity of appropriate design methods that engage local crafts production or a recycling of previous goods as mediators of the bazaar's memory, tactics inspired by the Finnish case. In this context, the Akhi myth provides universal cultural content that can appeal to people irrespective of ethnicity or national factors. The particular heritage of Court Artisans, for example, is represented in the Topkapı Palace Museum with a collection based on a great variety of products from humble everyday objects

to priceless treasures accumulated across the centuries. This collection may play a great role in visualising the conceptual organisation of the Akhi Myth as an alternative to the visual elements of Islamic Mysticism. A product-oriented visualisation may bring up advantages to express the Akhi Myth in a design heritage understanding. For example, in addition to philosophical sophistication, the sophistication of their products and crafting skills is definitely a key feature within the promotion of the Akhi Myth.

Depending on tourism only, however, to the exclusion of domestic consumers, cannot be seen as a sustainable way to carry out heritage management. Hence, I have also focused on the domestic market and the use of historical capital in the commercial market to be oriented domestically. In the context of the memory boom, for example, I have suggested that the popular circulation of historical capital in the domestic market could be an advantage in terms of implementing the strategy, despite the political and commercial pragmatism that predominates. For example, Turkish consumers increasingly identify themselves with the pre-modernist historical and ideological framework of the Turkish-Islamic past. As consumers challenge the politically-imposed modernist and secularist national identity, powerful ideological aspirations are emerging as drivers in their consumption patterns. However, these aspirations are supplied mostly by shallow commercial activities that lack a true sense of authenticity. Intertwined with the relevant political discourse, these activities are based on over-a-decade old memory boom where a *glorious Turkish-Islamic history* narrative is deployed to justify Turkish national identity. With an exclusivist and nationalist value set, I have argued that these particular aspirations fail to channel the rich historical capital available in Turkey to a greater societal good. Hence, I have claimed that a well-framed approach to historical capital – away from "identity politics" – can turn the social circulation of history into an advantage for the purpose of the intended strategy.

I have argued further that the iconic Grand Bazaar could be employed to satisfy Turkish consumers' ideological aspirations in addition to satisfying specific tourist demands. Hence, the framework of the suggested strategy for tourists and for some locals can be extended to large segments of the Turkish national market. A market opportunity emerges as the former glorious Turkish-Islamic history starts to fall out of favour with a considerable section of society due to its constraining political orientation. Driven by the goal of the de-politicisation of Turkish-Islamic historical capital, I have stressed a heritage, that of the *spiritual and timeless creative power of the Akhi*, for Turkish consumers specifically, in addition to previously-suggested frameworks relating more specifically to international tourists.

The Akhi philosophy and the bazaar's related foundational values provide a critical environment for a new ideology where the political orientation is shifted to that of the heritage of arts and craft. This shift could enable Turkish consumers to identify themselves towards a mutual sense of collective memory and national authenticity. Hence, the role of disputable political associations with Turkish-Islamic

historical capital can be greatly reduced. The removal of the political role may suggest an end to the privileged role of political actors as the inheritors of the glorious history. Accordingly, aspects of universality, spirituality, and creativity will not only allow foreign tourists to take a role in the renewed Akhi Myth, but also Turks from differing political camps created out of schisms previously erupting out of the historical processes of modernisation.

In light of the Finnish case, I can claim that the establishment of a mutual collective memory and related national authenticity constitute the most crucial aspects of managing heritage in a way that promotes slow consumption. In the case of Artek, for example, as Finnish consumers fetishised historic, critically acclaimed, and national design icons, Artek re-innovated the brand with the heritage of permanent valorisation in design and a related, distinctive promotion of slow consumption. Engaging a new inclusive approach to historical creative genius and design hero myths, Artek used the interactive 2nd Cycle Project as both a public relations tool and a business model. This would not be possible if it were not for a mutual agreement on collective memory and national authenticity in Finland with regards to 20th-century design capital. Simply, this agreement is the basis on which sustainability awareness is built on and consumer aspirations based on national values in Finland are positioned via projects that defy the novelty commitment of fast fashion. The fifth and sixth chapters have attempted to show that such an order could work for Turkey too, despite the substantial differences between the two locales.

To this end, I have aimed to construct a mutual agreement between the Akhi myth and a new approach towards sustainable consumption in Turkey. I have planned these to allow a grand cultural basis for narrations and projects that can channel consumer roles towards today's ethics of sustainable consumption in light of the Akhi philosophy. As I have noted, the Akhi myth promotes craft creativity and certain universal virtues, where compassion and fairness blend with culture-specific historical components such as a synthesis of the era's intercultural diversity. At this stage, the iconicity of the Grand Bazaar stands out as the key element of the strategy's set of adaptations, providing a unique and multifaceted access to the desires of an immensely wide audience that includes both domestic consumers as well as foreign visitors from around the world. The scale of the variety of actors present in the Grand Bazaar may allow the creation of an inclusive discourse that may connect the Akhi myth to sustainable ends via crafting a sense of "universal memory". As in the case of Artek, the monumental bazaar may enable the myth's expansion through the dissemination of memory, but at a much larger scale.

A list of factors that enable this expansion can be discussed. Firstly, I expect that the bazaar's historical and touristic significance can easily facilitate marketing and branding efforts that require mass media channels for the purposes of efficiency. In the Finnish case, for example, the iconicity of Artek generated media support for the communication and further development of the creative genius and design hero myths when it came to publicising critical projects such as the launch of the 2nd

Cycle project. It is reasonable to expect a similar, even more powerful, media interest in projects that can contribute to the transformation of the Grand Bazaar.

Secondly, I also expect that the bazaar's popularity can facilitate the embodiment of various actors of production, trade, and consumption all together by means of harbouring projects in a single distinguished environment. When the 2nd Cycle store was launched in 2011, it provided a concrete and distinctive address for mutual learning and sharing between the public and Artek. In other words, the space has allowed consumers to participate in the narration of myths through selling or buying furniture or just sharing memories. So, thanks to the store, the myths have undergone constant expansion with the growing dissemination of memories inviting consumers to become participants and develop responsible consumer behaviour. This fact has strengthened both the myth and ideology. Moreover, it provided the space for the 2nd Cycle business model to develop means of revenue generation for the company. When it comes to the potentials of the Turkish case, the iconicity of the space is a great advantage since its popularity is already able to attract great numbers of people to visit and experience the atmosphere. Given its popularity and the variety of actors involved, the marketplace can easily harbour creative projects involving the participation of consumers in myriad activities of learning, making, and producing, instead of just buying products. The bazaar's heritage of design and innovation, based on its foundational values from the late 15th century, is a powerful factor that can facilitate the creation of projects in accordance with the most up-to-date design understandings, without breaking the bazaar's historical integrity and authenticity. In other words, the inclusion of contemporary design thinking and methods does not hamper the historicity of the bazaar; by contrast, it strengthens the myth and ideology that I am suggesting, here.

Moreover, an alternative "form of knowing" may be achieved through these design projects involving consumers, designers, and the bazaar's artisans as well as business people. The bazaar is not an anthology of past cultures, instead a live source of human capital. The artisans with whom I talked are the holders of ages old knowledge of arts and craft. Despite this human capital is gravely endangered, these artisans have not given up yet. In a dignified manner, they still keep up dedication and compassion to their profession. Their excitement was visible during interview visits as, for example, the oldest artisan, interviewee 20, showed me proudly his diligent handicraft works which of some are at least 40 years old. Against all odds, this enduring excitement itself is adequate enough to impress and convince me that these artisans are eagerly looking for alternatives to overcome the current situation. Although they lack the know-how to engage a business initiative alone, considering their growing design awareness, they seem open to take part in cooperative networks if guided properly. Hence, what could turn this course of downfall is the creation of alternative and inclusive ways to "understand" and "comprehend" Turkish heritage, as well as to "transmit" this heritage to future generations by means of design, innovation, and arts and craft. The transformation of the bazaar promises a mutual heritage

understanding with strong ties to the present and the future that would avoid falling into traps of either "*internalised Orientalism*" or "ethnocentrism".

Moreover, businesses may run various marketing and design programs involving different customer groups. The bazaar should be seen not only as a marketplace that contains roughly 3500 stores, but rather as a mother brand that contains 3500 different smaller brands that construct the Grand Bazaar as a "heritage brand" where heritage is employed as a "strategic decision" in brand value proposition (Urde *et al.* 2007).

The bazaar's long history across five centuries allows the construction of different levels of collective memory which may help to diversify brands and gain competitive advantage through design and marketing efforts. For example, as some marketing and design agendas could focus on the living memory of the mid-20th century, others could go back more deeply, to the early years of the 16th century. This is another important difference between the Finnish and Turkish cases; whereas the Finnish case has been able to involve only living memories due to its 20th-century historical framework, the Turkish case allows for the crafting of various dimensions of memories within the Akhi myth construction that can go back to the 13th century, but also attend to rich memorial legacies of the intervening centuries as well.

This historical depth enables us to delve into the parallel histories of the Grand Bazaar and Anatolian-Turkish Art as a mythological construct that could further facilitate reaching beyond the limits of objective reality towards creative fields of fiction and fabrication. This may help to customise the mythology with a diversity of narratives that specifically appeal to different consumers and businesses that pursue various heritage ambitions. Repeating Lowenthal's (1998: 18) heritage articulation once again, we can see how to increase the capacities of history through adopting fiction as the "complement" of fact rather than the "opposite". In an engagement with the social nature of authenticity, fiction may help to propose a specific authenticity that serves the sustainability aims of the desired strategy. This should respond to the characteristics and requirements of "active situations" concerning the bazaar, such as those that vary from "tourism" to "globalization" as described by Silverman (2015) when introducing the term "contemporary authenticity".

Through the Akhi philosophy and its mythologisation, the "symbolic innovation" (Hirschman 1982) of bazaar culture under the new ideology may represent the very continuity of the Turkish tradition of production and trade that crosses centuries and perpetuates towards the future. Design projects may turn this representation into solid experiences that can use the Akhi myth as a source for socially accessible narratives for both domestic and foreigner consumers. These narratives activate notions of product longevity and the connection of this to sustainability operational both in terms of generating economic value and promoting volunteer consumer behaviour. To this end, sustainability, as a concept and a decentralised self-standing epistemology, can be a channel that bridges history to the present and the future. As mentioned earlier, sustainability provides the values and culture that transfers Akhi

consciousness to today's rationale. Adopting Kahraman's (2013) term, sustainability is the destination for the "transfer of consciousness". It is the modern intellect that digests tradition in the context of today's design and innovation. In other words, the values driven from the myth can be positioned against the attractions of fast fashion, as in the case of Artek. At this stage, approaching Artek's methodology more closely, the concept of sustainability can be explicitly spelled out by marketing operations, bringing a sense of education to the strategy.

Aside from the profound changes in the behaviour of consumers that the strategy seeks, the alternative "form of knowing" may be able to further empower the Turkish design profession in diverse ways. Despite the late arrival of the design discipline in Turkey, the last decade has witnessed a substantial growth in design's application in industries. However, it has neither yet been perfectly integrated into Turkish industry, nor has its role reached a desired level of public awareness. Moreover, design's recognition at the government level is very much at a formative stage in Turkey. As mentioned above, referring to Er's (2009) account, the first ever public fund for an exclusive design support program and the establishment of the Design Council of Turkey, with the cooperation of industrial design schools, TIM and ETMK, goes back only to 2003. The design profession needs new cultural and economic expansions and avenues to convince industrial and business enterprises, as well as the public at large, of design's potential in terms of competitive advantages and social benefit.

The proposed strategy promises to facilitate such a development. The strategy may also enhance the level of awareness of designers in terms of their harnessing historical capital and icons, generating new intellectual and operational capacities when integrating experience design in the bazaar or elsewhere applicable. The bazaar, in this sense, is an excellent opportunity for the Turkish design profession to improve intellectual and operational capacities, engaging innovative methods when designing sophisticated experiences and services. Moreover, de-politicisation of Turkish-Islamic historical capital may allow Turkish designers to escape from the risks of being politically labelled. As Balcıoğlu (2012: 131) recognises, political label-ling, with terms such as "Islamite", or "neo-Ottomanist", presents a "dilemma" for designers in Turkey who want to benefit from Turkey's rich cultural heritage. Hence, as the universal and inclusive values become the main drivers when referencing history in design, nationalist or exclusivist labelling may become less influential and thus less intimidating for designers.

In a similar vein, the emerging "design innovations" and "designing typologies" articulated in Kaya and Yagız's (2011) study of craftsmen and designers also promise a developing level of awareness among designers of the potential of adopting new methodologies to overcome the simplistic exoticisation of historical capital. Academic interest in crafts, as shown in İngin's projects and the "Crafted in Istanbul" Project, is also important in coming to grips with the changing scale of awareness from industrial design education to the physical conditions of craft workshops and

ateliers. Furthermore, inclusion of consumers in these experiences, as actors of the myth and of the bazaar's mechanism, may stimulate the emergence of new human capacities developing design's social aspects in Turkey in a way that involves them in the design process itself. This would be well aligned with the approach of the aforementioned Design Atelier Kadiköy (TAK); as such, the potentials of such an approach seem far-reaching, turning the bazaar into a field for design exploration.

Thirdly, the development of alternative "forms of knowing" also has implications on the business people of the bazaar. Expansion of design capacities in the bazaar may indicate design's adoption as a competitive edge within the business models operational in the bazaar. In the long run, this may replace the current problematic business approaches that worsen the dominating inauthentic business attitude in the bazaar, such as the overwhelming use of replication and use of narrow stereotypes. Design's effective involvement may enable, in this sense, the combination of the growth of intellectual capital that comes with economic benefits. The integration of historical capital with business-making means can feasibly develop an alternative "form of knowing" for business people who currently have a problematic relationship with the history of craft tradition and the bazaar.

As the local community, design professionals, craftsmen, and the businesspeople working in the bazaar are crucial actors to the framework proposed. The transformation of the bazaar would amount to a gradual change through social learning and collaboration among all actors involved, from academics to tourists. The rise of cooperative projects in the field of design involving various academic actors, ETMK, and TIM proves that there is an emerging collective intellectual capital able to employ design in the service of economic and social development in Turkey. For the implementation of the strategy, based on the experience of the on-going academic projects in Istanbul and a review of the related literature, I suggest a hierarchical development programme using design projects that aim both to promote sustainable consumption and to transform the bazaar to a resilient system that is composed of a self-organising local community. In this context, the strategy synchronises the bazaar's transformation and the sustainability promotion as two co-constitutive concepts.

Major change cannot be achieved overnight. Accordingly, the implementation programme starts with an internal learning process engaging a controlled number of actors based on the existing networks of on-going academic projects. In later stages, the programme continues with a diversifying scope that grows in complexity and that involves a growing number of actors including NGOs and governmental actors as well as new regulatory and financial frameworks. The expansion and growing scope of design projects are planned to be overseen by a governing body, a specialised centre run by a committee whose members are representatives of the strategy's stakeholders. Hence, with an increasing level of local community "empowerment", it is expected that the community will achieve a bottom-up management and regulation order.

Similarly, the expansion of design projects across the bazaar is not entirely aimed to be the result of pre-planned, top-down strategy management, but rather to be spon-

taneously carried out by the bazaar's internal commercial dynamics and motivation. The marketing success of pilot projects is expected to function as a major stimulant. Consequently, the controversial copy culture is expected to function as an advantage spreading the strategy throughout the bazaar. Hence, the development programme foresees that any success of the pilot projects may attract the attention of other stores that presently do not hesitate to adopt business via the replication of successful economic entrepreneurship. In this vein, replication for economic purposes might foster a gradual change with customised brand value proposals that could embrace the majority of the bazaar in the future. This means that if a sustainable method is proven to be economically successful, its adoption by other stores will bring out positive change in the initial steps of the management, even if these actors are only motivated by economic reasons rather than any particular interest in tapping into Turkey's cultural reservoir.

As argued earlier, the promotion of a sustainable consumer culture in Turkey and the Grand Bazaar's "symbolic innovation" are developed in this study as two co-constitutive concepts. Informed by the Artek's case, I have suggested that the mythologisation of the Akhi philosophy and its customisation could help to make sustainability understandable through socially accessible narratives. This may be efficient in terms of the operation of a collective memory in Turkey and the ideological aspirations involved in making sustainability accessible. The discussion on the feasibility and necessity of a specific design myth for Turkish arts and craft heritage has shown that it may provide further advantages including managerial implications.

One specific advantage, for example, may arise in the field of generating cultural motivations for the voluntary adoption of enduring ownership patterns among consumers through responding to diverse consumerist aspirations and needs, from identity construction to social display. In the light of emerging business understandings that recognise interactive performances, consumer memory cultivation, and memory management as guiding principles, the bazaar's network of businesses may invite consumers to experience the bazaar's mythological ethos. I have argued that this kind of consumer involvement, as a part of the hypothetical strategy, may be realised by means of design projects tailored with a contemporary theoretical and methodological repertoire of design disciplines such as interaction and service design. The myth may address the organisation of channels of communication with tourists and other visitors. This may have implications for the Grand Bazaar in terms of shaping the interaction between the bazaar's brands and visitors, including designing the human interface of various touristic and design services. Myth, in this sense, may provide a semantic unity that clarifies the set of messages given by the overall experience provided by the bazaar, and thereby reduce communication noise. Such unity may raise the communication quality and promotion of a desired "heritage sensibility" shaping further consumer demands, which may resonate in the domain of sustainability.

Moreover, the social capacities of branding, such as community building from "shared histories", may increase the efficiency of these projects. In this regard, myth and its customised narratives may be essential in communicating the lasting qualities

of the bazaar. This may take place by addressing the foundational principles of the bazaar that play an important role in linking the bazaar's historical capital with the contemporary sustainability principles. Indeed, having a myth may be crucial to engaging the cultural roots of the Grand Bazaar in pursuit of the promotion of sustainable consumer values and sensitivities. In close synchrony to the socially constructive character of heritage, the mythological construction of the iconic Grand Bazaar can embrace a great variety of consumers with diverse aspirations. And in appealing to various heritage dimensions, from "reconstructed heritage" to "mythical heritage", a broad diversity of design and business methods can be employed interlinking heritage with memory and creativity.

As I have argued, another specific advantage of a design myth can be achieved in the context of local community participation in projects. The arts and craft myth, for example, may establish a mutual cultural ground motivating craftsmen through "a story of loss and recovery" in a way consonant to Varutti's (2015) indigenous artisans case. The myth may also guide craftsmen in how to retrieve and rediscover lost notions of Turkish arts and craft based on the origins of the bazaar and the principles of their profession. Certainly, one should add here other creative stakeholders such as collaborating designers. Furthermore, the design myth may also have managerial implications in terms of connecting heritage institutions, ancillary sector members, and tourism organisations in a mutual visual language that could facilitate establishing a governing body that could lead the strategy implementation.

In sum, the Akhi myth and the related transformation in the Grand Bazaar would embrace inhabitants of the bazaar, domestic customers, and tourists, as inseparable actors of the bazaar's natural function: crafts production, trade, and consumption. In this sense, business-friendly and socially-attractive design methods can be employed to increase the currently neglected level of awareness as regards the bazaar's historical depth, its importance, and its potential, beyond the peddling of local stereotypes. Hence, the myth's implementation may generate a simultaneous development of interconnected factors. As I argue, the heritage management in the Grand Bazaar may increase awareness, facilitate the emergence of sustainable consumer motives, and change business models, hand in hand with the creation of designed experiences that result in the safeguarding of the bazaar and a contribution to greater societal good. Much in the way that the Grand Bazaar was designated as its original era's design and innovation centre, the bazaar may become today a centre for sustainability, where millions of people can have a chance to join a potent consumer myth, becoming a part of the body of "universal memory". These experiences may be designed in conjunction with a strategy to regain the bazaar's lost economic activity of crafts production, trade, and consumption, reinvigorated under the umbrella of the Akhi myth. These designs may help to generate new forms of knowing as regards Turkish history, avoiding stereotypical pastiche or cliché approaches. Moreover, this may contribute to the generation of a new epistemological channel linking to the past and producing alternative solutions to memory problems among locals.

However, the scope of this research does not involve the shaping of a concrete version of the Akhi myth and or the monitoring of growing capacities. In accordance with the aim of this chapter, I have stated that there are economic, cultural, and design grounds to construct and implement a design heritage management in Turkey that is based on principles derived from the Finnish case. Consequently, the characteristics of a prospective Turkish case are amenable in terms of demonstrating that these principles can be adopted by different countries, such as other market economies, with a focus on culture-specific historical elements. Emerging markets, as mentioned above, have rising consumption levels and economic capacities accompanied with the recognition of design and innovation as effective parts of business mechanisms and economic competitive tools. To this end, I would like to finalise this dissertation by announcing an open call to future adopters of this heritage management strategy from Turkey and the globe.

7.3 An Open Call to Designers

I have tried to sketch a myth and ideology framework for the Grand Bazaar that could be highly helpful to shape design attempts to engage Turkish historical capital. I have tried to show that these design attempts can transform the bazaar to a undertaking a more sustainable range of consumption activities, thus contributing to the development of a heritage understanding that addresses the societal good. For future adopters in Turkey, a key insight is that the scale of the bazaar, containing approximately 3500 stores, allows it to run different but consistent design approaches that operate under various versions of the Akhi myth. These versions can be contemplated in frameworks targeting different consumer groups. For instance, a specific version could stress the Akhi's strict sense of self-discipline that is shaped by the principles of Islamic Mysticism, while another version could highlight the Akhi's ability to synthesise intercultural dynamism in differing forms of arts and craft. I believe that design methodology represents here a major tool available to translate this rich historical capital into inclusive benefits for business and society. Design may provide, for example, the platform to build up a pluralist epistemology for the acknowledgement of historical capital in the service of sustainability. In this vein, design can facilitate alternative forms of knowing. Design can stimulate creative business competition inside the bazaar. Such design-related diversity may be critically effective in later phases of management to break the current culture of replication where stores are constantly imitating the same popular products. A comprehensive change is one that will be long-term and gradual, where many of stakeholders and interests are involved. Adoption of design thinking seems at this stage to be the most effective resolution as creative action will bring flexibility in terms of the developing phases of change and in the context of emerging business requirements.

Today, Turkish design's approach to historical capital is influenced by current modes of commercial and political exploitation that have a long sociological agenda behind them. It is important to note for designers that the Akhi offers an historical and cultural depth beyond mere ethnic or religious parameters. This involves a universal sense of cultural synthesis that combines, for example, Byzantine cultural components with Islamic traditions. Moreover, the spatial iconicity suggested for the Turkish case strengthens its historical and cultural depth, with roots reaching back to the urban architecture of the ancient Greek city-states. Such a strength is crucial for versions of powerful consumer myths that are able to affect consumer behaviour through generating historically-accurate cultural attractions. On the one hand, we have to accept that what imbues goods and services with longevity is a highly sophisticated and ever-changing cultural formula. This formula is impossible to shape with exact certitude as to its ultimate form. Historical capital, on the other hand, can clearly be a definite contributor to longevity as long as it is managed in accordance with consumer aspirations and the needs of business.

In this vein, different management approaches or myth configurations may be developed that make use of Turkish historical capital with similar criteria. However, what makes this study's offer so pressing is the urgent need for action for the Grand Bazaar. The bazaar requires immediate attention, with a comprehensive managerial approach that includes the resolution of present administrative, institutional, cultural, and eventually, ethical issues. In this sense, design methodology is able to offer sophisticated solutions that are required by the imperative sensitivity of the current situation and the historical importance of the bazaar.

Given the growing academic and commercial interest into Turkish arts and craft heritage, I hope that this thesis is able to attract attention, inspiring and guiding designers to take design action in the bazaar, turning the space into a centre where sustainable behaviour is promoted on the grounds of business and cultural motives based on historical capital. The bazaar has been an open space for over a half millennium for skilful craftsmen, so today there is nothing to stop modern designers from intervening and initiating a design change towards the transition to a sustainable society. After all, the essential sustainability lies in the determinate acknowledgement that the bazaar's capital is a treasure of humankind serving needs that are beyond mere monetary or political ends.

When it comes to other emerging market cases mentioned above, I hope this thesis' approach and theoretical framework can be also inspiring and motivating for designers worldwide. The categorisation of history and the development of a framework to cope with culture-specific challenges such as the memory problems and commercial pragmatism could also be a model for other cultural milieus. Similar perspectives can be developed by future adopters when facing fractured epistemologies of history, as in the cases of colonialism across the Asian and American continents. Icons with historical capital exist in societies in one way or another. As I introduced in the Turkish case of spatial iconicity, one may come up with different

kinds of permanent valorisation employing different social or design functions in the service of a transition to sustainability. Such resolutions might be able to contribute to the "common stock" where transcultural exchange can gradually grow.

CHAPTER 7

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Global consumer culture is increasingly associated with the exhaustion of the Earth's capacity to sustain life. Since consumerism intertwines with business interests, a rapid and fundamental shift in consumer behaviour may not be possible in the mid- or short-term.

This dissertation explores the role of design heritage in an achievable sustainability transformation. Furthermore, it suggests a management strategy that taps into existing socio- and politico-economic networks to avoid conflicts of interest while suggesting positive changes in consumer behaviour. The strategy is constructed through an examination of Finnish houseware company Artek's recent business and marketing models, and is theoretically developed for cross-cultural transferability to Istanbul's monumental Grand Bazaar.

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