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SUSTAINING CULTURE THROUGH INTANGIBLE STRATEGIES:

CASE OF UZBEK TRADITIONAL

CLOTHES

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ABSTRACT

Late 20th century and beginning of 21st century, was remarkable period when Uzbek cultural values have been emphasized along with traditional clothes. Uzbek ikat fabrics have been receiving popularity and have been serving as inspiration locally as well as internationally.

Current fashion discipline usually focuses on tangible strategies from culture. As cultural heritage studies underline the importance of both tangible as well as intangible culture.

While intangible strategies are crucial part of culture, most studies focused on tangible strategies of cultural practices. The current thesis investigates intangible strategies of culture. In this research, intangible strategies include knowledge, practices, skills and meanings behind them, specifically the nonphysical aspects of culture. What are the intangible strategies behind traditional clothes, and how can we implement them in designing modern clothes?

This concept is particularly important when it comes to modernization and globalization (mass production and homogenization) because its effects on cultural practices have a degree of endangerment. Knowing the issues affecting cultural practices allows strategies that may help to decrease potential but currently unknown risks of endangerment. Thus, the research undertook the following specific questions: 1) What tangible and intangible strategies are used in Uzbek traditional clothes? 2) What intangible strategies are seen crucial in Uzbek traditional clothes? 3) How do these strategies can be used to modern clothes?

The research looked at cultural practices as seen in traditional clothes specifically focused on intangible strategies behind them. The research used clothing life cycle and cultural studies as its key concepts to provide an objective to understand the problem and to come up with possible recommendations.

The main research objective is to explore intangible cultural strategies in traditional clothes. The research undertook 3 specific objectives to explore this. First, the research observed production of traditional fabrics and designs of clothes to identify the intangible strategies behind them. Second, it assessed the craftsmen, ethnographers, sellers, designers and consumers response on intangible strategies used in traditional clothes. Third, it identified intangible strategies that can be applied to modern clothes.

The research found that intangible strategies is crucial for the safeguarding the fabrics and patterns of traditional clothes. The craftsmen made fabrics follow the ancestral knowledge and skills while fabrics sold in market do not usually consider the intangible strategies. Rather market sold materials focus on tangible strategies such as how appealing: fabrics, colors and patterns look. When taking current mass market clothes into consideration, the mis interpretation or mis application of intangible cultural strategies of fabrics and patterns might lead to potential risk of sustaining cultural heritage. This lead to understand fabrics sold in mass market are not produced with intangible strategies in mind. Second, the research identified intangible strategies in craftsman made fabrics, its importance behind tangible strategies of clothes. This lead to know that intangible strategies play crucial role in sustaining cultural practices specifically in terms of meanings of fabrics and patterns.

The key informant interviews with craftsmen, experts and designers validated the revival of traditional clothes locally as well as internationally. This is due to aesthetic and exotic appeal of fabrics to international designers while locally it is considered as crucial part of national identify and worn during holidays and special occasions.

Finally, the research identified design strategies for modern garments that maybe adopted from cultural strategies. Designers need to adopt more modern designs in combination with traditional fabrics. This will help them to stand out and appeal to consumers and create a garment that carries value. This is due to association of traditional fabrics with high quality:

handmade, uses materials and dyes that are natural and thus has a positive correlation to human well-being.

In general, the research aimed to explore the intangible strategies of traditional clothes, and its role in sustaining culture. The study found that inconsideration of intangible strategies behind traditional clothes, increases the loss of cultural meanings and forms of fabrics and patterns in them. Second, the designers should consider both tangible and intangible in designing clothes and explain to their customers.

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DEDICATION

Towards preservation of cultural heritage

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1. INTRODUCTION

27 years after its national independence, Uzbekistan has been seeing pivotal changes in social-economic, and political as well as in cultural spheres which eventually lead to revival of Uzbek national identity. Independence has led to understanding that there is a need for revival of history, very much unique and priceless cultural heritage become political agenda of the government of Uzbekistan. (Davlatova; 2006) Nonetheless, this strong importance to revival of cultural heritage is strongly encouraged due to the period of Soviet Empire's rule, textile handicraft overall declined and as the result knowledge about traditional textile modes and designs of production was partly lost. This is given importance because traditional clothes, including traditional fabrics and craftsmanship is material heritage of the nation. Traditional clothes are closely linked with people's identity and worn during important national holidays such as Navruz (celebration of spring), Independence Day, and special occasions such as weddings, others. The traditional clothes specifically made from atlas and adras fabrics has become a national brand of Uzbekistan. Thus, there is a need to sustain cultural materials and practices related to them for intrinsic and instrumental value they derive. We posit in this research cultural sustainability as sustaining both tangible and intangible cultural heritage through promoting and enhancing it.

Exploring intangible cultural strategies as seen in traditional clothes is the key focus of the study. The research focuses on intangible strategies in traditional clothes of Uzbekistan. The research attempts to extend the discussion of considering intangible and tangible culture holistically. This approach would allow to consider the modernization and globalization factors that posit risks of endangerment of cultural practices. These two factors, increases the vulnerability of sustaining the culture and cultural practices.

1.1 Literature Review

The discussion on the concept of culture is generally referred to Edward B. Taylor's definition that defines culture as "... the complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society." (Spencer-Oatey, 2012; p.3). His definition of culture was generally accepted by later anthropologists and left its influence for using "the complex whole", inferring "cultures were whole - integrated systems." A lot of definitions of culture draw attention to different characteristics of culture, and the usage of definitions of culture varies depending on the political or ideological agenda (Spencer-Oatey, 2012).

Culture does not remain static, it is now generally accepted that, to some degree, change is a constant feature of all cultures. Cultural diffusion borrowing from other cultures, 90% of the ideas, things, and behavioral patterns found in any culture are have other origins (Spencer-Oatey, 2012). Oatey (2012) states that one cultural change is likely to produce another cultural change and the main reason was as she explains that cultures tend to be integrated as whole system with several interconnected parts. As she explains, "Culture changes beget other culture changes." This leads to understanding a change in one part will introduce changes in other parts of the whole (Spencer-Oatey, 2012). Ferraro (1998) explains this concept with the example of TV-set. "To illustrate, one has only to look at the far-reaching effects on U.S. culture of a single technological innovation, which became widespread in the early 1950s – the TV set. This one single technological addition to our material culture has had profound consequences on the nonmaterial aspects of our culture, including our political, education, and religious systems, to mention only three. For example, political campaigning for the presidency in 1948 and earlier had been conducted largely from the back end of a railroad car on so-called "whistle-stop"

tours. By 1960, the year of the first televised presidential debates, television had brought the ideas, positions, speaking styles, and physical appearances of the candidates directly into the living rooms of most voters. Today political candidates, because of the power of television, need to be as attentive to makeup, clothing, and nonverbal gestures as they are to the substantive issues of the campaign (As cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2012).

Change in some cultures happen less rapidly due to less technological advancement and conservative society compared to modern, industrialized and “highly complex societies”. In both cases, it is generally accepted that change is the constant feature of all cultures (Spencer-Oatey, 2012). For instance, the changes that have brought socio-economic changes was seen in the case of the cultural practices in United Arab Emirates. The country achieved rapid modernization and urbanization as the result of the exploration of oil which in turn boosted economic development and created employment opportunities. As a result, changes in lifestyles of people, particularly Bedouin women, the practitioners of Al-Sadu the embroidery work is endangered. As these practitioners are leaving their rural communities in search for employment opportunities in the capital, their ancestral craftsmanship works are left behind. As a result, recently this practice is included in the list of cultural heritage in need of urgent safeguarding (UNESCO, 2015). Another cultural practice that is inscribed in the list of cultural heritage in need of urgent safeguarding is traditional Li textile techniques. This cultural practice involves spinning, dyeing, weaving and embroidering that is done by women of Li ethnic group of Hainan Province, China. In recent decades the number of practitioners has sharply declined that poses the risk of complete extinction due to changes in social-economic spheres (UNESCO, 2013).

Hwang and Huang (2019), state that the Seediq tribe, the indigenous group that resides in Taiwan is facing a similar problem and on the verge of disappearance. Due to social changes

with less demand for weaving products, there are less practitioners who is willing to continue traditional craftsmanship. Thus, the norms, techniques and knowledge from weaving is gradually disappearing. Their research state that cultural practices of Seediq women plays crucial role preserving their ethnic identity.

In the case study of traditional handcrafts of Pakistan, Yang et.al., (2018) found the cause of loss of significance and disappearance of crafts mainly were challenged by “industrialization, mass production, unwilling young generation, lack of basic infrastructure, lack of innovation and technology” and indicated there is a need for urgent preservation of cultural heritage (Yang et.al, 2018).

Brumann and Cox (2010) argue the changes that take place with modernization, and globalization posit the dangers of homogenization of cultures, and loss of diversity. Their studies claim on cultural globalization brings challenges through homogenization and hegemonic expression that leads to substantial “impact on preserving living culture by hindering the true processual nature of it” (Brumann & Cox, 2010).

As it was discussed above, the cultural practices of the Al-Sadu (traditional weaving skills) of United Arab Emirates, “Traditional Li textile techniques: spinning, dyeing, weaving and embroidering” of China, weaving practices of Seediq tribe, the handcrafts of Pakistan indicate the impact of modernization and globalization on cultural heritage and its preservation, and continuation of cultural practices. This is important, because cultural heritage is closely linked with people’s identity, traditions, and livelihoods.

1.1.1 Cultural sustainability

To answer the question, what is the importance or value of culture to humanity, we explored discussions on cultural concepts. The discussions in cultural concepts leads us to intrinsic and instrumental values of culture. Soini and Dessein (2016) argues the intrinsic value of culture that is for its own sake, or of itself while the instrumental value of culture is it serves as means to acquire something, or it leads to acquisition. They also argue specifically, the intrinsic values are a set of values that are experience of culture intellectually, emotionally and spiritually on the subjective basis while instrumental value of culture refers to acquiring for example social or economic value from it (Soini & Dessein, 2016). For instance, traditional clothes have both aesthetic and historical, that is intrinsic value as it was passed from generation to generation, but it also has instrumental value as it creates sense of identity for people wearing it or raises economic acquisition through tourism. Thus, the intrinsic and instrumental values of culture are interlinked (Soini & Dessein, 2016; Soini & Birkeland; 2014). Drawing from their theoretical inputs, the paper interprets cultural value brings both intrinsic and instrumental value to the users of culture.

Furthermore, Soini and Birkeland (2014) discussed the role of cultural sustainability within the framework of sustainable development. According to Soini and Birkeland (2014), discussion on cultural sustainability is understood through how cultural services, and heritage adapts to the changing demands of its users and how cultural heritage is made accessible in sustainable way. This concept sees cultural change brought by globalization and technology mostly positive, yet simultaneously it raises the question how change “can take place without damaging cultural continuity and identity or cultural capital.” (Soini & Birkeland, 2014).

Thus, this paper posits from discussions the cultural sustainability allows cultural heritage to change in a way that enhances and promotes cultural continuity. So, change here takes place, yet it does not endanger cultural continuity, intrinsic and instrumental values of it.

1.1.2 The forms of cultural heritage: tangible and intangible

In the root discussion of cultural heritage there have been two influential shifts, one is being the increase in the range of goods in cultural heritage list to include gardens, landscape, crafts, oral traditions, and skills and practices of minority groups and others (Bario et.al, 2012).

The second shift happened after the official recognition was given to the importance of intangible culture on international level. Previously, most of discussions on preserving culture was mostly focused on tangible heritage (Vecco, 2010; Bario et.al, 2012).

Vecco (2010) argued in her analysis the cultural heritage is no longer solely defined based on its material aspect which was previously defined dominantly from “Eurocentric perspective of heritage.” The non-restrictive approach has allowed non-material aspects of the cultural heritage to be recognized of its cultural value, “its value of identity and the capacity of the object to interact with the memory” (Vecco, 2010; p.5). This development has led to recognition of intangible cultural heritage which was neglected for a long time as heritage to be protected and safeguarded. This development has been reflected in UNESCO conventions specifically the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage signed in Paris in 2003 (Vecco, 2010; Bario et.al, 2012). This change lead to implementation of legislation at national and regional level to safeguard cultural heritage and resulted in broadening the list of intangible heritage since then (Bario et.al, 2012).

To further elaborate on tangible and intangible cultural heritage, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) uses the following definitions:

- **Cultural heritage** is the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations.
- **Tangible heritage** includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future. These include

objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture.

- **Intangible Heritage** includes but not limited to traditional festivals, oral traditions, oral epics, customs, ways of life, traditional crafts, knowledge, skills and practices behind lifestyles etc (Lenzerini, 2011; Bon et al., 2016; Vecco, 2010; Ahmad, 2006).

UNESCO (2003) underlines the importance of protecting and promoting cultural diversity and dialogue, with the special emphasis to tangible and intangible heritage. This requires for holistic research in studying culture. Based from presented theoretical inputs, tangible and intangible culture both are equally play significant role and invaluable source in sustaining culture. Thus, considering the literature on cultural concepts and heritage the study employs definition of cultural sustainability that leads to sustaining cultural heritage both tangible as well as intangible elements of it by enhancing and promoting it.

1.1.3 Culture as source of knowledge

Cultural practices embed sustainability, specifically our ancestors lived their lives in harmony with nature and living beings. As Berker et al., (1994) calls it, indigenous knowledge (IK) or traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) is a sum of beliefs and knowledge “handed down through generation by cultural transmission, about the relationships of living beings with one another and with their environment” (Berker et al., 1994, p 270). There are societies that practiced sustainable livelihoods and resource use of entire ecosystems and some of their strategies have remained till now. This is defined as sustainability of cultural capital that refers to “local (cultural) knowledge of the environment can be seen as an essential resource and factor in nature conservation, local livelihoods and social well-being.” (Soini & Dessein, 2016; p.8). For instance, Korean ancestors during the production of traditional clothes adopted sustainable strategies such as re-using, non-waste production techniques, and using natural

products (Min & Koo, 2017). Drawing from reviewed literature, the research interprets when culture is a source of knowledge, skills and practices behind sustainable lifestyles it is regarded as intangible cultural strategies.

1.1.4 Culture as source of inspiration

Recently, globalization has influenced fashion designers to learn and adopt designs from other cultures (Min & Koo, 2017). Culture have become a source of inspiration and new ideas for designers. Some designers have been using the elements of Hanfu, the Chinese dress in modern fashion design by adopting garment structure, patterns, and fabrics. (Hu, 2014) Another example, Ikat fabric, which is traditionally used in Uzbekistan has inspired numerous famous designers. Since 2005, New York based designer Oscar de la Renta has included ikat fabrics in collections ranging from clothing and accessories to furniture fabrics (Mentges G; Shamukhutdinova, L; 2013). The designers have used cultural as a source of inspiration to generate new ideas (Cho, 2009; Min & Koo, 2017). Thus, when cultural elements specifically the physical factors such as material, colors, shape and design is source of ideas this paper interprets this factor as tangible cultural strategies.

1.1.5 Fashion discipline

Traditional clothes play important role in cultural heritage by reflecting nation's history, ethno-cultural relations with other nations, the influence of social and economic changes on national identity along with customs, religious beliefs, ethical and esthetic norms are represented (Davlatova,2006).

In the discussion of fashion and clothing, it is understood that fashion is immaterial (Kawamura, 2005), fashion is seen as imagery or in a rather abstract way while clothing is material. According to her, fashion and clothing is not the same thing. Fashion is a belief

manifested through clothing. It creates intrinsic value of clothing. Fashion drives change in clothing we wear, when it is defined as a process and cultural industry that defines our clothing habits when a form of clothing becomes fashion if it is worn by many (Kawamura, 2005).

Fashion as a research academic field never been popular in social science discipline. Social scientist has recently begun to take serious interest in fashion and clothes (as cited in Kawamura, 2005). Reason for that, in 19th century rapid industrialization and capitalism resulted in development of ways of producing new fashion quickly and inexpensively (Kawamura, 2005). Specifically, as Kawamura mentioned changes in population increase, economy, technological improvement and social mobility has lead fashion to become widespread. She argued “.... fashion became democratized” meaning than it became affordable and available equally to higher and lower classes (Kawamura, Y; 2005.p.5).

What Kawamura (2005) referred above is fast fashion that is a cheap clothing produced in short time, sold by large quantities, according to the latest fashion trends by widespread operations across both developing and developed countries (Tokatli, N. 2007; Joy, A. et al, 2012;). Fast fashion has an enormous impact on lives of people, economies, and the environment.

The environmental issues that were associated with fast-fashion consumption and production are solid waste, water pollution, energy consumption, and non-renewable resource depletion were the main concerns (Claudio, 2007; Keinan and Crener, 2016). Most discussions on fashion focus on environmental sustainability that mainly concern for environmental issues. Yet, there are studies that underline the importance of clothes to human well-being and socio-cultural environment (Hethorn, 2008).

Overall, it can be referred that clothes produced and sold in mass market by fast fashion companies are fashionable and have aesthetic appeal while the quality of garments is known for its short-life span. It can be compared to purchasing something that looks shiny from outside while hollow from the inside (Collett, M., et al. 2013). As Aakko, M & Koskennurmi-Sivonen, R. (2013) stated fashion drives changes in the clothing, and overall it is understood that fashion is about change (Ulasewicz, 2008). Then, it is possible to innovate and bring positive and innovative change to our clothes.

1.1.6 Returning to key issues

Interestingly, as it was seen with cases in China, and Uzbekistan only the tangible strategies were adopted by designers such as colors, patterns, fabrics and designs wherein intangible strategies were not taken into consideration. This leads us to understand, culture solely does not provide inspiration, and aesthetic beauty. Culture is also a rich source of ancestral knowledge, skills, and practices. This leads us to question, how about intangible features of culture such as knowledge, skills and practices and the meanings and values behind those materials, patterns and designs of clothes?

In summary, literature suggests that there is need to understand cultural sustainability holistically. Tangible culture covers the physical or material aspect of culture, and most studies in fashion discipline have been focusing regenerating tangible strategies from culture (Cho; 2009; Hu, 2014; Mentges & Shamukhutdinova, 2013). This approach that mainly considers the tangible part of culture is short-sighted and lacks holistic approach that disregards the intangible part of culture.

Loss of cultural diversity, and disappearance of cultural heritage practices are highlighted in UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage convention (2003) as some of the threatening risks that should be addressed in depth (UNESCO, 2015). Moreover, the research studies have

already shown that the risk of endangerment and loss of diversity of culture and cultural practices exists and it must be addressed. Thus, there is a need to understand how to address sustaining culture in the age of modernization and globalization.

1.2 Research problems

In the age of modernization that poses a risk of disappearance of cultural practices, how does culture and cultural strategies can be sustained?

This concept is particularly crucial when it comes to intangible strategies derived from cultural practices as it is not generally considered holistically. Understanding the intangible features of culture and applying the ancestral knowledge in clothes designing might serve as the innovative ways of producing clothes. Thus, the research undertook the following specific questions:

- What tangible and intangible strategies are used in Uzbek traditional clothes?
- What intangible cultural strategies are seen crucial in Uzbek traditional clothes?
- How do these strategies can be used to modern clothes?

1.3 Research objectives

The main research objective is to understand what tangible and intangible strategies from culture is being extracted, and its role is sustaining culture. The research undertook 3 specific objectives to address this. Each specific objective has a prescribed methodology. These 3 specific objectives and their respective methodologies are the following:

- To explore the tangible and intangible strategies of traditional Uzbek clothes. Observation of traditional fabric production strategies employed by craftsmen were captured and validated with existing secondary data sources, and semi-structured interviews were used to identify intangible strategies.

- To provide insights on intangible strategies and its link to traditional clothes and modern clothes. Key informant interviews and observation of fashion show was conducted with international and local designers to understand the potentials for culturally inspired clothes.
- To identify the role of intangible strategies in sustaining culture and cultural value. Key informant interviews were carried out with designers, ethnographers and craftsmen to identify importance of intangible strategies and its relation to cultural sustainability.

1.4 Significance of the study

The research contributes to the discourse on cultural practices and its preservation. On the policy level, it contributes to towards deeper understanding on safeguarding the intangible practices as seen in Uzbek traditional clothes and textile practices. More specifically on 2003 UNESCO 's convention on strengthening measures to preserve and safeguard the ICH.

On a practice perspective, the research contributes to establishing innovative strategies for designing clothes among designers focusing on tangible as well as intangible strategies.

The research employs simple methods to validate findings such as qualitative exploratory approach, and the methods prescribed in this study can be emulated by designers as they are not complex and does not require special tools that are not available to them.

Finally, the research contributes to the discourse on cultural sustainability by taking Uzbekistan's case by emphasizing the need to study the effects of modernization and globalization on cultural practices and how are the cultural practices are adapting to the current situation. Cultural heritage practices that are not being endangered now, might face the challenges of modernization and globalization in the future. Thus, to sustain culture and cultural practices, understanding the current state of cultural heritage is important to raise awareness of potential risk and mitigate solutions.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Conceptual framework

In response to identified limitations, the research proposes a model that aims to foster cultural sustainability through intangible cultural strategies. If tangible strategies derive physical appeal and aesthetics (Cho, 2009; Min & Koo, 2017), the intangible strategies will bring understanding of values, knowledge and meanings behind the cultural strategies (Berker et al., 1994; Berker et al., 1998; Min & Koo, 2017;). The model presented posit that to bring cultural sustainability, both tangible and intangible strategies are vital.

These bases of the model that if modernization takes place and the changes associated with them, the intangible strategies may play more significant role in sustaining culture and cultural value. Those intangible strategies will become vital resource when socio-economic changes take place by providing the knowledge, skills, and practices behind cultural strategies that was practiced from generation to generation. For instance, the intangible cultural strategies can be knowledge on why our ancestors used natural dyes, natural fabrics, recycling and others (Min & Koo, 2017). The proposed model envisions that if cultural change takes place that might endanger culture, the number of experts or bearers of knowledge and skills of cultural practices should be promoted and enhanced. Specifically, there should be incentives to adopt or increase the master classes where the knowledge, practices and skills should be shared by the bearers of the culture. (See Figure 1)

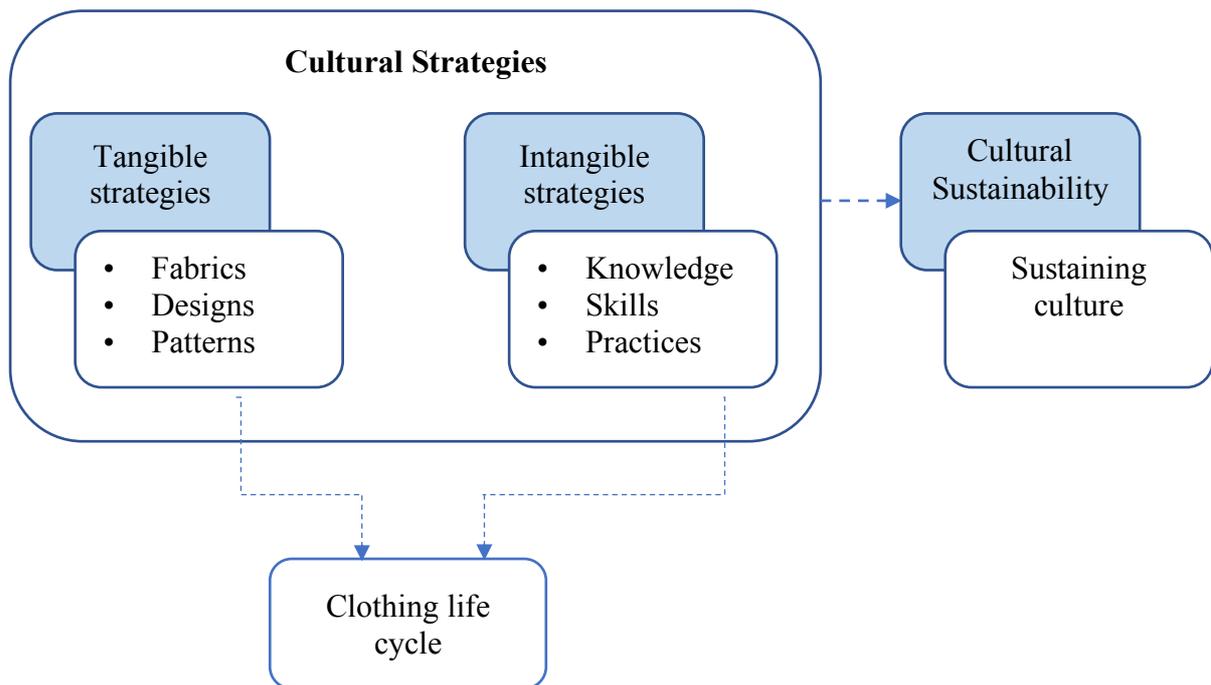


Figure 1 Model for cultural sustainability (Created by the author)

While existing studies state, traditional clothes attracted attention with its tangible cultural strategies, specifically to material, its design and patterns, the role of intangible strategies remains unclear. Thus, promoting and enhancing intangible strategies are the rationales behind our hypothesis that intangible strategies can contribute to sustaining culture holistically. (Figure 2).

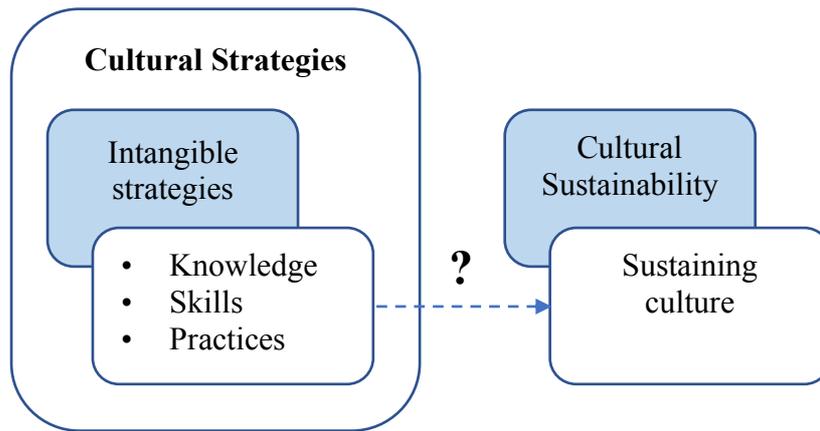


Figure 2. Research Hypothesis

This paper will use the clothing lifecycle theory to identify the tangible and intangible strategies in cultural clothes. This research adopted Min and Koo's (2017), the new garment life cycle concept. This specific model of clothing life cycle was chosen for the study as it was used in regenerating strategies from cultural clothes (Min & Koo, 2017). They argue that clothing life cycle is a process how clothes are made, designed, used and recycled that involves four phases. The four phases are materials, design, consumers use, and rebirth which will be discussed further in this chapter.

2.2 Site selection: Uzbekistan

The 20th -21st century, was remarkable period when Uzbek cultural values have been emphasized along with traditional clothes. It has been experiencing a phenomenon of resurgence of its true colors and values. This strong importance to revival of Uzbek textile handicraft is strongly encouraged because during Soviet Empire's rule, textile handicraft overall declined and as the result, knowledge about traditional textile modes and designs of production was partly lost. For instance, the techniques related with natural dying processes or bahmal weaving (Zununova,2012; Mentges,2015).

Nevertheless, during the period of the Soviet Union, ikat fabrics which traditionally made in Uzbekistan, kept its visible statement of Uzbek cultural traditions (Mentges,2015). After gaining independence, Uzbekistan has consistently and diligently worked on re-establishment of Uzbek textile handicrafts by actively establishing craftsmen associations, textiles factories, institution and high schools with specialization in Uzbek handicrafts embroiders and textiles. This in turn have caught international attention from various fashion designers (Mentges & Shamukhitdinova, 2015). For instance, usage of ikat patterns were seen not only on clothes but from items such as shoes, dishes, décor items, blankets, bags, purses and others (Corrigan, 2012; Mentges & Shamukhitdinova, 2015).

If we refer to the history of traditional clothes, Uzbekistan was one of the earliest producers of silk, the farmers and artisans continue practices growing silks worms and of weaving of high quality silks till today (Ibbotson & Lovell-Hoare, 2016). Those beautiful high-quality silk threads are woven in ikat method and turned into fabrics. Uzbek traditional clothes are known for its beautiful and vivid ikat or abrband (in Uzbek) fabrics (Ibragimova, 2004; Davlatova,2006; Zununova,2013).

Ikat, is a word from “Indonesian, and Javan languages, and it is the dyeing technique similar to tie-die in which either the warp or weft fibers are tied in a specific pattern before being dyed.” (Ibbotson & Lovell-Hoare, 2016; p.32). The Uzbek word abrband (cloud tying) is considered finest particularly in Uzbekistan (Corrigan, 2012; Ibbotson & Lovell-Hoare, 2016). Particularly, DeAntonis, the designer and practitioner of ancestral dying techniques have stated about peculiarity and specialty of Uzbek ikats by indicating to energy and appeal of Uzbek ikat fabrics by saying that “It has a beauty and a wholeness that is inspiring. There is energy there. The patterns of the fabrics feel like it is alive” (Benson, 2012). The beauty, and aesthetic appeal of ikat fabrics, their types and historical background was chosen as the main research topic for studies and books being written about (Kennet, 1995; Zernnickel, 1997 cited in Corrigan, 2012;

Janet, 1996). Overall, the physical appeal and vivid colors and patterns of fabrics have caught international audience attention. With globalization and increase of tourism, the ikat became popular internationally. Uzbek ikat has served as the inspiration to various world known designers and have been used for many years in their clothes collections. Overall, the physical appeal and vivid colors and patterns of fabrics have facilitated the rebirth of Uzbek traditional clothes (Mentges & Shamukhitdinova, 2015; Zununova,2012). This lead the research study to adopt this case study as it involved both tangible and intangible cultural strategies while focus of most studies was on tangible strategies. Yet, the Uzbek traditional clothes involve ancestral knowledge, skills behind aesthetically appeal. Ancestors from Uzbekistan have utilized resources efficiently in creating garments by utilizing natural fabrics and dyes, practiced recycling and reusing methods (Davlatova, 2006; Sadikova, 2006; Zununova,2012). This in turn is the main aim of the research to explore further the intangible cultural strategies, its role in sustaining culture and application to modern clothes in the age of modernization.

2.2.1 Tashkent

Tashkent is the capital of Uzbekistan and home for main research centers and institutions with major fashion and textile universities. The city also involves big and old markets such as Chorsu bazaar that have been selling traditional clothes for decades. The research institution of Academy of Science of Anthropology and Ethnography of Uzbekistan, the major museums of Crafts and Culture are also located in the city that were the target of the research.

2.2.2 Margilan

Margilan was one of the central cities for cultural exchange and economic cooperation in the Great Silk Road. Margilan silk fabrics were exported to Europe in the 3rd Century BC and weaving of atlas and adras fabrics were practiced in Margilan. Atlas and adras are one of the

ancient fabrics which involves complex work and it has been preserved for centuries. Traditional crafts went through difficult times during the Soviet period. In result, ancient handmade production technologies were at risk of disappearing and in need to revive and safeguard (A.Khakimov et al.1999).

In 2007, Margilan Crafts Development Centre was established to preserve the disappearance of artisan schools and transmit the tradition of adras and atlas making through innovative training sessions, exhibitions and craft fairs, traditional textile festivals, and the publication of safeguarding materials and manuals (ICHCAP, 2017; IICAS, 2017; National Commission of Uzbekistan for UNESCO, 2017). Thus, Margilan was chosen as the research site as it was the hub of traditional materials.

2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The study employs an explorative method to gather and validate data to achieve its objectives. First, observation at two research sites, Margilan and Tashkent city was conducted. In Margilan, the study observed the production process of materials, and identified the intangible strategies within the production site.

Second, in Tashkent, researcher attended the international event Fashion week in Uzbekistan from 26th to 28th of March. The objective was to identify the tangible strategies that lead to examine the main design styles of traditional clothes and explore the current designs from more than 10 designers works.

Finally, semi -structured interview was conducted to extract information from key stakeholders who had directly interacted with traditional Uzbek clothes to validate data from observation sites as well as extract information regarding the cultural practices specifically on tangible and intangible strategies. Data from this research was gathered from field visits in March -April 2019.

Table 1. Summary of data collection methods

Method	Target	Data Collected	Sample Size
Observation 1	Craftsman	Intangible strategies behind production of traditional fabrics	10
Observation 2	Local designers	Tangible strategies of traditional clothes	15
Key Informant Interviews	Local and international designers, sellers, consumers, ethnographers, craftsmen	Extract tangible and intangible strategies	Local Level: 17 International Level: 7 Community Leaders: 1
Secondary data sources		Existing articles, studies and books on Uzbek traditional clothes	More than 20 articles, and books

2.4 Participant observation

Participant observation is recognized generally as the defining method of research in cultural anthropology that collect data in “naturalistic settings by researchers who observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people or processes being studied” (Malinowski, 1961; Musante, K; DeWalt, B; p.2).

Participant observation method allows the researcher to “understand the most fundamental of processes of social life and process” (Musante, K; DeWalt, B; p.3).

This method was employed by the researcher to collect data at production sites. Specifically, to identify tangible and intangible strategies in traditional Uzbek clothes at two research sites by using new garment life cycle. Observation was conducted at each of the two research sites in Tashkent city and Margilan. The researcher’s role was observer as participant, as the researcher's observation activities are known to the group being studied, yet the emphasis for the researcher was on collecting data, rather than participating in the activity. This stance was chosen appropriate as it provided the most ethical approach to observation as well as the data

type that is required to answer research purpose. The outline of participant observation can be found in table 3. The data gathered through voice recordings, photos, and field notes.

Table 2. Observation outline

Stakeholders	Research Site	Data gathered
Center manager Weavers 2 Pattern makers 2 Dyers 2 Tour guide 1 Market expert	Margilan Crafts Development Center Yodgorlik textile factory	Intangible strategies involved during production of materials
Local designers	Uzbekistan fashion week: Ikat day	Tangible strategies of traditional clothes

Research site 1

The first set of observation is carried at site visit in Margilan region. The production of traditional materials such as atlas, adras, and chit were observed directly at textile Yodgorlik factory and Margilan Crafts Development Center: from 14 March till 25 March.

First, the researcher with local guide visited the research site in Margilan Crafts Development Center on 15th of March 2019, with craftsmen in the center, with the intention of understanding and exploring the production process of materials and identify the intangible strategies. The site visit was conducted during daytime and working hours as it allowed to interact with key stakeholders and observe the working process.

The author observed pattern makers, dye makers, and weavers works. There were overall 5 people who were engaged in the production process at the time of observation. The craftsmen, while working have explained the techniques and ingredients such as different types of traditional materials, types of dyes, patterns and weaving technique being used in the

production process of materials. This helps to understand the key elements in the production process of traditional materials and knowledge and skills involved in creation and production of traditional materials.

The site visit materials were photos that were taken one by one to provide descriptive explanation as well as audio recordings. (The transcription can be found in annex)



Figure 3. The researcher standing next to Margilan Crafts Development Center(left) and Director of Yodgorlik factory and tour guide (right)

Research site 2

The second observation site was in Tashkent city where Fashion week in Uzbekistan was held: from 26 March till 28 of March. The first day of Fashion week was dedicated to traditional materials and called Ikat day. The author attended the first day of fashion week in Tashkent, as it covered the scope of the research. On the ikat day, clothes made from traditional material was the focus of 15 participating local designers. This helps to profile the common designs of traditional clothes by designers and identify tangible strategies. Beyond this, author was able to identify some of the issues, and opportunities of design of traditional clothes by designers.

The following questions were used to analyze the findings from showcased collection of clothes. The results were analyzed during the showcase of clothes with the help of notes as well as photos were captured to store the extracted data.

- How many designers took part in the fashion show?
- What was the common designs of traditional clothes?
- What are the drawbacks are seen in collections?
- What are the opportunities for traditional clothes in modern lifestyle?
- How did the designer were able to deliver the traditional clothes?
- What are the common design of traditional clothes?
- Can the designs of clothes be worn in modern lifestyle?



Figure 4. Fashion show collections utilized traditional materials at “Ikat day” on 1st day of Fashion week Uzbekistan by designers Turon and Guzal collection

2.5 Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted from 15th March till 3rd of April 2019 in Tashkent city and Margilan. In total it involved 5 groups of 25 stakeholders listed in Table 3 below. The respondents were chosen according to their profession and they had to be self-identified as fashion researchers, designers, craftsmen, consumers and sellers to provide relevant answers

for the study. The interview questions were originally drafted in English and then a modified version (in both English and Uzbek, the national language of Uzbekistan, which is the main language in Tashkent and Margilan) was conducted by the author taking about 45 minutes on average. The interviews were conducted during daytime and working hours. The reason for this was the convenience in terms of time and place for the respondents. The key informant interviews followed a semi-structured format to ensure that the participants could express their thoughts in a free-flowing manner.

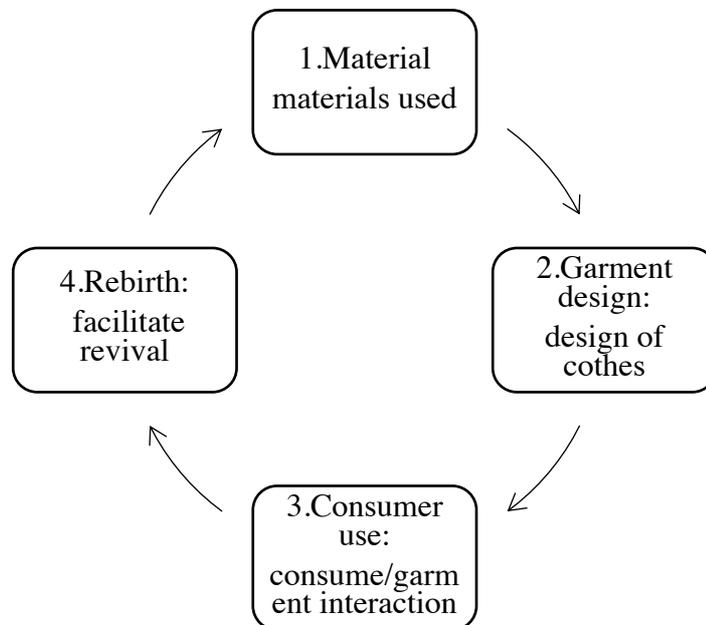


Figure 5 Clothing life cycle adopted by Min and Koo (2017)

The research focuses on the exploring strategies in cultural practices by using clothing life cycle. Min and Koo (2017) define clothing life cycle by how the clothing was made, used and recycled. The previous research that employed this framework considered the strategies that were derived from cultural practices in the example of clothes. Thus, it was identified as the appropriate concept for this study. This concept involves 4 phases in the clothing life cycle: materials, design, consumer use and rebirth. (See Figure 5) During the key informant

interviews 4 thematic areas were covered from clothing life cycle model: materials phase, garment design, consumer use and rebirth. (See table 3)

Table 3. List of Key Informant Interviews

Stakeholder	Research Site	Occupation of Informants
Craftsmen	Margilan Crafts Development center and Yodgorlik textile factory	Center manager Director of Yodgorlik Factory Weavers 2 Pattern makers 2 Dyers 2 Tour guide 1
Designers	Tashkent	8 Local and International designers
Experts	Tashkent and Margilan	4 Ethnographers from Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan Ethnographer from Ferghana University Graduate student from Art and design University
Consumers	Tashkent	Housewife Librarian at research Institute Historian at Academy of science
Sellers	Tashkent	Chorsu Market Chorsu Market Chorsu Market

The researcher employed following guide questions that not necessarily were asked in order. Table 4 below shows the list of questions used in the interview. A copy of the transcripts of the interviews is in Annex A

Table 4. List of Interview Questions

Thematic Area	Question
Demographics	Gender Age, years of experience What is your occupation?
Materials	What is the common materials in traditional materials? Do you know about the common dyes ? Do you know the common patterns? What do you think about the price for traditional materials? What does the price depend on? What is the relationship to environment of traditional materials?
Design	What is the design on traditional Uzbek clothes? What do you think about it? Do you have a traditional clothes? If you answered YES, where do you wear it? How do you feel when you wear it Can you wear it everyday life? How do you wash it? What is the common designs of clothes do you own?
Consumer use	Do you see any changes related with traditional materials? What is the difference between mass market materials and traditional materials? What do you think about designs of traditional clothes? What occasions would you wear? How practical are the clothes?
Rebirth	What are the changes seen in Uzbek traditional clothes? Do you know how can traditional materials be preserved for future generation?

2.6 Scope and limitations

The research employed exploratory method, thus have followed qualitative approach through observations at 2 production sites and an exhibit site as well as key informant interviews. Given that the observation at only one exhibit site was conducted, the results can be used for descriptive analysis and it is not a valid sample of the overall designers. Even though the study has conducted participant observation during the intensive of two months, the

study derived data only during that time of the period and might not have captured the changes that might have taken during the whole period of the research.

The research adopted key informant interviews to validate results from participant observation and secondary data sources to fill in gaps of this methodology.

The research discusses tangible and intangible strategies as seen in Uzbek traditional clothes. While globalization and its impact to cultural heritage can be inferred to in this research, this is not fully explored. This aspect needs to be further explored in a future research.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Participant observation results

To identify cultural strategies in traditional clothes, the research employed participant observation. Using this method, the study was able to identify intangible and tangible strategies adopted in production of traditional Uzbek clothes, in terms of designs of fabrics, types of fabrics and patterns, and design.

Participant observation results are outlined in two subsections: Traditional production process and Design of traditional clothes. Moreover, some parts of the results that were unclear were then validated and clarified through key informant interviews with craftsmen, experts and designers.

3.1.1 Observation at textile factory: traditional fabrics production

The participant observation took place at Yodgorlik textile factory and Crafts Development Center in Margilan. The researcher was accompanied with the tour guide from the factory and visited each production section within the factory and Crafts center such as weaving, dying, pattern making and silk thread extraction rooms.



Figure 6 Sobirjon showing cocoons (on the left) and entrance of Yodgorlik textile factory (right) March 2019

According to tour guide at Yodgorlik textile factory, that natural materials are produced from raw materials such as silk, silk mixed with cotton threads, wool and cotton. The materials that are used to produce fabrics was natural as it came from natural resources. According to tour guide, our ancestors utilized and took advantage of natural resources such as wool, silk, and cotton in an efficient way. These raw materials were chosen to produce fabrics due to climate in the area. For example, he explained due to the climate in summer weather is very hot, thus cotton and silk materials should be worn as it allows air flow to human body. The craftsmen had understanding that natural fabrics influence on human well-being. (See figure 7)



Figure 7. Silk threads during the production process

Based on observation of the pattern making and dyeing of threads, it takes multistage of work which is human labor intensive and requires special skills and knowledge. Pattern making involved drawing of patterns by hand with the special ink that is also produced from natural materials from smoke waste mixed with clay. (see Figure 8)



Figure 8 Procedure of pattern making by hand

The ingredient of dyes that were identified on the site were onion covers, dried pomegranate and walnut covers, isparak roots, and salt. It was noted by the tour guide that all ingredients were natural, and available within Uzbekistan. It can be inferred that some of the ingredient of dyes was food waste and usually thrown away. Yet, this practice of dyeing utilizes those

products in a creative way which enhances the quality of fabrics dyed as well as safe for the dyers during the production process, also stands out with its quality and durability during consumer wash. The tour guide, who is himself belongs to craftsmen's generation mentioned, how working with natural materials and products is save for craftsmen as well. Thus, as he stated the importance to understood that the fabrics are 100% enhances human well-being.



Figure 9 Left photo natural ingredients used for dyeing. The right photo the tour guide explaining the dyeing procedure

Then, the researcher was led to weaving room, and observed the weaving process that is solely done by women. Women use both hands and legs to make atlas and adras fabrics that are made with ikat technique. Ikat is the technique of dyeing, where patterns are extracted through dyeing process. The figure 10 shows women in weaving process. The tour guide explained that materials are being weaved going to be shipped to local designers as well as for foreign customers from Germany, USA, and Italy. According to him, demand for materials are increasing among foreigners. For instance, famous designer, Gucci ordered adras fabrics in the past from Yodgorlik textile factory and used those fabrics in their collections. The photos of clothes that were designed by famous designer Gucci was seen in textile factory showroom. (See figure 11) The tangible features of the fabrics, aesthetic appeal has brought a lot of attention not only locally also internationally.



Figure 10 Weavers at textile factory



Figure 11 Showroom at Yodgorlik textile factory: a photo of Gucci collection made with adras fabric

The both textile factory and Crafts center had showroom with clothes made from traditional fabrics produced. The design of clothes was straight shaped, mostly were dresses and coats, and modern traditional clothes such as short jackets, blousons and others. (See figure 12) Tour guide stated on availability of clothes both in modern and traditional designs. Their appeal in both designs attracts attention and on demand.



Figure 12 Show room of traditional clothes at Crafts Development Center

3.1.2 Observation at fashion week Uzbekistan: ikat day 1

Ikat day was dedicated to clothes made from traditional materials. The researcher identified designs that were commonly used by local designers on Ikat day of fashion week. Designers combined traditional fabrics with traditional designs that are commonly wide, simple, and tunic shaped designs. The clothes are mostly can be worn for special occasions such as wedding, and national holidays. (See Figure 13)



Figure 13 Common designs seen of local fashion designers

Yet, there were few designers who combined traditional fabrics with modern designs and elements. Uzbek designer, Shaxzoda showcased her collection with modern designs. Figure 12 was taken during her presentation of her collection. This means that traditional fabrics can look aesthetically appealing both in traditional designs as well as modern design. Modern designs allow the wearer to be comfortable as well as it would match the current trends in fashion. Thus, it can be concluded that traditional fabrics can be fashionable and can be remade to modern designs.



Figure 14 Fashion collection of designer Shaxzoda

Summary

Observation conducted at two textile factories in Margilan allowed to yield data on intangible strategies in production of traditional fabrics. It was clear that craftsmen made fabrics and dyes were natural. There was clear understanding and knowledge behind why those ingredients were chosen. Craftsmen explained that human wellbeing and relation of environment to human well-being was clearly understood by the ancestors thus traditional practices in making fabrics utilize natural products that has benefits for both wearer and producer.

The observation results from Ikat day brought out the discussion on designs of traditional clothes. It was observed that modern garments made with traditional fabric can look fashionable and appealing. This validates the discussions from literature that tangible elements from cultural practices that are materials and patterns allow the garments serve as inspiration for designers in fashion industry.

3.2 Key informant interview results

To deeply understand the tangible and intangible strategies within each clothing life cycle phase, the research employed a key informant interview. Using this method, the study was able to profile intangible design strategies in each clothing life cycle of traditional clothes.

The semi-structured interview results are outlined in five subsections: Demographics, Materials, Garment design, Consumer use, and Rebirth.

3.2.1 Demographics

The study interviewed 25 respondents in 2 research sites in Margilan and Tashkent. The 17 (68%) respondents were female, 9 (32%) were male. Table 6 outlines the gender distribution per research site.

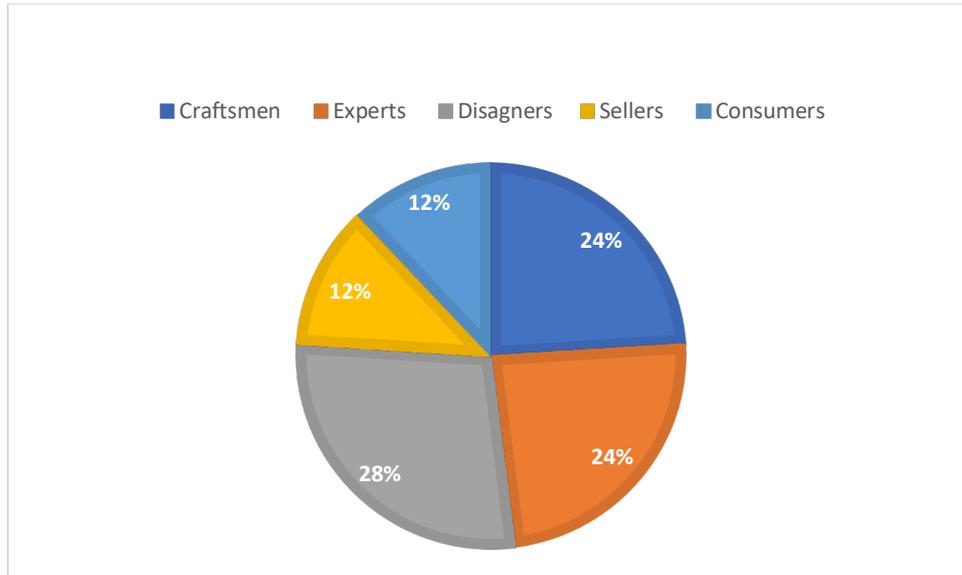


Figure 15 Percentage of Respondents by occupation

Experience in the apparel industry

The gender distribution that was highlighted in the study, all the ethnographers, and majority of designers were dominantly females. The male respondents were mostly involved in market related or craftsmen related positions.

Table 5. Distribution of Male and Female Respondents per research site

Location		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Location	Tashkent	4	13	
	Margilan	5	4	
	Total	9	18	25
		28%	72%	100%

The participants who identified themselves as craftsman, have experience of working from 8 years up to 40 years. The gender distribution for craftsmen was both female and male, women

engaged in weaving and cultivating silk worms while men’s work was mainly on dying, pattern making and preparing the threads for the weaving. Some of the participants belong to craftsman generations, and some of them have learned those skills from their teachers. Both experts and designers who participated in the study, all were female except one male designer. Experts have published books and conducted research studies on Uzbek traditional clothes as their PhD and post-doctoral studies. While designers have their own fashion brands, and private fashion schools. On average the experts had 8, and designers 7 years of experience in the field.

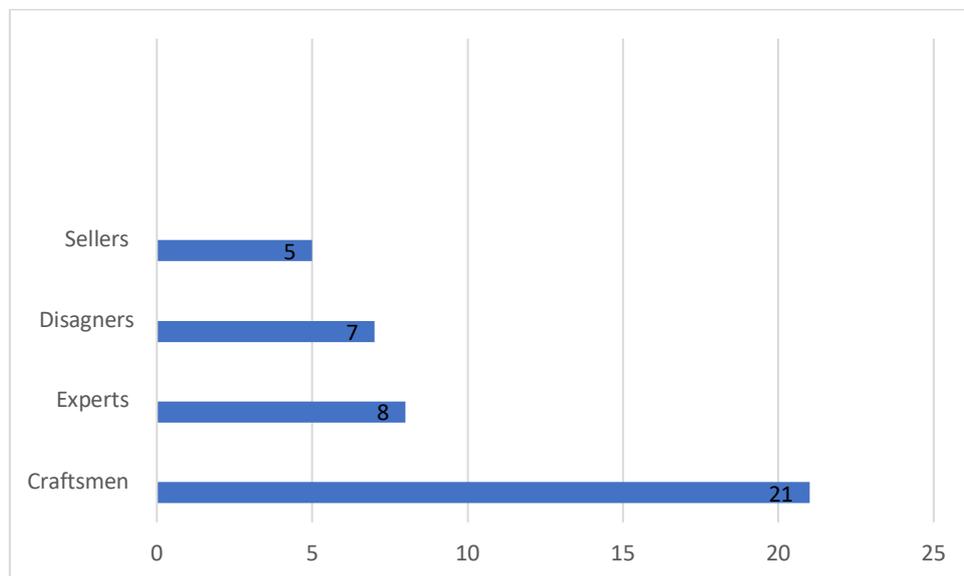


Figure 16. Respondents Average Years of Experience in the Garment Industry

3.2.2 Materials

The key informant interviews gathered data about first phase of clothing life cycle, materials used and related tangible and intangible strategies in Uzbek traditional clothes. The information gathered are summed up by material type and method of production, sources of materials and Ikat on materials.

Material type

All respondents knew materials types and method of production and mentioned atlas and adras as a commonly known materials used in traditional clothes. All the respondents knew about sources of materials and indicated Margilan as the main center of production for traditional materials. According to the interview results, the common type of threads of materials were cotton, silk, cotton threads mixed with silk, wool. (See figure 17, 18)



Figure 17 Silk threads



Figure 18 Left: Cotton mixed with silk threads; Right: Wool threads

Materials and human well-being

The respondents stated that materials used in traditional clothes are natural and ecologically safe thus has positive correlation to human wellbeing. Specifically, materials provide air flow when worn. According to secondary sources, cotton fabrics were used for inner parts like underarms to make the wash of clothes easier and overall natural fabrics are gentle for skin. (Ibragimova,2004; Davlatova,2006) Only the sellers did not mention on materials relation to human-wellbeing. Experts mentioned they give preference to natural materials as it best fits the climate in the region. Consumers preferred natural materials such as cotton and silk as it provided air flow, and emphasized cotton being practical fabric.

Method of production - handmade

The respondents stated materials used in traditional clothes involve intensive human labor and skills during the production process and thus considered handmade.

Handmade was another feature that traditional materials were recognized by the respondents. They gave importance to the value of materials that are being made by human labor, and thus

associated higher price factor with that. Hand-made was also associated as something that differentiated mass market clothes from traditional clothes. (See figure 19)

The French designer, who uses Uzbek traditional fabrics in her designs, stated on importance of handmade and cultural practices:

“Ikat, the weaving technique of atlas and adras, is extremely complicated and complex, handmade, ancestral. We need to give more space to those kind of materials for them not to die out.”



Figure 19 Left: method of production: handmade. Right: weaver at Yodgorlik textile factory during the weaving process of fabrics.

Material sources

When asked about materials sold in market, craftsmen explained the differences between craftsmen made materials and materials sold in market. According to craftsmen at Crafts Development Center, craftsmen made materials can be differentiated with high quality in terms of silk threads, dyes and patterns. Craftsman3 stated

“In market the materials that are sold are made by chemical dyes and thus they stand out with very shiny colors, and if you wash them all the colors will come off. The quality is

very high here as we use more silk threads, but market makes two things out of the same ingredients. It's true many women might prefer market textile as it is very vibrant and catches your attention with vibrant colored patterns. Nowadays women prefer the market ones that vibrant and standing out ones thus they are very on demand” (See figure 20)



Figure 20 Craftsman3 explaining the quality of craftsmen made clothes.

According to interview results with craftsmen, craftsmen made fabrics and fabrics sold in market can be differentiated with price, quality, and method of production.

According to semi-structured interviews, ethnographers, sellers and consumers mentioned availability of materials weaved by machines that are imported from China, with Uzbek (ikat) patterns on them. For instance, one of the consumers stated her preference to traditional clothes and likes to wear on day to day basis at work. She explained that the coat she is wearing was made from Chinese fabrics that are sold in market. She mentioned it being inexpensive because it is machine-made and practical as material composition involves nylon, thus she can wash it often and can be worn on every day basis. She underlined the fact she likes this type of material as it has a traditional Uzbek motives and Uzbek (ikat) patterns. (See figure 21)

Other respondents also noted, imported materials can be practical during consumer use and cheaper compared to craftsmen made fabrics.

First reason, fabrics produced by craftsmen is made from silk and silk mixed with cotton threads thus it is more expensive compared to materials made from mix of synthetic materials sold in market. One advantage of synthetic fabrics they are durable for washing while craftsman made should be washed by hand. Yet, experts and craftsmen stated synthetic materials are not suitable to the climate in the region, and thus they support natural fabrics in traditional clothes.



Figure 21 Consumer wearing traditional coat at her work.

Material dyes

According to interview results, craftsmen stated that currently materials are being dyed both synthetic as well as natural dyes. Experts and craftsmen knew the kinds of ingredients used to extract natural dyes used in materials and only craftsmen mentioned how to differentiate the natural dyes from synthetic dyes. According to craftsmen, natural dyes are more milder and as not shiny as synthetic dyes. Another important aspect behind using natural dyes, it is durability during consumers use meaning that natural dyes preserve its colors longer compared to synthetic dyes.

Craftsmen at Crafts Development center stated:

“In market the materials that are sold are made by chemical dyes and thus they stand out with very shiny colors, and if you wash them all the colors will come off. The quality is very high here as we use natural dyes.”

The craftsmen and experts mentioned how natural dyes are preferred for human wellbeing as well as environment. Craftsmen stated that working with natural dyes is safe for them during the production process, and the director of textile factory mentioned that dyers who work with natural dyes never get sick with asthma or skin rashes.

Specifically, he stated: “Interesting fact and good side of using natural dyes is that, dyers never have skin diseases as all the products they work with comes from nature.”

In term of environmental aspect, natural dyes are made from natural products and thus craftsmen believe that it has no negative impact to environment. Thus, it is important to note that there is a positive correlation or link between dyes to human-wellbeing and environment.

3.2.3 Garment design

Traditional clothes design

All respondents mentioned straight design as traditional design and described as wide, simple, straight, and comfortable. According to experts, this design type is called tunic-shaped design, and its roots of origin in Uzbekistan was related with people’s lifestyles as it gave comfort and mobility while moving and sitting in daily life.

Information regarding the current design trends for traditional clothes is modern-traditional, combination of traditional materials with modern designs. Experts stated the design is modern but traditional materials and wide silhouette considered as traditional-modern clothes. Straight design is preserved in traditional Uzbek clothes till now. International designers stated that Uzbek designers mostly focus on traditional design clothes and suggested

on creating modern clothes with the use of traditional materials and suggested on material quality improvement in consumer care phase. (See figure 22)



Figure 22. Left. Design of dress at Fashion week Uzbekistan. Right: Clothes as seen in Chorsu market

Traditional materials and modern designs

Based on the narratives of the respondents of experts and designers, design of clothes adjusts to the new trends and undergoes transformation. Yet, traditional materials and ikat patterns determines cultural value of traditional clothes. Design of clothes changes but materials are preserved, when the materials are seen in modern design they are still considered traditional even though the design underwent transformation. Thus, it can be said that materials and patterns on them are identified as the primary indicator of cultural value of traditional clothes.

Rebirth

Participating international designers at the Fashion Week in Uzbekistan, mentioned about awareness on environmental issues, and to address this they use some techniques to be more conscious in their work. For instance, using recycled materials, investing in high quality clothes and wearing it for longer times, preserving garments for longer times and re-wearing them when the fashion trends comes back. According to designers, fashion trends return every ten to twenty years and, if consumers are taught about clothes they purchase and understand that phenomenon it can lead towards utilization of clothes to the fullest and thus becomes a sustainable practice.

3.2.4 Consumer use

Occasion

As traditional clothes are designed from traditional fabrics, first consumers buy the fabrics and then take it to the designer who sews the clothes. There is ready to wear traditional clothes as well that can be purchased from market, yet it was important to note most respondents stated their opinion based on the information on traditional fabrics. Consumers explained practical as the garment can be washed by machine as often as it is worn, and fabrics can withstand the everyday use.

All the respondents said clothes made from atlas, adras and a'lo bahmal fabrics are worn for special occasions such as weddings, holidays and others. One of the commonly used fabric chit made from cotton is considered as practical material thus can be worn day to day basis. Yet, atlas and adras fabrics should be washed by hand as it is made from silk and silk mixed with cotton threads. Based on the respondent's statements, material quality in case of durability in consumer use phase should be enhanced. Based on the information gathered from secondary sources, atlas and adras fabrics with uzbek (ikat) patterns had higher cultural value compared

to cotton made fabrics. This is due traditionally, atlas and adras was only worn by high elite class of the society thus was called “hon-atlas” (king-atlas), and cotton fabric was worn by middle and lower classes (Ibragimova,2004; Davlatova,2006; Sadikova N, 2006; Zununova,2012).

3.2.5 Rebirth

Revival of cultural heritage

All the respondents stated people started embracing national identity after Uzbekistan gained independence. Respondents noted that traditional clothes and fabrics have gained its popularity once again. According to them, this is linked with national policy that established programs to develop and promote craftsmanship in the country. In turn these opportunities for craftsmen and textile businesses have led to revitalizing cultural heritage including traditional clothes and fabrics.

This was confirmed with the existing literature, to revitalize and safeguard cultural practices on a legal basis at a national and international level. In 1997, state adopted measures to support of further development of folk arts and crafts. In 2009, government introduced Amendments to the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Safeguarding and Use of Objects of Cultural Heritage. In 2010, adopted the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers “On the State Program for the Safeguarding, Preservation and Promotion of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2010–2020”, on approval of the resolution # 222 of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan. At international level, Uzbekistan ratified the International Convention “On Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage” adopted in 2003 (ICHCAP, 2018).

Respondents stated that they have been seeing traditional fabrics such as ikat patterns being used on fashion shows on TV, and noticed more people wearing traditional clothes in modern

designs on daily life. For instance, consumer who is housewife, stated when she traveled abroad she saw Uzbek ikat prints on clothes, and furniture, and watched on TV some foreign designers using Uzbek ikat prints in their collections.

A further literature review was conducted by author and visit in textile factory in Margilan findings confirmed that famous designers such as Oscar Dela Renta, Gucci, Georgia Armani, Osman Yousefzada, Hermes and others famous designer fashion houses have ordered fabrics from them and introduced ikat patterns in their collections (Mentges & Shamukhutdinova, 2013). (See figure 23)



Figure 23. Silk ikat clothes from the House of Oscar de la Renta 2019 Spring-summer collection (Uzbekjourneys.com)

As presented in key informant interview and participant observation results, most respondents stated they feel proud in wearing traditional clothes, and in case of craftsmen producing traditional fabrics and designers designing clothes from traditional fabrics they find pride doing that job. Experts stated clothes made from adras and atlas fabrics always be Uzbek peoples national brand and represent Uzbek people's identity and ancestral job. The revival of cultural heritage has influenced through strengthening people's awareness of their roots and cultural heritage. People identify holidays such as Navruz, special occasion such as weddings with traditional clothes and part of traditional celebrations. Reviving cultural heritage in this

case through textile craftsmanship practices has positive correlation to nations awareness of their identity and cultural practices which contributes to diversity in the society.

Modernization and preservation

As revival of cultural heritage has brought a lot of opportunities in textile industry, as coin has two sides it has also brought transformations and changes. According to craftsmen, the increase in number of textile factories in the past 20 years, as well as amount of people who is interested in learning ancestral knowledge of making traditional fabrics is increasing. Craftsmen stated that newly opened craftsmanship centers and textile businesses need to follow market rules. The market expert and craftsmen from Craftsman Development center, both stated the increase of new and simple types of patterns being produced in recent years. They both saw it as an issue and suggested the number of original patterns that are seen in books should be used more. Craftsmen suggested even if craftsman is in the position of creating new patterns, they should create patterns that have higher level of difficulty. (See figure 24)



Figure 24. The market expert (on the left) and craftsman from Crafts Development Center (right) explaining the patterns and new trends related with them.

The director of Yodgorlik textile factory, who is in business for 40 years, raised an issue and stated that consumers awareness and knowledge about Uzbek fabrics is fading. According to him, nowadays consumers unable to differentiate the adras and atlas fabrics from simple “chit” cotton fabrics. He stated that “Adras was never made from cotton but silk fabrics and only mixed with cotton threads.” He also noted “When consumers see atlas or adras prints on “chit” (cotton) fabrics people recognize it as adras but it is not. Chit (cotton) with adras patterns became one-time worn clothes, as the dye quality is low and after one wash it loses the color thus loses its quality. Because of market, we changed our values about the meanings of our materials. EX: hon-atlas is worn by kings (100% silk only) but now we are using those patterns on cheaper cotton and other fabrics. For example, cotton costs 8000 sum (1\$) per meter while silk 80000 sum (10\$) per meter. This might lower the reputation of the true traditional fabrics.”

This information from craftsmen and market expert, lead the researcher to infer to interviews with sellers in market. According to most sellers, they sell “chit” cotton fabrics or cotton mixed with silk, yet few silk materials are being sold due to expensive price.

Also, the sellers stated that in recent years there is increased number of patterns on fabrics was observed by them, and when asked about this tendency they stated the patterns of the textiles and the traditional clothes depend on the market demand, market decides the trends nowadays. Before, they used to produce fabrics with old patterns mostly but now craftsmen are adding new patterns. This confirms the statement of the director of the textile industry, the craftsmen and market expert.

Traditional clothes as seen in market are mostly produced from cotton fabrics, and cotton mixed with silk, however even cotton fabrics are known as adras among consumers as they unable to differentiate composition of the fabric. Indeed, when researcher observed and studied

traditional clothes sold in market, most of them were made from cotton, and some with silk mixed with cotton threads. (See Figure 25.)



Figure 25. Traditional clothes sold in Chorsu market

Thus, craftsmen and market experts state in Uzbekistan, there is a need to prepare good experts and teach consumers how to differentiate the silk and cotton. They emphasized on the need to produce more difficult and detailed patterns or use patterns that were created by craftsmen in the past in that way patterns will preserve its true meanings and cultural value. The discussion overall lead to understand the importance of intangible strategies behind the clothes: knowledge and meanings behind fabrics and patterns will lead to preservation of original and cultural heritage.

Summary

The results of semi-structured interviews with the research participants suggested several key findings about the tangible and intangible strategies in traditional clothes. The traditional

Uzbek clothes have been incorporating modern designs and elements: with shorter length of dress and skirt, shorter jackets, pants and others. Moreover, during interviews consumers mention this transformation of traditional clothes is seen as positive as it can be easily adopted to current fashion trends, which makes them more appealing. The consumers during the interview believe that availability of imported fabrics allow practical and cheaper versions of traditional clothes. However, as craftsmen mentioned in interviews the quality and overall forms and norms of fabrics and patterns sold in market might not be sufficient to comply with ancestral way of production. Thus, the interview results with craftsmen and experts revealed the risk of hindering the cultural value of traditional clothes.

The closer look at textile factory and crafts development center as well as the interviews with respondents indicated there is a need to increase the awareness of intangible strategies in cultural practices. Particularly, there is a need to prepare more experts and craftsmen who are the bearers of knowledge and skills behind those cultural practices. The craftsmen, during the interview believe that it is crucial to sustain the patterns and forms of fabrics that has been passed from generation to generation, pass this knowledge and skills to starting craftsmen, and educate consumers about forms and norms of fabrics and patterns in clothes. Using this case, it helps to understand the importance of intangible strategies to sustaining culture and cultural practices.

The results suggested two constraints of adapting intangible strategies to modern clothes which can be further investigated. First, the practicability during the consumer use should be enhanced. The respondents during the interview believed the traditional clothes required special care, and thus would be challenging to wear them as everyday clothes.

Secondly, the price factor for traditional clothes that is related to production method. Interview results indicate that consumers appreciate and value the hand-made fabrics however, to adapt traditional fabrics for everyday clothes was challenging due to price. Thus, the results of the

key informant interviews indicate that the tangible strategies were easier to adapt to modern clothes as it only considered the material object such as colors, patterns, and designs. Yet, adopting traditional fabrics in everyday clothes was seen positive when human-wellbeing was considered. The findings indicate that despite its constraints to adopt intangible strategies to modern clothes, they generally facilitated knowledge and understanding of traditional clothes and fabrics and patterns plays crucial role in cultural vitality.

4. DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Sustaining culture through tangible and intangible strategies

The findings from the Uzbek traditional clothes suggest what tangible and intangible strategies can facilitate in cultural strategies.

The research found that within cultural strategies in making traditional clothes both the tangible and intangible strategies play important role. Furthermore, the strategies that were analyzed from observations at two research sites and key informant interviews shows that the tangible strategies were the main inspiration for designers and fashion discipline that validated previous studies (Cho, 2009; Min & Koo,2017).

The existing studies on cultural heritage address the social-economic changes in the society that impacts culture which was confirmed in this study (Yang et al., 2018; Hwang and Huang; 2019). As explored through key informant interviews, the market sold clothes generally focused on tangible strategies or physical factors of designing traditional clothes. While the craftsmen and the sellers stated the changes happening in market sold traditional fabrics with simple patterns being produced and the material types are being misinterpreted. This finding indicates that this change may be seen against our proposed definition of cultural sustainability, where we can observe the influence of socio-economic change culture and cultural practices. Initially, as we proposed cultural sustainability is the change that take place without endangering the intrinsic and instrumental values of culture (Soini & Dessein, 2016). Thus, we posit that the changes in fabrics and patterns that were observed in this study might lead to misinterpretation of the cultural value in traditional clothes, specifically the intangible cultural strategies might face potential risks of misinterpretation and in the worst case lead to endangerment.

This study argues designers and practitioners in fashion discipline who apply tangible strategies from culture should consider intangible strategies in designing clothes. We posit that

the tangible strategies allow the culture to change, enhance and adapt to changes while giving importance and consideration to intangible strategies allow the culture to be sustained.

4.2 Material phase as a source of sustaining culture

Our findings that intangible strategies can be applied to modern clothes replicates the findings of Min and Koo (2017), upon which our clothing life cycle method of research was based. Certainly, differences in material phase Uzbek traditional clothes carry was found in present study. For example, the intangible strategies that are extracted from cultural practices in our study with the criteria used by Min and Koo (2017) shows similar strategies such as natural dyes and fabrics used but different level of importance is given. This study argues that the first phase, materials is crucial in clothing life cycle model. When the types of fabrics, the patterns and dyes of them is enhanced and promoted it impacts all other phases of the clothing lifecycle. For instance, the price, the method and type of fabrics identify the occasion of traditional clothes to be worn, how it is washed, and designed. (See figure26)

Secondly, if the ancestral knowledge, skills and practices used in material phase is applied the intrinsic value of culture would be sustained. This complies with UNESCO and governments efforts in safeguarding the traditional techniques of atlas (fabric type) making initiative at Crafts Development Center in Margilan. (UNESCO, 2017) Crafts Development Center conducts trainings and master classes to starting craftsmen, especially the 9th generation craftsmen Mr. Rasuljon who is the head of the center has been pioneering in reworking the old traditional forms of fabrics. In other words, fabrics, its forms, dyes and patterns on them would facilitate the cultural sustainability of traditional clothes.

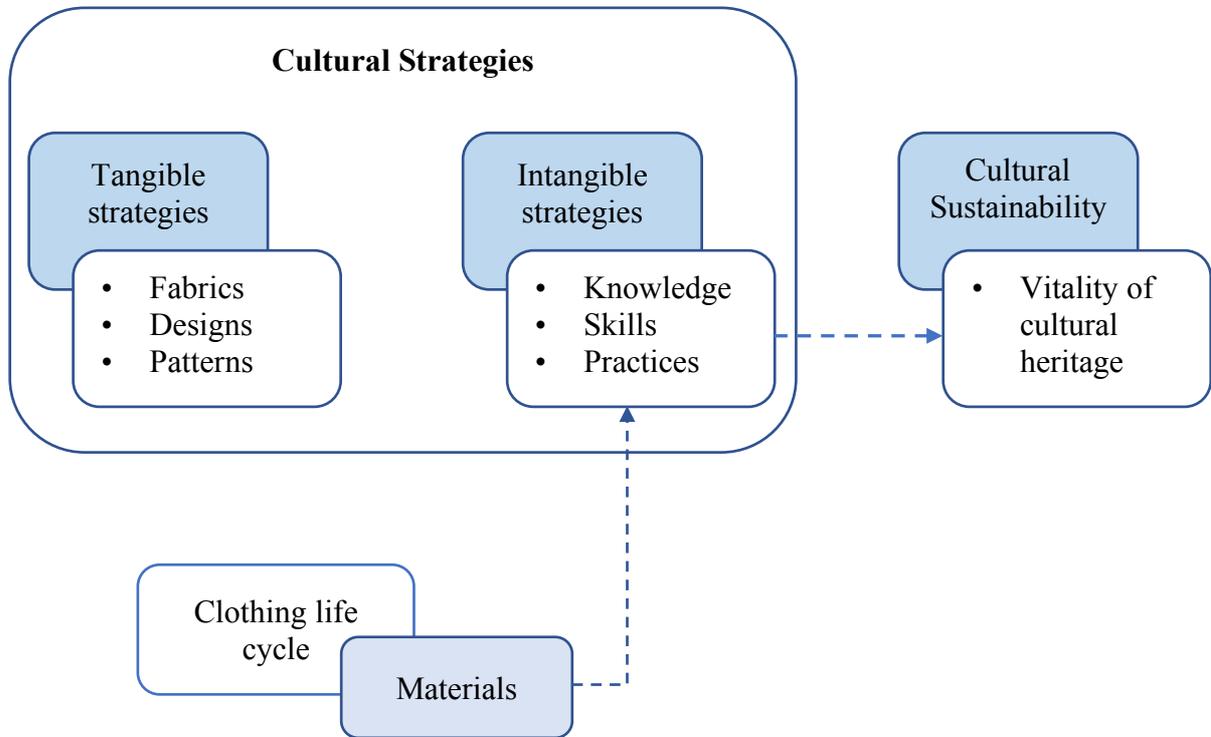


Figure 26. Reworked model for cultural sustainability (Created by the author)

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Conclusions

The research overall aimed to explore tangible and intangible strategies behind traditional clothes and its importance to sustaining culture. This study opened its argument by underlining the need to consider intangible strategies in culture which plays an important role in sustaining culture. Adopting Uzbekistan's traditional clothes case, the tangible and intangible strategies were adopted in cultural clothes. To capture both strategies, participant observation and key informant interviews were conducted.

Based on the findings, tangible strategies contributed to attracting international audience, and facilitated revival of traditional clothes and fabrics. When intangible strategies were combined with the tangible strategies the quality of clothes is higher in terms of materials and patterns. Particularly traditional clothes that were produced by craftsman combined both strategies thus had higher quality.

Second, materials phase is identified crucial intangible strategies in traditional clothes. It indicated close link to cultural value of clothes, and cultural practices.

5.2 Recommendations for future research

The study explored how traditional clothes are being adapted to current modern markets in recent years. There are several themes that were not explored during the study but may constitute a suitable direction for further research.

The research was conducted in a country that produces raw materials such as cotton, silk and wool for its textile production. A link between textiles and their environmental and social sustainability levels could be investigated further. Likewise, a similar case in other countries exist, such as China with its silk and cotton production activities can also be investigated in comparative study.

The research only focused on strategies that enable to sustain cultural practices. Moreover, it only explored tangible and intangible strategies. However, as discussed earlier in literature review section, the spread of modernization and globalization may endanger some of the cultural practices and can exacerbate vulnerability of practitioner's income generation practices. The link of cultural practices and globalization can be studied further.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A. Interview questions

I am Parvina Pasilova from Tokyo University. Currently, I am doing my masters research majoring in Sustainability science. Thank you so much for agreeing to take part in my research on the topic of “Sustainable apparel design strategies of Uzbek traditional clothing”. My thesis paper is exploring how Cultural design strategies, in case of Uzbek embed sustainable strategies. For example, usage of “jiyak or kashta” is used to make clothes more durable when it is worn or washed.

I will be immensely grateful for your participation in my interview. If you have further questions, please feel free to reach me on pparvina@yahoo.com

Interview guide: semi-structured interviews

➤ Material phase

1. What techniques are used to produce those materials?
2. What techniques are used to produce those dyes?
3. How do you choose techniques to produce those materials?
4. How do you choose techniques to produce those dyes?
5. Where do you source the materials, dyes and etc?
6. What is the main criteria to choose those techniques/strategies?
7. What techniques of material production is only used in Uzbek traditional clothing?
8. How much is spent to produce those materials/dyes by using those techniques?
9. How much does it cost to produce those materials?
10. How much does it cost for labor costs?
11. How applicable those practice in other countries?
12. Can we use those techniques in larger scale?

➤ Garment design and production

1. What are the common practices in garment design?
2. What design practices are originated in Uzbekistan?
3. What are the design techniques that has become famous?
4. What are the reasons they are still used?
5. What are the advantages of using those strategies?
6. What are the disadvantages of using those strategies?
7. What about zero-waste pattern making?
8. Have you used it in your collections?
9. Are there other techniques used to create less waste?

➤ **Consumer Use**

1. What is your general impression of traditional clothing?
2. What do you like about design of traditional clothes?
3. What you don't like about design of traditional clothes?
4. What do you think about materials?
 1. What do you think about dyes?
 2. What do you think about design of clothes?
 3. What is the main criteria for you to buy and wear these garments?
 4. How do you feel when you wear traditional clothes?
 5. Where do you go when you wear traditional clothes?
 6. Have you considered wearing traditional clothes day to day basis?
 7. What is your suggestion to improve them?
 8. Do you consider the weather in design of the clothes?
 9. How do you design it?
 10. Why?

➤ **Rebirth**

1. What do you like about the patterns in garments?
2. What do you think of using pattern from century to century?
3. How do you perceive when you wear those clothes?
4. What do you think when other people wear it?
5. How do you perceive when people of other culture wear it?
6. What can and cannot be used by people of other culture? Why?
7. How do you feel making those garments?
8. How do you feel making those patterns?
9. What do you do after you don't wear or use your traditional clothes? 4
10. What do you think we should do when we stop wearing our traditional clothes?
11. What do you think how long this trend of Uzbek patterns will last?
12. What is the future generation is going to wear in the future?

SECONDARY DATA

Summary of identified strategies of Uzbek traditional clothes in clothing lifecycle is seen in figure 27.

Clothing life cycle phases	Design strategies
1. Material	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uzbek traditional fabrics, such as cotton, silk (atlas) and half-silk (adras), wool • One of the following colors is observed from the literature: red, blue, green, yellow, white and black colors: all obtained from natural resources (Davlatova, 2006) • Cotton fabrics were used for inner parts like underarms to make the wash easier and overall natural fabrics are gentler for skin. (Ibragimova, 2004; Davlatova, 2006)
2. Garment design and production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The shape and silhouette are simple, tunic or A shaped dresses, flexible as it is wide (Sadikova, 2006) • The designing helps utilize 100 per cent of the fabric to minimize waste of fabrics. A special sewing technic is used to make clothes last longer and avoid ripping in threads. (Ibragimova, 2004)
3. Consumer use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The design is created for the purpose for versatility in sizes and body shapes, pants and shirt can provide high mobility and modern look. • Tunic-shaped dress provides size versatility to fit the body size or shape. • Modern elements can be incorporated to current fashion standards (Sadikova N, 2006; Zununova, 2012)
4. Rebirth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material quality and design allows the garment to be passed from generation to generation and value of it only increases with years

Figure 27. Secondary data collected on sustainable design strategies identified in traditional Uzbek clothes