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**Profiles of successful textile handcraft entrepreneurs in Teotitlán
del Valle, Oaxaca, México**

Popelka, Cheryl Ann, Ph.D.

Iowa State University, 1989

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**300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106**

**Profiles of successful textile handcraft entrepreneurs in
Teotitlán del Valle, Oaxaca, México**

by

Cheryl Ann Popelka

**A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Departments: Textiles and Clothing
Family and Consumer Sciences Education
Co-majors: Textiles and Clothing
Home Economics Education**

Approved:

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Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Graduate College

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1989

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INTRODUCTION

Handcrafts are an important source of income in the rapidly changing economies of the third and fourth world. In developing countries, handcrafts are the second most important source of income after agriculture (Pye, 1986). Because handcraft production provides income essential to meeting the subsistence needs of families in Asia, it has been called a rice bowl issue by Hans Guggenheim (1986), president of the World Craft Foundation. The importance of handcraft-generated income is not limited to the Asian countries; it extends around the world. The Economic Commission for Latin America estimates that 40 million Latin American men and women are engaged in full-time and part-time craft production. These craft producers are most often found in the 40% of the population living below the poverty line (Tadmore, 1984).

Historically, handcrafted items were produced to fulfill daily or ceremonial needs within the craft producer's community. Some craftpersons produced items for trade; however, these items were targeted for consumers with whom long standing trade relationships had been developed. Craftpersons produced items for these traditional consumers whose aesthetic preferences were known and understood. Today, mass produced items are replacing or have replaced handcrafts in the traditional market. The result is a declining indigenous market for handcrafts and a declining income for the producers. Economic necessity is forcing craft producers to seek new markets with nontraditional consumers outside the community or region.

In 1983, handcraft exports from developing countries were \$US 8.45 billion. The estimated total market for handcraft exports may be as large as \$US 25 billion (Pye, 1986). Exportation is only one part of the new potential market for handcrafts.

Recent growth in international travel also provides enormous potential for handcraft marketing. The World Tourism Organization estimates 1985 world travel at 325 million arrivals with expenditures at \$US 105 billion (Lickorish, 1987). Tourism researchers suggest that travel trends are for smaller groups seeking to investigate and to discover different areas (Leslie, 1987). This trend should lead to increased tourism in once remote areas. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development reports that travel expenditures other than transportation, lodging, and food are high in the Third World (Lickorish, 1987). Although travel expenditures were not further delineated, it is possible that tourists' expenditures for souvenir items, such as handcrafts, would be included in these high expenditures. Paradoxically, the completion of transportation systems that invited the trading of mass produced items that now replace handcrafts in once remote areas are also responsible for expediting the arrival of new consumers, the tourists.

The economic well being of many handcraft producers around the world depends upon the successful development of new markets (Guggenheim, 1986). Compelling reasons for developing handcraft markets include:

1. As agriculture becomes more mechanized, fewer households are supported by agriculture; thus, craft income becomes an increasingly important source of income (Pye, 1986).
2. Handcrafts use local raw materials, require little capital investment, and earn foreign exchange when exported (Dhamija, 1975; Pye, 1986).
3. Craft production often uses technology and methods that require comparatively little investment in machinery or equipment; therefore, labor intensive craft production provides more employment than highly mechanized methods of production (Dhamija, 1975; Schumacher, 1973).

4. Crafts are not dependent upon land ownership; therefore, craft production contributes to equity in income distribution for women, ethnic minorities, and other disadvantaged groups who have not been able to acquire land (Pye, 1986).
5. Many households with agriculture-based economies are already engaged in craft production; therefore, craft production can be developed further from an existing household-based industry that is integrated with household responsibilities and the agricultural cycle (Dhamija, 1975). In Malaysia, the 1980 census estimated 18% of the agricultural work force relied on craft and production work for their primary economic activity. The census did not include individuals producing handcrafts as a secondary or part-time activity (Yacob et al., 1985).
6. Craft production in rural areas may help to stem migration to urban areas where individuals cease to be farmers and skilled craft producers. In the urban setting, migrants become unskilled laborers or face unemployment and are without the resources provided through subsistence agriculture.

Although there are many compelling reasons for the development of craft production, there are problems associated with modifying a traditional craft product or developing a new product for tourist markets and international trade. Craftpersons know the aesthetic preferences and uses of items produced for traditional markets; however, these standards cannot be applied to patrons from another culture (Graburn, 1982). As a response to perceived desires of the new market, craftpersons may innovate and adapt products (Graburn, 1976). How accurately the products reflect the actual preferences of the new market determines the acceptance of the craft. Inaccurate perceptions of consumer preferences can result in the investment of resources in products that are not acceptable to either the new market or to the traditional market.

The market potential for crafts provides justification for research intended to aid craft producers in establishing tourist and international export markets. Craft producers need assistance in identifying potential consumers, assessing the

consumer's aesthetic and product preferences, developing and exploring new market methods, and evaluating the suitability of sales sites to the targeted consumers. Findings from a study of craft producers who have been successful in shifting production from a traditional market to tourist and international export markets would serve as an example for other craft producers and for educators working in rural economic development.

Teotitlán del Valle, Oaxaca, Mexico, is a site appropriate for the study of craft producers successful in adapting traditional handicrafts to tourist and international export markets (Cuéllar, 1984; Popelka, 1987; Stephen, 1987a, b; Vargas-Barón, 1968; Weitlaner-Johnson, 1986). Historically, this village has produced textiles, known as *sarapes*, for local use and for trade within the Oaxaca market system (Nader, 1969). Today, most of Teotitlán del Valle's 1,039 households produce textiles destined for tourist and export markets (Stephen, 1987b). In recent years, production has shifted from items intended for use as traditional poncho-like wraps and blankets to rugs and wall hangings designed for display as decorator items in the homes of consumers living all over the world. The shift from a traditional market to the tourist and export market has expanded sales to the point that nearly all family units within the community specialize in textile production. For some individuals and families, the opportunities for employment have expanded beyond agriculture and craft production. A small number of individuals and families have developed businesses that provide services for the weaving households, for example, automobile repair. Although economic development has provided new opportunities, the cultural life and indigenous political control of the community has not been destroyed. The overall result is increased cash flow for the entire community, the virtual

elimination of poverty in the village, and development controlled by the members of the community (Stephen, 1987b).

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of the research was to provide a multifaceted approach to the study of the textile handcraft market system of Teotitlán del Valle. The handcraft market is a social system formed by the interactions among producers, vendors, and consumers. This research emphasized 1) the business and personal characteristics of handcraft producers and 2) textile product evolution in response to changing consumers. To understand the craft producer, the researcher profiled the entrepreneurial textile producers in Teotitlán del Valle. The focus of the profiles was on business practices and included investigation of personal background, production methods, and marketing strategies. To understand product change in, the researcher classified and described Teotitlán del Valle handcraft evolution in terms of market change, consumer preference, and producer response. The focus of evolution was on changes in product form, raw materials, colors, and design.

Specific objectives were:

1. Describe the entrepreneurs in terms of business characteristics such as
 - a. types of customers,
 - b. diversity of products,
 - c. methods of production,
 - d. location of production facilities,
 - e. types of markets,
 - f. types and number of workers,

- g. division of labor or workers' roles,
 - h. plans for change or future growth,
- and in terms of personal characteristics, such as
 - a. family background,
 - b. education and training,
 - c. work experience,
 - d. participation in community social organization, and
 - e. past travel and desire to travel.
- 2. Describe the evolution of a textile handcraft product in response to changes in
 - a. markets,
 - b. consumer preferences, and
- in terms of product characteristics, such as
 - a. product form,
 - b. raw materials,
 - c. color, and
 - d. design.
- 3. Develop classification schemes for
 - a. entrepreneur types based on variables of business and personal characteristics, and
 - b. handcraft evolution based on market change, consumer preferences, and product characteristics.
- 4. Compare the classification scheme of Teotitlán del Valle entrepreneurs with classification schemes for manufacturing entrepreneurs in the United States.

5. Compare the classification scheme of Teotitlán del Valle handcraft evolution with models of handcraft change and with profiles of handcraft consumers.

Definitions

The following terms were defined for use within this dissertation:

Entrepreneur: individual who initiates, maintains, and aggrandizes a social institution that produces goods with the goal of profit making (Cole, 1959; Smith, 1967).

Entrepreneurs in Teotitlán del Valle: textile producers whose clients are from the tourist and international markets, whose income is generated from sales to tourist and international export markets, not from agriculture, and whose ethnic background is Zapotec.

Sarape: a rectangular textile with a neck slit, worn as a poncho-like garment, or a rectangular textile without a neck slit, worn wrapped around the shoulders.

Tapete: the word used by Teotitlán del Valle residents to describe the tapestry woven textiles, usually flat rectangles, produced for tourist and export markets. The origin of the word is probably from a union of the words tapestry and *sarape*.

Traditional: customary, based on long-established practices. This word is not used as a synonym for indigenous or ethnic.

Tourist art: a form of contemporary art produced locally for consumption by individuals outside the community. The form encompasses exported art and popular art forms influenced by Western art conventions.

Explanation of Dissertation Format

The alternate dissertation format used in the presentation of the research is approved by the Iowa State University Graduate Faculty. The alternate format

presents the research in manuscript form suitable for submission to refereed scholarly journals.

The dissertation begins with an introduction and review of the literature that provide an overview for the entire research project. The body of the dissertation includes two sections, the manuscripts. Manuscript I, Profiles of Success: Mexican Textile Handcraft Entrepreneurs and Their Businesses, identifies and describes four profiles of successful textile handcraft producer-entrepreneurs' personal backgrounds and business practices. The four profiles were identified as Profile I: Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs; Profile II: Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs; Profile III: Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs; and Profile IV: Design Entrepreneurs. The profiles provide an example of the range of production and marketing options utilized by one group of handcraft producers who have successfully shifted from traditional local markets to tourist and export markets. This manuscript is written for submission to Human Organization, the journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology. The authorship for this manuscript is shared with Alyce M. Fanslow and Mary A. Littrell.

The second manuscript, Bridging a Traditional Product to the Tourist and Export Markets: The Evolution of a Mexican Textile Handcraft, identifies and describes product evolution as a part of a handcraft marketing system composed of producers, vendors, and consumers. Three eras of product evolution in response to market change were identified and described. The eras were the Product Experimentation Period, the Product Expansion Period, and the Target Market Segmentation Period. Products are categorized and described by the form, design, color, and raw materials characterizing each period. Perceptions of target markets

and consumer preferences are compared to existing profiles of handcraft consumers and models of handcraft change. This manuscript is written for submission to the Annals of Tourism Research. The authorship for this manuscript is shared with Mary A. Littrell.

The authorship on the manuscripts is shared because Mary A. Littrell and Alyce M. Fanslow are co-major professors for the dissertation. Partial financial support for the research presented in these manuscripts was provided by a grant from the Julia Anderson International Fund, College of Family and Consumer Sciences, Iowa State University.

The final chapter provides an overview of the research findings presented in the two manuscripts. Conclusions and recommendations for future research are included in this chapter.

Human Subjects in Research Statement

The Iowa State University Committee on the Use of Human Subjects in Research reviewed this project and concluded that the rights and welfare of the human subjects were adequately protected, that risks were outweighed by the potential benefits and expected value of the knowledge sought, that confidentiality of data was assured, and that informed consent was obtained by appropriate procedures.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In accordance with the purpose of the study which was to profile the entrepreneurial textile producers of Teotitlán del Valle who have successfully bridged production from traditional markets to tourist and export markets, three categories of literature were reviewed. The categories included previous research related to the history and culture of Teotitlán del Valle, classification schemes of manufacturing entrepreneurs and their businesses, and textile handcraft producers and changing markets.

History and Culture of Teotitlán del Valle

Geography

Teotitlán del Valle is located in the Oaxaca Valley, a semitropical valley located at an elevation of 1,550 meters in southern Mexico's state of Oaxaca (see Figure 1). The moderate climate has an annual average temperature of 18°C (Garcia Rivas, 1982; Smith, 1978). Distinct wet and dry seasons mark the passage of the subsistence agriculture growing and harvesting cycles in the valley. The average rainfall of 1,500 millimeters occurs mostly during the summer; virtually no rainfall occurs the remainder of the year (Garcia Rivas, 1982; Smith, 1978).

The Oaxaca state capital, Oaxaca City with an estimated population of 400,000, is located at the intersection of the three major branches of the valley. The village of Teotitlán del Valle, with an estimated population of 4,500, is situated 27 kilometers southeast of Oaxaca City in the southeast branch of the Oaxaca Valley, known as the Tlacolula branch (Smith, 1978; Stephen, 1987b). This valley branch is named for



Figure 1. Map of Mexico



Figure 2. Map of the Oaxaca Region

the village of Tlacolula, the district seat and market center. A paved road connects Teotitlán del Valle with the Pan American highway, four kilometers west of the village (see Figure 2).

Teotitlán del Valle's proximity to the Pan American highway has facilitated the transportation of products to the indigenous markets at nearby Tlacolula and more distant Oaxaca City. The market system of Oaxaca has been documented as a hierarchical series of market places forming a sequence for the distribution of goods from small village markets to district markets and finally to the large regional market in Oaxaca City. The flow of goods is in both directions along the market system with middlemen conveying goods from one level of the system to the next (Diskin, 1976a). The market system provides conditions whereby villages producing goods of a specialized type can sell or barter their products to the residents of other villages and to middlemen who will market the product at the next market level (Diskin, 1976b).

Ethnic Background

The inhabitants of Teotitlán del Valle are members of the Zapotec linguistic group. The exact origin and arrival of the Zapotec has not been determined. However, scholars agree that the Zapotec, as an indigenous group, occupied the Oaxaca Valley by the archaeological period known as Monte Alban III (200-900 A.D.). The Zapotecs were active in establishing empires and constructing edifices that were at least as noteworthy as those developed by the Maya (Whitecotton, 1977). Ruins and artifacts excavated at Mitla and Yagul in the Tlacolula branch of the Oaxaca Valley attest to the creativity and skill of Zapotec builders and artisans.

Language

Today, Zapotec is a language spoken primarily in the home and the village. As a result, Zapotec has fragmented into numerous Zapotec languages, as different from one another as the various romance languages (Whitecotton, 1977). The language fragmentation has resulted in many Zapotec speakers having strong community or regional affiliations (Nader, 1969). Such is the case of Teotitlán del Valle. The inhabitants of Teotitlán del Valle are fiercely proud of their Zapotec heritage. Spanish is learned in school and is used to communicate with individuals from outside the community.

Social Organization

In addition to language, the community is bound together by participation in the community's social organization that traces its origin to the arrival of the Spanish in the mid-16th century. Adult male community members participate in voluntary political and religious offices, called *cargos*. The *cargos* form the governmental offices that provide the community's leadership and source for decision making. A family member's successful fulfillment of a *cargo* is the means by which a household may attain status and respect within the community (Segura, 1980; Stephen, 1987a).

Teotitlán del Valle is a Catholic community. One Catholic church is located within the village. Adult males hold voluntary offices that form the Committee of the Church which is responsible for managing the church and for organizing the celebration of 23 religious holidays. The sponsorship of saints, *mayordomias*, has declined. Today, two *mayordomias* are actively celebrated once every two or three

years (Stephen, 1987a). Each office associated with the Committee of the Church or mayordomia is considered to be a religious *cargo*.

The political organization of Teotitlán del Valle is divided into two branches: (1) the *ayuntamiento* or governmental branch and (2) the *alcaldia* or judicial branch. The *ayuntamiento* has elected officials filling positions of municipal president, legal advisor, and three councilmen. Other officials include treasurer, secretary, two police captains, ten policemen, and a section head for each of the five geographic divisions or neighborhoods. Eleven elected committees monitor community projects, resources, and public works. The *alcaldia* includes two judges, four alternates for each judge, and one assistant for each judge. Each office, whether governmental or judicial, is considered to be a civil *cargo* (Segura, 1980; Stephen, 1987a).

Other bonds within the community are formed through ritual co-parenthood, called *compadrazgo*. The *compadrazgo* bonds are established when an individual agrees to sponsor life cycle events such as baptisms, confirmations, or weddings. Sponsorship entails an obligation to provide for the god-child's well being and to give aid to the parents. Thus, *compadrazgo* creates a bond of fictive kinship between pairs of individuals and implies respect, aid, and closeness (Dávila, 1970; Foster, 1967; Whitecotton, 1977). Together, language, *cargos*, and *compadrazgo* bind Teotitlán del Valle into an identifiable and united Zapotec community.

Education is available to everyone in Teotitlán del Valle. However, only children under the age of 12 have been attending school in significant numbers. Today, more than 40% of the children are completing primary education (Stephen, 1987a). Primary (elementary) and secondary (junior high) schools are located in the village

and are within walking distance of all the residences. High school and higher education are available in Oaxaca City at public and private high schools, numerous private technical schools, and at the University of Benito Juárez, a public university providing technical, liberal arts, fine arts, business, engineering, and medical degrees. Transportation to the schools of higher education is via private vehicle or the second class busses that pass between Oaxaca City and Teotitlán del Valle several times each day.

History of Textile Production in Teotitlán del Valle

The state of Oaxaca has a textile tradition that can be traced to the Zapotec tribute state of the late 15th and early 16th centuries (Whitecotton, 1977). During that period, the inhabitants of Teotitlán del Valle paid tribute to Zaachila, the Zapotec ruler, and to Montezuma, the Aztec ruler. The tribute was paid in gold dust, cotton mantles, fowl, bundles of chiles, and slaves (Spores, 1965; Whitecotton, 1977). After the Spanish introduced sheep to the Mesoamericans, the weaving of wool became more important than the weaving of cotton in some communities. The use of the colonial or horizontal floor loom was adopted for the production of *sarapes* in towns such as Teotitlán del Valle (Nader, 1969). The tradition for textile production in Teotitlán del Valle continued with specialization in weaving *sarapes* (Whitecotton, 1977). Teotitlán del Valle's involvement in textile production and trade for indigenous consumption was documented by the Spanish in the late 18th century (Hamnett, 1971).

Teotitlán del Valle's success in adapting production to the tourist and international export market was precipitated by two events that occurred in the 1950's (Stephen, 1987b). The first event was the migration of Teotitlán del Valle

residents to the United States through the second United States Bracero Program, a program that permitted migrant workers to hold seasonal labor permits for legal employment in the U.S. agricultural industry. The migrants worked in the U.S. and then returned to Teotitlán del Valle with cash for business investment and with knowledge of the U.S. culture.

The second event was the arrival of tourism resulting from the completion of the Pan American highway (Stephen, 1987b). Vargas-Barón (1968) reports production and marketing for tourists began in earnest around 1945-1948 with the construction of the highway. By 1950, Teotitlán del Valle producers had established trade to tourist markets in Acapulco and Mexico City. By 1967, trade was established to the United States, Europe, Mexican towns near the United States border (e.g., Tijuana, Ciudad Juárez, Nogales, and Ensenada), and Mexican cities frequented by tourists (e.g., Cuernavaca, Taxco, Toluca, Guadalajara, and Monterrey) (Vargas-Barón, 1968). The development of these markets is the result of innovative product adaptation and marketing of a traditional product produced with traditional technology and indigenous materials in home workshops.

The expansion into new markets has resulted in increased production in the home workshops in Teotitlán del Valle and in the development of contractual relationships for weaving in the nearby villages of Díaz Ordaz and Santa Ana del Valle (Stephen, 1987a; Vargas-Barón, 1968). Ten years ago, in 1978, the primary occupation of the economically active population was 35.2% agriculturalists and 54.3% weavers (Silva Ruiz, 1980). Recent observations support a greater shift to weaving as a primary occupation than was indicated in the 1978 data (Popelka, 1986; Stephen, 1987a). The development of tourist and export markets has led to growth in

entrepreneurial activity by textile producers in the village. This expanded production has resulted in a shift from a village economy dependent upon subsistence agriculture to a village economy based upon textile craft production augmented by agriculture. The result has been the virtual elimination of poverty in the village and improvement of the standards of living throughout the community. The prosperity has largely been the result of local producers developing relationships with clients outside the community. The extent to which the tourist and export market has supported growth can be illustrated by the increase from 35 merchant-producers in 1970 to 110 merchant-producers in 1980. Merchant-producers are producers who employ weavers and purchase weavings for resale (Stephen, 1987b).

Entrepreneurial activity has provided the foundation for growth within the merchant sector of Teotitlán del Valle. There have been few studies of the characteristics of entrepreneurs and their businesses; and there have been no studies of craft producers who have successfully bridged craft production from traditional to nontraditional consumers. A study of entrepreneurial handcraft producers who have successfully bridged production from traditional to nontraditional markets is needed to understand how adaptation has been achieved.

Classification Schemes for Manufacturing Entrepreneurs and their Businesses

The focus in this study was to profile the entrepreneurial craftpersons in Teotitlán del Valle who have successfully bridged production and marketing from traditional consumers to nontraditional consumers, the tourists and importers. Because there were no studies of successful craft entrepreneurs, studies of entrepreneurs with the most similarities to craft producers were selected. Three

criteria were used in selecting previous studies for comparison to the Teotitlán del Valle textile entrepreneurs:

1. The researchers must identify the characteristics used to describe and classify the entrepreneurs and their businesses.
2. The entrepreneurs must produce a product, as opposed to a service.
3. The entrepreneurs must have operated the business from start-up and through the maintenance and aggrandizement phases.

The study of the entrepreneur is the study of the central figure in modern economic development and the central figure in economics (Cole, 1959). However, Cole emphasized start-up, not the maintenance and growth of the business. Because individuals hoping to develop successful businesses need to look beyond start-up, the characteristics of successful entrepreneurs and their businesses may provide the framework for individuals to evaluate their options for starting and maintaining a business.

Characteristics of entrepreneurs and their businesses, and the relationships between the type of entrepreneur and the type of business were identified by Smith (1967). The typologies were developed from in-depth interviews with 52 male entrepreneurs who founded and operated manufacturing industries in Michigan for at least five years.

Smith (1967) profiled entrepreneurs based on life history and career patterns and on patterns of social and business behavior. Two types were identified: the Craftsman-Entrepreneur (C-E) and the Opportunistic-Entrepreneur (O-E). The businesses developed by these entrepreneurs were classified as the rigid firm or the adaptive firm. A strong relationship was found to exist between the type of entrepreneur and the type of business developed by the entrepreneur. Because

confusion may result from the use of the term Craftsman-Entrepreneur in the present study of textile craftpersons, the terms rigid firm entrepreneur and adaptive firm entrepreneur replace the terms Craftsman-Entrepreneur and Opportunistic-Entrepreneur, respectively.

The technically educated, rigid firm entrepreneur type was characterized as a skilled, blue collar worker, who was mechanically adept and who readily mastered mechanical skills. The rigid firm entrepreneur feared outside control, based market strategies upon long-term personal relationships, competed by having the best quality for the price, and located his sparsely furnished office at the sole production site. Products were limited to a single type of product or a limited range of related products. He saw his industry as a closed universe and believed any increase in sales was made at the expense of other businesses in his industry, yet he did not diversify.

In summary, the rigid firm entrepreneur was narrow in education and training, was low in social awareness and involvement, and was limited to a circumscribed time orientation. The rigid firm identified with the rigid firm entrepreneur was characterized by limited growth, one type of product, and limited sales strategies.

By contrast, the adaptive firm entrepreneur had a technical and liberal arts education and probably had a father who owned a small business. The adaptive firm entrepreneur measured accomplishments by goals attained, rather than by tasks mastered. He identified with management and hired by predetermined criteria rather than through established relationships. The adaptive firm entrepreneur considered the market, planned for growth through product development and diversification, and

convinced consumers they wanted his product. He saw the industry and the business world as open-ended with growth from diversification of products and markets.

In summary, the adaptive firm entrepreneur had breadth in education and training, exhibited high social awareness and involvement, showed high confidence in his abilities to deal with his social environment, and was oriented toward the future. The adaptive firm identified with the adaptive firm entrepreneur was characterized by continued growth, diversity in products, and varied sales strategies. Tables comparing the rigid firm entrepreneur with the adaptive firm entrepreneur and the rigid firm with the adaptive firm can be found in Appendix A.

Scanlan (1979) investigated the personality characteristics of 64 Illinois manufacturing entrepreneurs within the context of Holland's theory of career development. According to Holland's (1973) theory, the work environments of individuals are characterized by their resemblance to six personality types called realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional.

The personality characteristics of the two entrepreneurial types suggested by Smith (1967) were compared by Scanlan to check the validity of Smith's findings, to identify other characteristics on which rigid firm entrepreneurs and adaptive firm entrepreneurs may differ, and to examine personality characteristics of rigid firm entrepreneurs and adaptive firm entrepreneurs from the perspectives of Holland's theory of career development and Levenson's measure of locus of control.

Scanlan (1979) concluded that Smith's typology was valid and that seven of Smith's variables discriminated effectively between rigid firm entrepreneurs and adaptive firm entrepreneurs. The seven variables identified by Smith and validated by Scanlan were breadth of educational interests, role model, delegation practices, hiring

practices, selling methods, plans for growth, and employee relations. In addition to supporting Smith's findings, Scanlan found three additional variables were efficient indicators of entrepreneurial orientation. These variables were number of persons employed, number of businesses owned, and educational level attained. Holland's occupational codes may be used to describe the rigid firm entrepreneur as enterprising, realistic, and artistic and the adaptive firm entrepreneur as enterprising, artistic, and investigative. The characteristics used to define the characteristics of manufacturing entrepreneurs in the United States formed the basis for developing the profiles of the successful entrepreneurs in Teotitlán del Valle.

Handcraft Producers and Changing Markets

The second phase of the research focused on product adaptation and changing markets. Three relevant areas of research reviewed included models of handcraft change, communication links between artisans and clients, and profiles of handcraft consumers.

Models of Handcraft Change

Research on the handcraft sector in developing countries has been notable for its absence (Pye, 1985). Previous research was largely case studies that documented the production methods of specific handcrafts or identified the symbolic meaning and ritual use of the objects in a society. Two models provide different perspectives of the evolution of indigenous crafts into products targeted for sale outside the producer's community. One model focuses on product evolution; the second model focuses on vendors as communication links between producers and consumers, thereby providing feedback used by producers for product development.

In the first model, Graburn (1976, 1984) organized indigenous handcrafts into a classification scheme based on the different types of artistic change that have occurred due to interaction between craftpersons and tourists seeking to purchase indigenously produced artifacts. The seven types of change in traditional arts were identified as:

1. Extinction: The indigenous form declines or disappears from the culture.
2. Functional traditional: The persistence of a traditional form is accompanied by changes that do not seriously disturb the transmission of symbolic meaning and culturally appropriate satisfactions when sold or bartered within the indigenous community.
3. Commercial traditional: The traditional form is produced from traditional materials and methods and made for sale to outsiders seeking "authentic" artifacts.
4. Souvenirs novelty: The object has changed so that it bears little relation to the original form. This occurred because the profit motive or the economic competition of poverty overrides indigenous aesthetic standards; thus, satisfying the consumer becomes more important than pleasing the artist.
5. Reintegrated arts: New forms were developed by taking ideas, materials, or techniques from industrial societies and applying them in new ways to the artists' own needs.
6. Assimilated fine arts: Conquered minority artists adopted the established art forms of the conquerors, then competed with the artists of the dominant society.
7. Popular arts: The artist took the forms of European art traditions, but changed the content of the art to express the cultural traditions and feelings of the minority artist.

These categories, excluding the extinction category, were organized into a system according to the producer's culture and the handcraft's destination or market (see Appendix B). This earlier model evolved into a second model in which Graburn (1984) moved the structured categories into a continuum illustrating the process of

change in tourist arts (see Appendix B). The vertical axis illustrates culture change with a range from isolated and traditional cultural traditions to modern pluralism. The horizontal continuum illustrates the symbolic importance of the object with the range varying from central or localized in significance to peripheral or metropolitan in significance.

The model provided for shifts from functional traditional handcrafts produced by and for the craftperson's community to handcrafts produced for sale outside the community. The first step in the change process was the production of the traditional functional object in increased quantities for sale outside the historic market as replica or commercial traditional arts. The contact with new clients outside the community provided information about product preferences that led to departures from traditional production standards. Souvenir or novelty arts resulted as changes were made in size and complexity, materials, colors, motifs, or form of the art. Further changes, such as forms resembling mainstream fine art genres, evolve out of the souvenir or novelty phase. These changes occur as both the producer's community and the outside markets react to the shift from traditional functional handcrafts to souvenir or novelty handcrafts. The reintegrated arts, popular arts, and assimilated arts categories have different forms because they are produced using mediums from outside cultures rather than traditional materials and methods of production.

When Graburn (1984) identified the processes of change in the tourist arts, he also identified the conditions under which the transformations take place. To progress from functional traditional arts to commercial traditional arts, conditions would include:

1. A continuity of traditional aesthetics and the role of the artist,
2. An ability for the creators to separate sacred and secular art forms,
3. A continuing supply of the original materials not outstripped by the tourist demand,
4. A market wealthy enough to afford the objects, and
5. Buyers who know and care enough about the traditional arts to demand objects true to their tradition.

The conditions for the evolution from commercial traditional arts to souvenir or novelty arts and to the other categories would include:

1. A willingness of the producers to depart from traditional standards of production,
2. A breakdown of the restrictions of who may perform in an artisan's role, allowing others to enter and compete,
3. The possible exhaustion of traditional materials accompanied by the adoption of new materials and techniques that are more abundant or cheaper, and
4. The presence of a mass market that neither knows nor particularly cares for objects conforming to traditional standards.

Production change geared for the tourist and export markets may take one of two paths.

For both paths, the presence of abundant materials is especially important for the production of souvenir objects to be turned out in standardized forms. On the first path, handcrafted items may become simplified and miniaturized for the tourist trade. In order to reduce unit costs, production line methods may be utilized within a family or in a factory. The second path emphasizes individualization for relatively low-volume or high-priced objects (Graburn, 1976).

Kandt (1986) discussed the artisans of the Oaxaca Valley, Mexico, in relation to their degree of involvement with production for use within their indigenous community or for sale outside their community. The Oaxacan artisans were organized

into categories similar to Graburn's traditional functional, traditional commercial, and souvenir or novelty categories. Kandt identified the weavers of Teotitlán del Valle as commercial artisans producing for the Mexican national market and for the tourist market. The commercial artisan category was roughly equivalent to the souvenir or novelty category.

Cross-cultural Communication Links and Product Change

The second system or model, based on research with African handcraft producers, provides analysis of tourist art as a symbolic and economic exchange system. This model approaches handcraft change in relation to:

1. The symbolic value of the object to the producers and to the consumers with the producers serving as image creators and tourists serving as image consumers,
2. The symbolic exchange value between the cultures of the producer and the consumers, with middlemen acting as translators between producers and consumers, and
3. The usage and market values as a base for images becoming commercialized and standardized, and materials and technology changing to meet the demands of commercialization (Jules-Rosette, 1984).

Jules-Rosette (1984) uses the terms traditional or integrated arts of small-scale societies to identify handcrafts in which the culture's art and group values are fused.

By contrast, the term contemporary art is used to identify handcrafts that have become secularized as production had shifted toward commercialization.

Contemporary art is characterized by artisans developing individual styles, and products are modified to represent the cultural traditions of both the producers and the consumers. The degree to which the modifications represent either the producers' or the consumers' cultural traditions could vary (Ben-Amos, 1977; Jules-Rosette, 1984). These modifications include:

1. Expressing traditional relationships, themes, and patterns in objects embellished by individual variations and variations designed to find commercial acceptance,
2. Expanding the range of motifs and objects to include contemporary designs that were never a part of the producers' cultural tradition or to include exaggerated or idealized expressions of cultural traditions intended to appeal to the "ethnic" and nostalgic inclinations of tourists and other consumers outside the producers' community, and
3. Transferring the attention devoted to the traditional clients' concerns and values to seeking aesthetic and use feedback from nontraditional consumers.

Jules-Rosette identified three categories of craftpersons making the shift to commercialization. One category, the conventional artists, used skills acquired through informal apprenticeships in the traditional village culture to produce one-of-a-kind traditional handcrafts for sale outside the indigenous market. The second category, the technicians, acquired skills like the conventional artists, but shifted from production of one-of-a-kind items to producing items for tourists. The final category, commercial artisans, trained through informal apprenticeships and formal instruction in art academies, produced for the tourist trade and galleries. These craftpersons and their products would be roughly similar to Graburn's commercial traditional, tourist and souvenir, and integrated arts, respectively. Together, Graburn's and Jules-Rosette's approaches to traditional handcraft change provide insight into changes that occur in the product, technology, and production method as a result of the commercialization process.

The development of the tourist art form is dependent upon finding a large number of consumers. Attracting a large following begins by establishing communication links that provide consumers with knowledge of objects available and producers with feedback of consumer desires. Communications between the consumers and the artisan were organized by Jules-Rosette (1984) into a model that

encompasses two types of communication exchanges (see Appendix B). The first type of communication occurs between the producer and the consumer and is called direct. The second type, called indirect, relies upon a middleman to act as a translator between the producer and the consumer. Both exchanges provide consumer feedback that is used by the producers to modify or develop products that satisfy the desires of the consumers. The greater the understanding the craftperson has of the uses to which the consumers might put an object, the better the chance for producing a product that finds acceptance by the consumers (Jules-Rosette, 1984). Tourist art is a means for intercultural communication and a mirror of change.

Another perspective of tourist art as a communication link between ethnic groups is provided by Baizerman's (1988, 1987) study of the Hispanic weaving traditions of the Chimayó area of northern New Mexico. Chimayó weavers have withstood the test of many decades of tourist oriented production without changing the weaving process, even though they have modified the product to meet the demands imposed by outsiders. Baizerman argues that craft traditions should be defined as processes, not as products. If processes continue to be passed down from one generation to another, so tradition continues. End products of the process may change without changing the process. When viewed as a process, the survival of Chimayó weaving is a testimony to craft producers' ability to adapt a product to a segment of the buying public.

The adaptation of the Chimayó weavings was accomplished because communication links were established across the boundaries of the producers' and the consumers' cultures. The communication links between the cultures involved mediators who endeavored to modify traditional ethnic art by influencing producers to

adapt products to conform to different market demands in order to generate as much income as possible. Art dealers, gallery owners, and museum personnel are examples of mediators who may translate meanings to consumers and may be influential in introducing new materials, new color combinations, and new forms by conveying consumers needs and meanings to weavers. Within this context, outsiders can affect color, designs, materials, and forms of weaving as a part of a continually emerging and unfolding tradition and not necessarily destroy a textile tradition as a process.

Other textile handicrafts that illustrate product evolution accompanied by process stability include the Navajo of the southwestern U.S. and the Cuna Indians of the San Blas Islands, Panama. The Navajo loom and weaving tradition predates the arrival of the Spanish. Although the technology has remained unchanged, the Navajo readily adopted the use of wool from sheep introduced by the Spanish and commercial yarn brought by traders in the 1800s. Demand by outsiders influenced the size, motifs, and colors of the products; yet, outside demand and traders, acting as middleman mediators, did not change the context within which production exists as an extension of ancient traditions (Brody, 1976; Kent, 1985). Through communication links established outside the Navajo cultural tradition, the product has been redefined and new markets, including the fine arts market, have replaced traditional clients (Brody, 1976).

The ability of producers to identify, through direct or indirect communications, differences in preferences of outsiders as separate from their own preferences was identified in research with the Cuna Indians. The mola producers distinguished their own aesthetic values from the aesthetic preferences of outsiders

purchasing molas. Decisions regarding designs were made relative to the ultimate consumer of the item with production choices conforming to the preferences of the targeted consumer (Salvidor, 1976).

Graburn's and Jules-Rosette's models provide insight into the part communication links play in moving traditional handcrafts into the arena of forms sought by tourists, collectors, and handcraft consumers. Insights into communication links that provide product feedback are useful in separating the concept of product change without an accompanying change in the producers' technology, production process, or culture.

Profiles of Handcraft Consumers

In two studies that profiled consumers of ethnic textile handcrafts, researchers identified specific categories of consumers based upon their criteria for purchases; their shopping and gift-giving practices; and their attachment of meaning to textile acquisitions (Littrell, 1987; Slaybaugh, Littrell, & Farrell-Beck, in press). The five profiles were Art and Fine Workmanship Consumers, individuals who purchased textiles because of beauty and fine workmanship; Dramatic Apparel Consumers, individuals who bought textiles to support a personal style of dramatic dressing; Ethnic or Tribal Oriented Consumers, persons who were attracted to ethnic-looking, handwoven textiles; Supporters of Handcrafts, consumers who wanted handcrafts that retain a handcrafted appearance but did not look ethnic or different when displayed in their homes after they returned from their travels; and Function Oriented Consumers, individuals who bought only items that have a clear function recognized at the time of purchase (Littrell, 1987).

Similar categories emerged from a study of consumers of Hmong textiles. These profiles were developed from consumers' most preferred and least preferred Hmong textiles. The profiles based on most preferred textiles included the Fine Workmanship Consumers who preferred textiles that were skillfully executed; the Supporters of the Hmong People and the Patrons of Hmong Folk Art, who were interested in textiles that reflected Hmong traditions and in providing economic support for the Hmong people; and Pragmatic Consumers, who liked textiles that could be displayed in their homes. Profiles based on least preferred textiles were the Function Oriented Consumers who disliked items that could not be used in their homes and Color Centered Consumers who disliked colors or color combinations for some specific reason (Slaybaugh, Littrell, & Farrell-Beck, in press).

The profiles of consumer handcrafts provide insights that can be used as a mirror for producer perceptions of tourists and consumers in distant markets. The producers' perceptions can be compared to the profiles to identify discrepancies.

Entrepreneurs, Tourists, Traditional Arts, and Economic Survival:

A Summary

Handcrafts produced for tourists and export reflect the growth of tourist and export markets as a source for economic survival among indigenous artisans. Tourist art combines the economic, cultural, and aesthetic goals of its producers and the expectations of its consumers. As an economic commodity, tourist art can provide maximum economic gain for craftpersons who understand the dynamics of product and market development, and consumer desires. The economic impact of the souvenir

industry may cause a change in the social order of production, leading to some individuals giving up their traditional subsistence occupations to become full-time handcraft producers (Graburn, 1982).

MANUSCRIPT 1:
PROFILES OF SUCCESS: MEXICAN TEXTILE HANDCRAFT ENTREPRENEURS
AND THEIR BUSINESSES

Abstract

In Oaxaca, Mexico, some Indian villages have long established traditions for textile production. Originally, craftpersons wove textiles, known as *sarapes*, for use within their own community or for trade at nearby indigenous markets. These textiles retained their local appeal until they were replaced by commercially produced items. To survive in a changing world, *sarape* producers turned to production for tourist and export markets.

Craftpersons, based in home-workshops in Teotitlán del Valle, Oaxaca, provide examples of artisans who have developed active tourist and export markets for their handcrafted textiles. The producer-entrepreneurs (N=29) in Teotitlán del Valle were studied to understand how production and marketing were adapted to these new clients. Profiles of the producer-entrepreneur were developed from case studies that used in-depth interviews and participant observation in home workshops and markets as the methods for data collection. The four producer-entrepreneur profiles identified were Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs; Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs; Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs; and Design Entrepreneurs. The profiles were based on personal background, production methods, marketing techniques, and business practices salient to each group. The Teotitlán del Valle profiles are discussed in relation to profiles of midwestern United States

manufacturing entrepreneurs. The findings serve as examples of possible roles for handcraft producer-entrepreneurs who are developing export and tourist markets.

Introduction

After agriculture, handcrafts are the second most important source of income in developing countries (Pye, 1986). The income generated from handcrafts is essential to meet the subsistence needs of many families (Guggenheim, 1986). In Latin America, the estimated 40 million persons engaged in craft production are most often found in the 40% of the population living below the poverty line (Tadmore, 1984).

Historically, handcrafts were produced for use within the indigenous community where consumer needs and preferences were understood. Today, mass produced items such as plastic containers and factory-made acrylic blankets have replaced handcrafted pottery containers and handwoven wool blankets. The craft producer's income from the indigenous market has declined. Economic necessity is forcing craftpersons to seek new markets for their handcrafts or to turn to alternative sources for income. Two markets which offer enormous potential for handcraft business are the export and tourist markets (Guggenheim, 1986). In 1983, handcraft exports from developing countries were \$US 8.45 billion. Further, the estimated total market for handcraft exports may be as large as \$US 25 billion (Pye, 1986).

In addition to the export market, the tourist market provides a lucrative source for craft producers. Recent growth in international travel provides an unprecedented opportunity for handcraft marketing. The World Tourism Organization estimates 1985 world travel at 325 million international arrivals with expenditures

at \$US 105 billion (Lickorish, 1987). Tourism researchers suggest that travel trends are for smaller groups seeking to investigate and to discover different areas (Leslie, 1987). This trend should lead to increased tourism in once remote areas. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development reports that travel expenditures other than transportation, lodging, and food are high in the Third World (Lickorish, 1987). Although travel expenditures were not further delineated, it is possible that tourists' expenditures for souvenir items, such as handcrafts, would be included in these high expenditures in the Third World. A trend toward increased tourism could provide the opportunity for once remote craftpersons to capitalize on sales to tourists.

Some compelling reasons for bridging the traditional handcraft market to tourist and export markets include:

1. Handcrafts can be expanded from an existing home-based industry and can be integrated with household and agricultural cycles (Dhamija, 1975).
2. Handcrafts are not dependent upon land ownership; therefore, income generated from crafts may be increasingly important for agricultural workers displaced by mechanization and for women, ethnic minorities, and other disadvantaged groups without access to land (Pye, 1986).
3. Handcraft production uses technology that requires little investment in equipment and uses local raw materials; therefore, less capital investment is required than with highly mechanized methods of production (Dhamija, 1975; Pye, 1986; Schumacher, 1973).
4. Income generated from craft production in rural areas will help stem migration to urban areas where skilled craftpersons become unskilled laborers or face unemployment.

Compelling reasons for developing handcrafts does not guarantee the successful development of a handcraft business. Handcraft producers need assistance in identifying and evaluating the characteristics of successful craft businesses, production options, and marketing strategies. Existing models of entrepreneurs have

been based on studies of entrepreneurs in developed countries, such as the United States, and have been based on business oriented to products and services other than handcrafts. Therefore, these models may not be relevant to craft producers and to entrepreneurs in developing countries, such as Mexico. Profiles of the business practices of indigenous handcraft producers who have successfully developed tourist and export markets would provide an example for other craft producers and for individuals working in rural economic development.

Zapotec Textile Handcrafts and Producer-Entrepreneurs

Teotitlán del Valle, Oaxaca, Mexico, was selected as the site for the study because it is an exceptional village of craft producers who have successfully bridged production from a traditional market to tourist and export markets (Cuéllar, 1984; Popelka, 1987; Stephen, 1987a; Weitlaner-Johnson, 1986). This Zapotec Indian village, situated 27 kilometers southeast of Oaxaca City, has an estimated population of 4,500 (Stephen, 1987a). The textile production tradition of Teotitlán del Valle can be traced to the Zapotec tribute state of the late 15th and early 16th centuries (Spores, 1965; Whitecotton, 1977). After the Spanish introduced sheep and the horizontal floor loom in the 16th century, towns such as Teotitlán del Valle began specializing in the weaving of wool *sarapes* (Nader, 1969; Whitecotton, 1977). Additional documentation of Teotitlán del Valle's history of involvement in textile production and trade for indigenous consumption was provided by the Spanish in the late 18th century (Hamnett, 1971).

Some Teotitlán del Valle residents have long supplemented their family income by weaving for trade. Items were bartered or sold through traditional markets at nearby Tlacolula and the more distant Oaxaca City (Quero, 1984; Santiago Mendez,

1988). The Oaxaca market system has been documented as a hierarchical series of markets that permits the flow of goods between small village markets and the regional market in Oaxaca City (Diskin, 1976a.) The market system provides conditions whereby villages producing specialized goods can sell or barter their products to residents of other villages and to middlemen who will resell the product at another market (Diskin, 1976b).

In the late 1940s, the weavers of Teotitlán del Valle began shifting from the production of *sarapes* and blankets for use by indigenous consumers to the production of blankets, wall hangings, and rugs for souvenirs and for use as home decorator items. This new form of the traditional *sarape* is known locally as a *tapete* (Vargas-Barón, 1968). Two events in the 1950s precipitated the development of the tourist and export markets. One event was the arrival of tourism after the completion of the Pan American Highway. The second event was the migration of Teotitlán del Valle residents to the United States for seasonal agricultural work provided through the second U.S. Bracero Program. Migrants worked in the U.S. and then returned to Teotitlán del Valle with cash for business investment and with knowledge of the U.S. culture and consumer practices (Stephen, 1987a).

Textile production and marketing began to shift to the weaving of *tapetes* for the tourist and export markets as early as 1945-1948 and escalated in the 1950s when trade was established in Mexican cities frequented by tourists, such as Mexico City and Acapulco. During the 1960s, additional markets were established in Mexican cities such as Cuernavaca, Taxco, Toluca, Guadalajara, and Monterrey and in Mexican towns near the United States border, such as Tijuana, Ciudad Juárez, Nogales, and Ensenada (Vargas-Barón, 1968).

Today, the expansion into the tourist and export markets has increased *tapete* production to the point that the village economy has shifted from subsistence agriculture to textile craft production augmented by agriculture. As a result, most of the Teotitlán del Valle households produce textiles for the tourist and export markets. In addition, some households in nearby villages have contractual relationships as weavers for merchant-producers in Teotitlán del Valle (Vargas-Barón, 1968). Census demographics regarding the composition of primary occupations in Teotitlán del Valle provide limited information. Ten years ago, in 1978, agriculturalists composed 35.2% and weavers composed 54.3% of the economically active population of Teotitlán del Valle (Silva Ruiz, 1980). Recent observations support a greater shift to weaving as the primary occupation than was indicated in the 1978 data (Popelka, 1986; Stephen, 1987a). An escalation in entrepreneurial activity was accompanied by an accelerated economic activity. The flurry in entrepreneurial activity is illustrated by the increase from 35 merchants in 1970 to 110 merchants in 1980. The merchants were defined as textile producers who employed weavers and who purchased textiles for resale (Stephen, 1987b).¹

The evolution of the producer-entrepreneur resulted in the development of businesses that provided employment for many households. The prosperity resulting from the business developed by the producer-entrepreneurs has virtually eliminated poverty. However, the development of business capitalizing on the tourist and export markets has not destroyed the cultural integrity of the community. The development of Teotitlán del Valle is controlled by the members of the community, not by outsiders (Stephen, 1987b).

Entrepreneur Profiles from the Midwestern United States

Craftpersons hoping to develop successful businesses can benefit from examples of successful entrepreneurs and their businesses. However, there have been no studies profiling the business characteristics of craft entrepreneurs who have successfully adapted production and marketing to new markets. Therefore, profiles of entrepreneurs manufacturing a product and operating a business from start-up through maintenance and aggrandizement phases were studied to gain insight on entrepreneurial activity and to provide a group of entrepreneurs to which the Teotitlán del Valle handcraft entrepreneurs could be compared.²

A typology describing entrepreneurs and their businesses was developed by Smith (1967). In-depth interviews with 52 male entrepreneurs who had founded and operated manufacturing industries in Michigan for at least five years were used to obtain information about the character of the entrepreneurs and their businesses. Smith profiled two types of entrepreneurs and their firms, the rigid firm entrepreneur and the adaptive firm entrepreneur.³

The rigid firm entrepreneur was characterized as being technically educated and mechanically adept, and as having the ability to readily master mechanical skills. He feared outside control; thus, he obtained financing from personal savings or from friends rather than from banks or through sales of stocks. The rigid firm entrepreneur viewed himself as a paternal figure to the employees who were usually relatives, friends, or long time business associates. He did not delegate authority or responsibility and did not have plans for change that would result in growth. Rigid firm entrepreneurs had limited communication skills and were not active in professional organizations or in social activities in the community. Market and

competitive strategies were based on long-term personal relationships with customers and on having the best quality for the price. The rigid firm entrepreneur viewed his industry as a closed universe in which increased sales were made at the expense of others. The rigid firm was characterized as a limited growth business that manufactured one type of product or a limited range of related products and that used the same type of production strategy as when the firm began. Production facilities were concentrated in one location and geographic limits were set on the target market.

By contrast, the adaptive firm entrepreneur had a technical and liberal arts education, and probably had a father who owned a small business. The adaptive firm entrepreneur measured success by goals attained, rather than by tasks mastered. Employees were hired by predetermined criteria, not through established relationships. The adaptive firm entrepreneur identified with management, delegated authority and responsibility, and had plans for business change and growth, including product development coupled with aggressive marketing to consumers. The adaptive firm entrepreneur did not fear outside control; thus, he obtained capital by selling stock in the company and borrowing from banks. He was a skilled communicator and was active in professional and social organizations. The future oriented, adaptive firm entrepreneur viewed the industry as open-ended with growth in sales coming from sources other than by taking away from competitors. The adaptive firm was characterized by continuous growth, diversity in products, varied sales strategies, and adoption of two or more types of production strategies. The production facilities were dispersed and the targeted markets did not have geographic limits.

In a study of 64 Illinois manufacturing entrepreneurs, Scanlan (1979) identified ten entrepreneurial characteristics that discriminated effectively between Smith's rigid firm and adaptive firm entrepreneurs. These variables included: breadth of educational interests, role model, delegation practices, hiring practices, selling methods, plans for growth, employee relations, number of persons employed, number of businesses owned, and educational level attained. Scanlan (1979) concluded the results supported the validity of Smith's typology.

The characteristics identified by Smith (1967) and augmented by Scanlan (1979) provided the initial items to be included in the study of successful entrepreneurial textile producers in Teotitlán del Valle. Although the variables identified by Smith and Scanlan formed the base for this study, the study was not limited to these characteristics.

Field Research in Teotitlán del Valle

The purpose of this study was to develop and describe profiles of successful Teotitlán del Valle textile handcraft entrepreneurs and their businesses. The focus was on business practices and included investigation of personal background, production methods, and marketing strategies. Initial contact and introductions in Teotitlán del Valle were established in March 1984. A feasibility study was conducted in June 1986 and initial screening interviews to identify the successful producer-entrepreneurs began in April 1987. Criteria for selection of entrepreneurs included: (a) individuals born and raised in the village of Teotitlán del Valle; and (b) producers defined as successful producer-entrepreneurs because their clients were from the tourist and export markets, and their income was generated from sales in the tourist and export market rather than from sales to local consumers or from agriculture.

A purposive sample was used due to the unique nature of the criteria used to define the population (Touliatos & Compton, 1988). Thirty-one textile producers were identified as the target population; two textile producers declined to participate in the research and two producers were deleted during interviews because in-depth information revealed they did not meet the selection criteria. Hence, the 27 producers used to develop the profiles of successful producer-entrepreneurs represent 93% of the population. Due to the criteria used to select the cases, the study does not represent all weavers in Teotitlán del Valle. Examples of weavers excluded by the selection criteria were those employed by producer-entrepreneurs and those supplementing agricultural or other primary sources of income with part-time weaving.

Intensive field work was conducted from January to May 1988. Market observations, home and workshop observations, in-depth interviews, and participant observation were used to obtain information about the entrepreneur's background, production methods, and marketing strategies. Interviews were conducted in Spanish. Although interviews were informal, all entrepreneurs were asked common questions through the course of the conversations. As a result, a common set of data was obtained from all entrepreneurs. The open-ended response format and informal nature of the interviews provided the opportunity to explore the individuality of each situation and to look for information that would provide an understanding of how the businesses were initiated, maintained, and aggrandized.

At the conclusion of the field work, the producer-entrepreneur's responses were analyzed using content analysis and descriptive statistics. First, the producer-entrepreneurs' personal characteristics and their business practices were identified.

Next, producer-entrepreneurs having similar traits were grouped together using pattern-matching logic with the goal of explanation-building (Yin, 1985). Finally, the salient characteristics that differentiated one group of producers from another were used to describe each profile.

Profiles of Teotitlán del Valle Textile Handcraft Producer-Entrepreneurs

Four types of producer-entrepreneurs were identified and profiled using characteristics that differentiated the groups. However, some characteristics were common to all producer-entrepreneurs and other characteristics, while not common to all, were not associated with any specific profile of producer-entrepreneurs in this study. A characteristic was considered to be common to all producer-entrepreneurs if 24 of the 27 were identified as having the characteristic. Common characteristics were language, literacy, record keeping, apprenticeship, type of loom, weaving method, sales assistants, communication and language skills, goals for business change and growth, plans to achieve goals, and managerial role. Characteristics that were not common to the larger group but did not differentiate the profiles included age, family background, education, number of children, motivation to begin the business, sources of start-up capital, and participation in community social life.

The typical producer-entrepreneur was in his early 40s, was married, and had three children (see Table 1). Producers in their 50s had six to eight children and younger entrepreneurs had fewer children. Most producer-entrepreneurs completed primary school. With one exception, they were at least functionally literate in Spanish. The individuals with the lowest level of literacy had children who assisted in record keeping and reading orders received by mail. Among all entrepreneurs, record

keeping was limited to orders being recorded in a notebook and letters of correspondence containing orders being placed in a box or drawer.

Insert Table 1 about here

The producer-entrepreneurs grew up in Zapotec speaking households in which weaving at home was a tradition. The entrepreneurs' fathers were engaged in weaving either as a secondary occupation integrated with agriculture or as a primary occupation weaving for oneself or for another person. The entrepreneurs' mothers were primarily involved in household responsibilities; however, 33% of the mothers participated in nonweaving production activities. The entrepreneurs began apprenticeships between six to eight years of age. The apprenticeships began in the home and included all phases of production, from fiber preparation to weaving. Initial instruction was provided by a father, grandfather, or older brother. After completing primary school, individuals apprenticed with a highly skilled master weaver.

Two reasons emerged as the motivation to begin operating an independent business (see Table 2). Fifteen producer-entrepreneurs did not begin their businesses to fulfill a long held desire to develop their own business operation. Instead, they perceived that opportunities were limited when they were either subsistence farmers weaving seasonally for supplemental income or weavers working for another person. These individuals gradually envisioned new opportunities and challenges as independent businessmen. The remaining 12 producer-entrepreneurs always wanted to operate their own business. Often, the capital needed to become an independent businessman was accumulated from two or more sources, including saving

money earned by weaving for another person or by part-time self-employed weaving, saving wages earned as a laborer in the United States, family inheritance, cash advances against future deliveries, or partnership with a U.S. retailer (see Table 3). Most frequently, the entrepreneurs obtained start-up capital by working long hours and minimizing expenses until they saved enough money to begin production on a small scale. They reinvested profits in materials so that the business could be expanded.

Insert Tables 2 and 3 about here

All entrepreneurs initiated, maintained, and aggrandized businesses that produced similar products and utilized a limited range of equipment and materials. The primary product was *tapetes*, the flat textiles used for decoration as rugs and wall hangings. Items were woven from wool, synthetic, or wool/synthetic blend yarns spun in factories in central Mexico and Teotitlán del Valle (see Table 3). The *tapetes* were woven by hand on horizontal floor looms using the tapestry technique. The number of full-time workers employed to produce, sell, and deliver *tapetes* ranged from 2-80 with 52% of the entrepreneurs employing 6-10 workers. Individuals actively involved in sales were always members of the entrepreneur's nuclear family. Sixty-seven percent of the entrepreneurs' wives contributed to the business operations. The extent of the involvement ranged from sales to all phases of production, including weaving and directing workers.

The producer-entrepreneurs saw themselves as having a manager's role in relation to supervising the workers, planning production, and developing markets. In the role as manager, they made decisions regarding acquisition and distribution of

materials, allocation of weaving assignments, and selection of colors and designs. The entrepreneurs always selected sales sites that clients could easily locate. The entrepreneurs had goals for business change and growth that guided their decisions (see Table 2). One goal frequently cited as guiding business decisions was that of owning and operating a showroom-like outlet on the main road of Teotitlán del Valle. In addition to goals, personal values also influenced decisions. For example, most entrepreneurs preferred hiring individuals who were relatives, friends, or fictive kin (*compadres*).

Participation in community social structures was limited to serving *cargos*, the traditional system of civil and religious offices serving and governing indigenous communities (Segura, 1980; Stephen, 1987a; Stephen, 1987b). The level of participation ranged from holding no *cargos* to holding *cargos* for a total of 18 years. Individuals who avoided holding *cargos* participated in the community social life by contributing large sums of money to sponsor festivals or fiestas enjoyed by the village as a whole.

The presence of similarities in the entrepreneurs' family background, technical training, record keeping, production methods, managerial role, and participation in community activities may give the appearance of homogeneity for all producer-entrepreneurs. This is not a valid assumption. Although similarities exist, the producer-entrepreneurs displayed a range of other behaviors that were used to distinguish one group of individuals from another.

Four profiles of producer-entrepreneurs and businesses were identified based on the distinguishing characteristics of volume of production, range of unique or standardized *tapetes* produced, diversification of products, business behaviors such as

criteria for hiring workers and delegation practices, sales sites, organization of workshops, and types of clients. Each profile was assigned a descriptive name based on its most salient characteristics. The four profiles were identified as Profile I: Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs; Profile II: Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs; Profile III: Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs; and Profile IV: Design Entrepreneurs. Producer-entrepreneurs' personal and business characteristics, including age, education, age of business, number of looms, and number of full-time workers are summarized in Table 4.

Insert Table 4 about here

Profile I: Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs

An orientation to the needs of nontraditional clients who place volume orders, an understanding of consumer preferences in distant markets, and a willingness to move beyond the familiar and into new arenas through market and product development characterized the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs. These producer-entrepreneurs were large volume producers of *tapetes* that were standardized for multiple copies identical by size, design, and color. These *tapetes* were used to fill large orders placed by wholesalers and retailers in the U.S. The *tapetes* were often produced in the homes of contract weavers living in Teotitlán del Valle or in the nearby villages of San Miguel and Santa Ana. In addition to *tapetes*, these entrepreneurs often contracted for the production of other textiles such as shawls (*rebozos*) and for embroidered blouses and dresses produced in the villages of Mitla and San Antonino, respectively.

Sales were conducted from two sites. The primary sales site was an outlet located in U.S. cities such as Los Angeles, Denver, Santa Fe, and Minneapolis or in Tijuana, Mexico, a city adjacent to the U.S. border. These sales sites provided an outlet convenient to U.S. wholesale and retail buyers. The secondary sales site was a showroom and warehouse outlet on the main street of Teotitlán del Valle. This site served as the collection point for all items to be delivered by truck to the U.S. and border outlets and as a display area to attract new commercial buyers visiting Teotitlán del Valle. On delivery trips to the U.S. and border outlets, the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs actively sought new markets and clients.

The large volume production was possible because the entrepreneurs delegated responsibilities for the routine aspects of production and sales. The producer-entrepreneur rarely participated in weaving because most of his time was devoted to supervising workers, directing managerial assistants, and developing new markets. To facilitate production planning and to meet delivery deadlines, the entrepreneur organized and stored the large inventory of *tapetes* by size, design, and color for easy identification of specific items in stock.

Despite the extensive planning and organization needed to operate these export operations, the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs did not begin their businesses to fulfill a long time dream. They began their businesses to escape the limited opportunities of their previous employment. The development of the business provided employment for relatives; however, these entrepreneurs usually considered skill, rather than personal relationships when hiring a worker.

The Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs summarized their orientation when they described themselves as providing quality products at the lowest price, delivering the product to an outlet convenient to the wholesale and retail buyers, and filling orders on time. One successful producer-entrepreneur exemplified the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs. This energetic entrepreneur was 42 years old and had five children ranging in age from 23 to 10 years of age. He enjoyed traveling to the United States to deliver *tapetes* and other textiles produced for his business. He was often joined by his wife and children on these trips. Although he enjoyed visiting the U.S., he had no desire to leave Teotitlán del Valle. His goal was to develop a large export business based in Teotitlán del Valle. He saw his primary school education as a limit to expanding his business. To remedy this situation, his oldest son was attending a U.S. university where he was majoring in business and his oldest daughter was acquiring business and language skills while living in New Mexico and working as a buyer for a U.S. import company. Upon graduation, the son will assist in operating the business in Teotitlán del Valle and the daughter will continue to expand U.S. marketing operations.

Profile II: Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs

The Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs chose to remain in their own environment and to build a business that capitalized on their perceptions of preferences among clients visiting and shopping in Teotitlán del Valle. To create a setting perceived as familiar to clients, these entrepreneurs built store front-like showrooms to display large inventories of *tapetes* having a wide range of prices, qualities, and design. This varied inventory was targeted for clients making purchases from large showrooms conveniently located along the main roads of the village. These

entrepreneurs depended on walk-in tourists for new clients and on long established relationships with wholesalers and retailers who come to Teotitlán del Valle to make purchases from existing inventories. Additional income was generated from custom orders.

To attract visitors and to facilitate sales, showrooms were identified with signs and demonstration looms were located near the display area. Business cards were available in Spanish and sometimes in English. Visitors often found a member of the entrepreneur's family could speak English. Items desired by the clients were readily located because *tapete* displays and inventories were organized by quality, design, size, and color.

The Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs were more likely to have long term goals and plans to achieve the goals than the other categories of entrepreneurs. One goal that emerged in this profile was to focus production and sales within Teotitlán del Valle. These entrepreneurs directed production that centered in one or two local workshops. The labor used to produce the *tapetes* was usually supplied by extended family members and compadres; however, during peak production periods, additional relatives would weave in their own homes.

The producer-entrepreneurs in this profile expressed their personal and business orientations when they described themselves as providing *tapetes* targeted for every price, quality, and style that a tourist to Teotitlán del Valle would want to buy and take-away. One entrepreneur, typical of the Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs, was 43 years old and had four children ages 19, 16, 13, and 11. The two oldest children had completed secondary school in Teotitlán del Valle. The younger two were still attending school. In addition to the education received in

secondary school, the three oldest children took English language classes at a private school in Oaxaca City. This entrepreneur focused on developing his children's business skills within the local or nearby communities, rather than internationally. This Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneur chose not to develop markets beyond Teotitlán del Valle because he had everything he wanted where he was. He did not value further expansion of a business that already had a stream of tourists and importers who came to his home-workshop and showroom to make purchases. This producer-entrepreneur valued the profits and the life style that the business provided for his family. Yet, he valued the serenity of life not fraught with the business stress of export quotas, time away from home, and energy expended in supervising production at diverse sites.

Profile III: Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs

The Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs operated businesses that utilized the traditional Zapotec markets for sales; however, tourists visiting the indigenous markets of Oaxaca replaced traditional consumers as the target market. These producer-entrepreneurs did not have showrooms or large inventories. Like the Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs, the Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs produced *tapetes* having a range of prices, qualities, and designs. However, they were different from the former entrepreneurs because the *tapetes* were produced in limited quantities. The *tapete* inventory was transported to weekly markets in Oaxaca City, Tlacolula, and Ocotlán on each market day. These individuals also engaged in limited use of the outdoor artisans market in Teotitlán del Valle, a market open daily for tourists visiting the village. Secondary sales were conducted in the entrepreneur's home when clients identified as potential quantity buyers were

invited to the home-workshop. The home sales sites were not identified by signs and were located away from the main streets frequented by shoppers in Teotitlán del Valle. Thus, sales were dependent on tourists and on newly established relationships with foreign retailers visiting the outdoor markets.

Production was organized in a small centralized workshop located in the entrepreneur's home. The Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs had a strong preference for hiring family and compadres and gave limited consideration to the worker's skill when hiring. Some entrepreneurs in this profile engaged in limited use of contract labor and production in the worker's home.

The Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs characterized themselves as producing designs and quality to attract the eye of foreigners shopping in the weekly markets. For one 41-year-old Outdoor Market Entrepreneur, the trips to market were a social event and a welcome break from production. This entrepreneur began every Saturday by transporting bundles of *tapetes* to the Oaxaca City market, called the *Abastos* market. His *tapetes*, noted for their crisp geometric designs, were hung in an open market stall so as to create an eye-catching display. The remainder of the day was spent selling *tapetes* to tourists and visiting with other vendors at the market. He targeted tourists showing interest in making multiple purchases and commercial buyers new to shopping for *tapetes* in Oaxaca. These potential clients were then invited to his home-workshop for follow-up sales. At his home, clients were seated in the covered patio area and introduced to his six children, ages 19-8, to his wife, and to the family's ram, recently purchased as part of the entrepreneur's breeding program to improve the quality of wool from his suppliers. After introductions and a weaving demonstration, the *tapetes* were brought to the client and unfolded until just

the right one was discovered. The entrepreneur's varied schedule that permitted days of concentrated production at the home workshop or of sales integrated with socialization at the outdoor markets gave this entrepreneur the life style he preferred.

Profile IV: Design Entrepreneurs

The desire to operate a business that permitted creative expression while fostering close working relationships with family members characterized the Design Entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs produced only high quality *tapetes* from original designs and from adaptations of historic designs. The workshop artisans created one-of-a-kind *tapetes* for inventory or produced original works designed and commissioned by nonweaving artists or other clients. Quality and artistic expression were primary considerations in production that was centralized in one or two home-workshops.

These entrepreneurs always wanted to operate their own home-workshop business. The principal reason cited for aggrandizing the business was to create jobs and to provide employment for family members. Labor was provided almost exclusively by family members. The Design Entrepreneurs were unique in that they had a strong commitment to their families, yet they did not participate in the *cargo* system.

Design Entrepreneurs targeted sales to quality conscious tourists, collectors, buyers for galleries, and artists. The sales sites were limited to their production locations which were located on or near the main streets in Teotitlán del Valle. The demonstration of production techniques, such as carding, spinning, and weaving, was used to attract clients and to build a loyal return clientele educated by the Design Entrepreneur to appreciate quality and design.

The Design Entrepreneurs characterized their businesses as a home-workshop producing only special *tapetes* and *tapetes* from original designs using all wool weft yarns. Combining artistic expression and business was the hallmark of one 56-year-old Design Entrepreneur, his wife, his seven children, the spouses of his five married children, and his grandchildren. This individual prided himself on producing the highest quality *tapetes* available. He and members of his family created original designs and produced original adaptations of traditional Indian designs. Design inspirations were drawn from photographs in fine art books, from drawings in histories of the preconquest Americas, and from archaeological ruins. Recently, this entrepreneur was creating and producing *tapetes* inspired by Native American designs from the Nootka and Kwakiutl tribes of Canada's west coast. Because he perceived the customers for his unique *tapetes* as being a limited market of collectors and tourists willing to pay prices higher than those charged by other producers in Teotitlán del Valle, he supplemented sales to these clients by accepting commissions to weave original designs for foreign artists. The commissions permitted his workshop to maintain its reputation for producing only high quality original or special order works. Reputation and quality were so important to this producer that visitors received production demonstrations and informal lectures on design and quality. He felt educating buyers was essential to build a clientele. A visit to this workshop was like going to *tapete* school.

In summary, the four profiles provide insight into the range of roles developed by the Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs. Each profile illustrates decision making used by producer-entrepreneurs to develop a successful business that

reflected the needs and preferences of varying clients. Within each producer-entrepreneur profile, the type of business developed by the producer-entrepreneur reflected the individual's values and goals.

Cross-cultural Comparison of Entrepreneur Profiles

Despite differences in culture, products, and production methods, the four profiles of Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs that emerged from this study had a surprising number of similarities with both groups of U.S. midwestern manufacturing entrepreneurs studied by Smith (1967) and Scanlan (1979). Like Smith's manufacturing entrepreneurs, the Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs began by producing one product, then later some diversified. The three types of production methods identified by Smith also were used by the producer-entrepreneurs in Teotitlán del Valle. These methods were custom designed products produced for a specific client, standardized products produced to fill orders, and standardized products for inventory. In addition, some entrepreneurs, most noticeably the Design Entrepreneurs, produced original items for inventory.

Like the rigid firm entrepreneur identified by Smith (1967), most Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs had task-oriented and practical work values, held part-time jobs from an early age, and had fathers that were skilled workers. The Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs and the rigid firm entrepreneurs were not active participants in professional organizations. However, the rigid firm entrepreneur chose not to be active in the organizations available and the Teotitlán del Valle did not have professional organizations available in rural Oaxaca. Another similarity included hiring relatives, friends, or long time business associate.

The rigid firm entrepreneurs and the Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs tapped the same types of sources for start-up capital. With one exception, the sources of start-up capital for the Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs were like the rigid firm entrepreneur. Both groups of entrepreneurs obtained their initial capital from personal savings or from loans through family and friends. Similar to the adaptive firm entrepreneur, the exception accepted capital from a partnership with a U.S. retailer. If sources of capital were used as a measure of fear of outside control, as in Smith's study, then all entrepreneurs, except the one entrepreneur with a U.S. partner, would fear outside control.

Like Smith's adaptive firm entrepreneur, most Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs had a high degree of verbal skill and were effective in nonverbal communication, had plans for business change and growth, and considered themselves to be managers. The adaptive firm entrepreneurs reported changes in the types of clients resulting from active market development as the business evolved. Most Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs acknowledged some changes in clients since the initiation of the businesses. Three reasons for change in the Teotitlán del Valle entrepreneurs' client composition should be considered. First, client change occurred during the shift from traditional markets to the first tourists arriving from the U.S. after the completion of the Pan-American highway. Second, change in clients could be attributed to the expansion of Oaxaca's tourist industry to include visitors from Europe, Japan, and Canada. Tourists became a diverse market with different preferences based on their national origins and cultural backgrounds. Third, new and different clients resulted from the active pursuit of markets, as exemplified by those entrepreneurs establishing outlets in the U.S. and other locations outside of Oaxaca.

Although some characteristics common to all Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs were similar to either the rigid firm entrepreneurs or the adaptive firm entrepreneurs, some of the characteristics that differentiated the entrepreneurs in this study were similar to the characteristics that differentiated the entrepreneurs in Smith's study. If the four categories of Teotitlán del Valle producers were considered to be on a continuum with Profile I: Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs, at one end and Profile IV: Design Entrepreneurs, at the opposite end; then, comparisons can be made to the rigid firm entrepreneurs and the adaptive firm entrepreneurs. The Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs would be most like the adaptive firm entrepreneurs and the Design Entrepreneurs would be most like the rigid firm entrepreneurs (see Figure 1). The distinguishing characteristics of the Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs were more like those of the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs than the Design Entrepreneurs. The Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs were a blend of the Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneur and the Design Entrepreneur. Thus, these two entrepreneurial types were placed between the extremes on the continuum.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Common business, production, and marketing practices exist between the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs and the adaptive firm entrepreneurs. The similarities included the delegation of routine matters involving day to day operations to managers, the reliance on personal reputation for quality and price, and the pursuit of product development and expansion into other products by

offering the widest range of products of any Teotitlán del Valle profile. Other parallels included operating dispersed production sites, not placing geographic limits on the market, and having the greatest change in types of customers due to expansion into border and U.S. sales locations. In contrast, the entrepreneurs' clientele changed in all other Teotitlán del Valle profiles due to new tourist shoppers coming to Oaxaca. However, unlike adaptive but like rigid firm entrepreneurs, the entrepreneurs in this Teotitlán del Valle profile did not have the goal of starting a business from the beginning of their career.

Design Entrepreneurs and the rigid firm entrepreneurs had similar philosophical outlooks, production practices, and marketing strategies. The entrepreneurs in both groups saw their market as a closed universe, and did not expand into other areas or products. They produced one quality of one product at a centralized production site. Other similarities include a reliance upon personal contact and reciprocity with well-known customers and an avoidance of participation in community affairs. Unlike rigid firm entrepreneurs but like adaptive firm entrepreneurs, Design Entrepreneurs always wanted to operate their own business.

Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs and Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs, placed between the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs and the Design Entrepreneurs, were a blend of traits characteristic of the adaptive firm entrepreneurs and the rigid firm entrepreneurs. Like the adaptive firm entrepreneurs, these two groups of Teotitlán del Valle entrepreneurs built on a personal reputation for producing quality products at the lowest price and developed markets within fixed geographic limits. The Internally Oriented, Local Showroom

Entrepreneurs had diversified their products less than the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs, but more than Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs and much more than Design Entrepreneurs, as illustrated in Figure 1.

In summary, within each of the profiles of Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs, some personal or business characteristics of both adaptive firm entrepreneurs and rigid firm entrepreneurs were present. Even though there are notable differences in culture and product, many similarities exist between the profiles of manufacturing entrepreneurs of the midwestern U.S. and the textile handcraft producer-entrepreneurs of Teotitlán del Valle.

Conclusions: Roles for Economic Development

One circumstance beyond the control of the producer-entrepreneurs provided opportunities to bridge production to tourist and export markets. This circumstance, the development of the tourist industry in Oaxaca, delivered tourists, wholesalers, and retailers to the doorstep of the village. Utilizing the opportunity provided by tourism, the entrepreneurs of Teotitlán del Valle developed new markets. The four profiles identified from this Teotitlán del Valle research provide examples of entrepreneurial craft producer roles that may have applicability for economic development among craftpersons in other geographic areas. The roles provide examples from which other handcraft producers and individuals working in rural economic development may evaluate possible options for entrepreneurial craft activity. Critical to all roles are the educational training and business skills necessary to purchase materials, to allocate materials to workers, and to determine sales prices based upon production costs.

One role, based on the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneur profile, is the craft person who develops a market through seeking out and establishing outlets in distant locations noted for tourist activity or export trade. Products, production methods, and marketing strategies are developed to meet the needs of the external clients. This entrepreneur must have the skills and access to information that will enable him or her to identify appropriate sales locations, understand product preferences of clients, and operate a business organization that can deliver products on time and as requested by the client. Products targeted for the export market would need to be standardized by size, color, and design in order to meet the demand from large quantity orders. Two communication options important to establishing external sales contacts include developing the language skills necessary to conduct sales with foreigners and providing multilingual business cards.

In two additional entrepreneurial roles artisans develop markets for tourists who visit the craftperson's communities. Like the Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs, one role builds a business around a showroom with a western oriented shopping environment that is familiar to tourists. These producers should consider the option of providing production demonstrations to attract tourists and other clients. For some producers, the development of a joint sales and production facility may be preferable to production demonstrations. Like the Outdoor Entrepreneur, the other role appeals to tourists who are attracted to a shopping environment that maintains a local or authentic flavor, such as a local market. For both community oriented roles, the producers must identify specific locations frequented by tourists and other potential clients. Existing sales locations may be adapted for the new target market or new sales sites may be needed in order to

capitalize on tourist shopping routes. Different prices, designs, colors, and products must be available to satisfy the needs and preferences of tourists wandering through the sales area. Additionally, items targeted for the tourist market must be suitable for packing.

Based on the Design Entrepreneur profile, a final role is the producer who creates unique designs and high quality items targeted for clients seeking original one-of-a-kind works of art. A variety of marketing strategies might be used to reach collectors, artists, commercial buyers, and tourists who are willing to pay higher prices for quality art objects. As with the first role, these producers need return clients. Developing language skills and providing multilingual business cards would facilitate foreign clients returning to make purchases.

In summary, the study of the Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs provided data used to develop four entrepreneur profiles. A comparison of the four Teotitlán del Valle profiles with the midwestern U. S. entrepreneur profiles identified similar characteristics that exist between producers of different products in two different cultures. The profiles provide the examples of roles that may be used by craftpersons in other cultures.

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Footnotes

¹Stephen (1987a, 1987b) labels as merchants those Teotitlán del Valle residents who employ weavers and who purchase textiles for resale. The 110 merchants identified by Stephen are a larger segment of the total population than the successful producer-entrepreneurs identified for this study. The successful producer-entrepreneurs for this study were a subset of merchants who directed the production and marketing of *tapetes* to clients in the tourist and export markets.

²Because there were no studies of successful craft entrepreneurs, the studies of entrepreneurs with the most similarities to craft producers were selected. Three criteria were used in selecting previous studies appropriate for comparison to the Teotitlán del Valle textile producer-entrepreneurs: (a) the researchers must identify the characteristics used to describe and classify the entrepreneurs and their businesses; (b) the entrepreneurs must produce a product, as opposed to a service; and (c) the entrepreneurs must have operated the business from start-up and through the maintenance and aggrandizement phases.

³Smith (1967) profiled entrepreneurs based on life history and career patterns and on patterns of business and social behavior. Two types were identified: The Craftsman-Entrepreneur and the Opportunistic- Entrepreneur. The business developed by these entrepreneurs were classified as the rigid firm or the adaptive firm. A strong relationship was found to exist between the type of entrepreneur and the type of business. Because confusion may result from the use of the term Craftsman-Entrepreneur in a study of craftpersons, the terms rigid firm entrepreneur and adaptive firm entrepreneur replace Smith's terms of Craftsman-Entrepreneur and Opportunistic-Entrepreneur, respectively.

**Table 1. Demographic characteristics of producer-entrepreneurs
(n = 27)**

Characteristics	n	% total
Marital status		
Married once	21	78
Widowed and remarried	3	11
Single, never married	2	7
Widowed	1	4
Age		
20-29 years	4	15
30-39 years	6	22
40-49 years	12	44
50-59 years	5	19
Mean age: 41.1 years		
Number of children		
No children	4	15
1-2 children	7	26
3-4 children	9	33
5-6 children	4	15
7-8 children	3	11
Mean number of children: 3.3		
Education		
Less than 3-4 years of primary school	3	11
Completed primary school	18	67
Some secondary school	1	4
Completed secondary, may have some additional education	3	11
Completed university	2	7
Mean education: 6.8 or completed primary, some secondary		

Table 2. Business practices for four entrepreneur profiles (n=27)

Business practices	Entrepreneurial profile				total	% total
	I ^a	II	III	IV		
Motivation to begin or initiate business						
Always wanted own business	-	5	3	4	12	44
Wanted to escape limited opportunity of previous work	7	5	3	-	15	56
Record keeping practices for orders						
Memory, no written records	1	2	3	-	6	22
Special orders written in notebook	-	-	2	3	5	19
All orders written in notebook	8	8	1	1	16	59
Inventory tracking and records						
Memory, no system	1	2	3	3	9	33
Visual system, stacked by design/color/size	6	8	3	-	17	63
Visual system and written list	-	-	-	1	1	4
Criteria used for hiring employees						
Wanted to provide employment for family	2	3	2	4	11	41
Preferred family/ <i>compadres</i> for employees	-	2	1	-	3	17
Selected employee because of skill	1	-	-	-	1	4
Selected employee for combination of skill and kinship	4	5	3	-	12	44
Setting goals and making plans to achieve business growth and change						
Set goals, made plans to achieve goals	5	7	4	2	18	67
Set short term goals with plans to achieve goals	-	1	2	-	3	11
Set short term goals with NO plans	1	1	-	2	4	15
Set NO goals	1	1	-	-	2	7

^a Profile I: Externally oriented, mass production entrepreneurs; Profile II: Internally oriented, local showroom entrepreneurs; Profile III: Outdoor-market entrepreneurs; and Profile IV: Design entrepreneurs.

Table 3. Production characteristics of producer-entrepreneurs

Characteristic	n	% total (n=27)
Number of full-time workers		
5 or less workers	6	22
6-10 workers	14	52
11-19 workers	2	7
20-40 workers	4	15
70-80 workers	1	4
Wife's participation in business (n=24 wives)		
No participation in business	8	33
Participation in all or almost all phases of production and marketing	8	33
Limited participation in production	5	2
Participation limited to marketing	3	7
Sources for materials^a		
Yarn source		
Yarn spun in factories Mexico	27	100
Yarn hand spun in Oaxacan Indian villages	13	48
Yarn spun in U.S. factories	3	11
Dye source		
Synthetic dyes used almost exclusively	15	56
Natural and synthetic dyes frequently used	11	41
Natural dyes used almost exclusively	1	4
Capital sources utilized to start workshop^a		
Savings from wages earned working in U.S.	7	26
Savings from weaving for other or self	23	85
Family loan or inheritance	8	30
Advance (deposit) for future deliveries	2	7
U.S. business partner	1	4
Entrepreneurs utilizing a combination of 2 or more previously listed sources	16	59

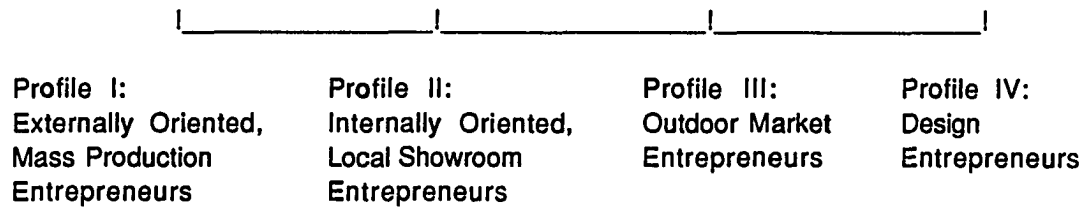
^a Expressed as percent of entrepreneurs utilizing each source. Does not total 100% because most entrepreneurs utilized two or more sources.

Table 4. Personal and business demographics for producer-entrepreneur profiles

	Mean	Range
Profile 1: Externally oriented, mass production entrepreneurs ($\underline{n}=7$)		
Age	40 yrs	31-46 yrs
Education	7 yrs	6th gr-university
Age of business	11.9 yrs	6-18 yrs
Number of looms	7	4 - 14
Number of workers	19.1	4 - 80
Profile 2: Internally oriented, local showroom entrepreneurs ($\underline{n}=10$)		
Age	40.3 yrs	27-58 yrs
Education	5.9 yrs	3rd gr-secondary
Age of business	12.0 yrs	6-25 yrs
Number of looms	11.1	4 - 40
Number of workers	15.5	5 - 40
Profile 3: Outdoor-market entrepreneurs ($\underline{n}=6$)		
Age	44.7 yrs	27-55 yrs
Education	5.5 yrs	3rd gr-6th gr
Age of business	12.2 yrs	5-20 yrs
Number of looms	6.5	4 - 14
Number of workers	7.2	3 - 14
Profile 4: Design entrepreneurs ($\underline{n}=4$)		
Age	39.5 yrs	24-56 yrs
Education	8 yrs	6th gr-university
Age of business	12.3 yrs	3-32 yrs
Number of looms	5.5	2 - 10
Number of workers	7.8	2 - 20

Note: Mean years of education does not include kindergarten.

Teotitlán del Valle Textile Handcraft Producer-Entrepreneurs



Midwestern U.S. Manufacturing Entrepreneurs



Figure 1. Comparison of entrepreneur profile continuums

MANUSCRIPT II:
BRIDGING A TRADITIONAL PRODUCT TO TOURIST AND EXPORT
MARKETS: THE EVOLUTION OF A MEXICAN TEXTILE HANDCRAFT

Abstract

Some Indian villages in Oaxaca, Mexico, have long established traditions for textile production. Originally, craftpersons wove textiles, known as *sarapes*, for use within their own community or for trade at nearby indigenous markets. These textiles retained their local appeal until they were replaced by commercially produced items. To survive in a changing world, *sarape* producers turned to production for tourist and export markets.

Entrepreneurial craftpersons, based in home-workshops in Teotitlán del Valle, Oaxaca, provide examples of artisans who have developed active tourist and export markets for their handcrafted textiles. Twenty-nine textile producers in Teotitlán del Valle were studied to understand product change in an evolving market system among producers, vendors, and consumers. A classification scheme describing changes in products, markets, and consumer preferences, was developed from case studies that used in-depth interviews and participant observation in home workshops and markets as the methods for data collection. Three periods of product and market evolution were the Product Experimentation Period, the Product Expansion Period, and the Target Market Segmentation Period. Handcraft researchers and producers, and individuals working in rural economic development may apply the findings as generic stages of handcraft change in an evolving market system.

Introduction

Income generated from handcraft exports has increased dramatically in recent years. At the beginning of the 1980s, world handcraft exports were \$US 2.6 billion, with \$US 0.96 billion attributed to Third World countries (Benjamin, 1981). The demand for handcraft exports from developing countries had increased to \$US 8.45 billion by 1985, with an estimated potential market as large as \$US 25 billion (Pye, 1986). In addition to exports, a lucrative source for handcraft revenues is provided by the tourist market. The World Tourism Organization estimated 1985 international tourist expenditures at \$US 105 billion with the Economist Intelligence Unit projecting a growth rate of at least 7% through the year 1995 (Lickorish, 1987). After oil, tourism constitutes the second most important item in Mexico's foreign currency receipts; tourism contributes more than \$US 3 billion to the Mexican economy (Mexican National Chambers of Commerce, 1987).

The income generated from handcraft sales and the opportunity for craftpersons to capitalize on sales in the tourist and export markets assume major importance when they are placed in perspective with alternative sources of income in developing countries. Handcrafts are the second largest source of income, after agriculture in the developing world (Pye, 1986). In Latin America, the estimated 40 million persons engaged in handcraft production are most often found in the 40% of the population living below the poverty line (Tadmore, 1984).

Historically, handcrafts were produced to fulfill functional and ceremonial needs within the craftperson's community. Today, improved transportation systems have enabled mass produced items to reach once remote villages and to replace many handcrafts. Craftpersons have lost income as a result of changes in buying practices

within the indigenous market. Economic necessity is forcing craft producers to seek new markets or to seek other sources of income.

The successful development of new markets will determine the economic well-being of thousands of craftpersons (Guggenheim, 1986). Compelling reasons for developing handcrafts targeted for tourist and export markets include:

1. Craft production can be expanded from existing home-based production, integrated with agricultural and household activities, and used to generate income in rural areas, thereby stemming migration to urban areas where skilled craftpersons become unskilled laborers or face unemployment (Pye, 1985).
2. The technology used in craft production requires little capital investment in equipment and materials (Dhamija, 1975; Pye, 1986; Schumacher, 1973).
3. Craft production is not dependent upon land ownership; therefore, income generated from crafts may be increasingly important for agricultural workers displaced by mechanization and for women, ethnic minorities, and other disadvantaged groups without access to land (Pye, 1985, 1986).

Growing tourist and export markets for handcrafts could provide the opportunity for once remote craftpersons to develop handcraft production for new markets. However, major problems are associated with modifying traditional products or developing new products for nontraditional markets. Producers know local aesthetic and product preferences, but these standards cannot be applied to consumers from other cultures (Graburn, 1982).

Successful modification of indigenous handcrafts depends upon understanding all parts of a three-part marketing system that includes producers and their products, vendors, and consumers. Existing research has addressed one or two components of the system. Graburn (1976, 1982) and Jules-Rosette (1985) have examined changes in products intended for tourists and the vendors who market the

products (Graburn, 1976, 1982; Jules-Rosette, 1985). Insight into the aesthetic and product preferences of consumers outside the producer's culture has been provided by recent research profiling consumers of handcrafts (Littrell, in review, 1987; Slaybaugh, Littrell, & Farrell-Beck, in press). Craft producers and individuals working in rural economic development would benefit from research that examines the dynamics of all parts of the system, producer and product, vendor, and consumer components, and that has been developed from the perspective of craftpersons who have successfully bridged craft production from indigenous markets to tourist and export markets.

Historic Perspective of Handcraft and Market Change In a Zapotec Village

Teotitlán del Valle, Oaxaca, Mexico, is a village with entrepreneurial textile producers who have successfully established tourist and export markets. This Zapotec Indian community of 1039 households is located 27 kilometers southeast of Oaxaca City, the capital of the state of Oaxaca (Smith, 1978; Stephen, 1987a). A paved road connects Teotitlán del Valle with the Pan American highway, four kilometers west of the village. The village's proximity to the highway has facilitated the transportation of products to sales sites in the indigenous markets at nearby Tlacolula and Oaxaca City and in distant locations in Mexico and in the United States (Stephen, 1987b; Vargas-Barón, 1968).

Some villages in Oaxaca have textile traditions that can be traced to the Zapotec tribute state of the late 15th century (Spores, 1965; Whitecotton, 1977). After the Spanish introduced sheep and the horizontal floor loom to the Americans, wool became more important than cotton for the weaving of *sarapes* in some communities, such as

Teotitlán del Valle (Nader, 1969). Further documentation of Teotitlán del Valle's specialization in weaving *serapes* for indigenous consumption was provided by the Spanish in the late 18th century (Hamnett, 1971).

Teotitlán del Valle's success in adapting production to the tourist and export market was precipitated by two events that occurred in the 1950s (Stephen, 1987b). The first event was the migration of Teotitlán del Valle residents to the United States through the second United States Bracero Program, a program that permitted migrant workers to hold seasonal labor permits for legal employment in the U.S. Migrants returned to Teotitlán del Valle with cash for business investment and with a knowledge of the U.S. culture. The second event was the arrival of tourism following the completion of the Pan American Highway (Stephen, 1987b).

Vargas-Barón (1968) reports production and marketing for tourists began around 1945-1948 with the construction of the Pan American Highway. By 1950, Teotitlán del Valle producers had established trade to tourist markets in Acapulco and Mexico City. By 1967, trade was established to the United States, Europe, Mexican towns near the United States border, and Mexican cities frequented by tourists (Vargas-Barón, 1968). The development of these markets was the result of innovative adaptation of a traditional product produced with traditional technology and indigenous materials in home workshops.

Handcraft Change, Vendors as Communication Links, and Handcraft Consumers

To understand the phenomena of craftperson's adaptation of products to market change, research findings from three relevant areas were identified. The areas

included models of handcraft change, vendors as communication links between artisans and consumers, and profiles of handcraft consumers.

Models of Handcraft Product Change

Research on the handcraft sector in developing countries has been notable for its absence (Pye, 1985). Previous research was largely case studies that documented the production methods of specific handcrafts or identified the symbolic meaning and ritual use of the objects in a society. Two models provide different perspectives of the evolution of indigenous crafts into products targeted for sale outside the producer's community. One model focuses on product evolution; the second model focuses on vendors as communication links between producers and consumers.

In the first model, indigenous handcrafts are organized by the type of artistic change resulting from interaction between craftpersons and tourists seeking to purchase indigenously produced artifacts (Graburn, 1976, 1984). The seven types of change in traditional arts were identified as:

1. Extinction: The indigenous form declines or disappears from the culture.
2. Functional traditional: The traditional form is accompanied by changes that do not alter symbolic meaning within the indigenous community in which the object is sold or bartered.
3. Commercial traditional: The traditional form is produced using traditional materials and methods and made to sell in response to outsiders who are seeking "authentic" artifacts.
4. Souvenirs novelty: The object bears little relation to the traditional form because the profit motive or the economic competition of poverty overrides indigenous aesthetic standards; thus, satisfying the consumer becomes more important than pleasing the artist.
5. Reintegrated arts: New forms are developed by taking ideas, materials, or techniques from industrial societies and applying them in new ways to the artist's own needs.

6. Assimilated fine arts: Minority artists adopt the established art forms of the conquerors and compete with the artists of the dominant society.
7. Popular arts: Minority artists adopt forms of European art traditions and modify the content of the art to express the minority artists' cultural traditions and feelings.

This model provided for shifts from functional traditional handcrafts produced by and for the craftperson's community to handcrafts produced for sale outside the community. The first artistic change, known as commercial traditional art, was the production of the traditional functional object in increased quantities for sale outside the historic market. The artisan's contact with new clients outside the community provided information about product preferences that led to departures from traditional production standards. Souvenir or novelty arts resulted as changes were made in size and complexity, materials, colors, motifs, or form. Further changes, such as forms resembling mainstream fine art genres, evolve out of the souvenir or novelty phase. These changes occur as both the producer's community and the outside markets react to the shift from traditional functional handcrafts to souvenir or novelty handcrafts. The reintegrated arts, popular arts, and assimilated arts categories have different forms because they are produced using mediums from outside cultures rather than traditional materials and methods of production.

When Graburn (1984) identified the processes of change in the tourist arts, he also identified the conditions under which the transformations take place. To progress from functional traditional arts to commercial traditional arts, conditions would include a continuity of traditional aesthetics and the artist's role; an ability for the creators to separate sacred and secular art forms; a continuing supply of the original materials not outstripped by the tourist demand; a market wealthy enough to afford the objects; and buyers who know and demand art objects true to their tradition.

The conditions for the evolution from commercial traditional arts to souvenir or novelty arts and to the other categories would include a willingness of the producers to depart from traditional standards of production; a breakdown of the limitations restricting who may perform in the artisan's role, allowing others to enter and compete; the adoption of new materials and techniques; and the presence of a market that neither knows nor cares for objects conforming to traditional standards. Production change geared for the tourist and export markets may take one of two paths. Both paths require the presence of abundant materials. On the first path, handcrafted items may become simplified and miniaturized for the tourist trade. The second path emphasizes individualization for relatively low-volume or high-priced objects (Graburn, 1976).

Graburn's model identified types of handcraft change and accompanying conditions. Thus, the model provides craft producers with product options that can be evaluated as alternatives for modifying indigenous handcrafts. The potential economic impact of product development that is successful in capitalizing on the tourist industry may lead some individuals to give up their traditional subsistence occupations to become full-time handcraft producers (Graburn, 1982).

Product Change and Cross-cultural Communication Links

In the second model, based on research with African handcraft producers, Jules-Rosette (1985) provided insights into handcraft change and tourist art resulting from vendors acting as communication links between producers and consumers. In this model, craftpersons are image producers. The images or objects crafted by producers change to meet the demands of commercialization. The objects

are modified to represent the cultural traditions of both the producers and the consumers and to incorporate the individual styles of the artisans (Ben-Amos, 1980; Jules-Rosette, 1984).

Jules-Rosette identified three categories of craftpersons making the shift to commercialization. Conventional artists, trained through traditional apprenticeships, produce one-of-a-kind traditional handcrafts for sale outside the indigenous community. Technicians, traditionally trained like commercial artists, mass-produce items for sale to tourists; and commercial artisans, trained through apprenticeships and art academies, create for the tourist trade and galleries.

The development of the tourist art form is dependent upon attracting a large audience. Attracting a clientele begins by establishing communication links that provide consumers with a knowledge of available products and producers with feedback through two types of exchanges. The first type of exchange, called direct, occurs between the producer and the consumer. The second type, called indirect, relies upon a vendor to act as a translator of consumer desires to the producer. The greater the producers' understanding of the uses to which consumers might put an object, the greater the producers' opportunity for developing a product that finds acceptance by the consumers (Jules-Rosette, 1984).

In a study of the Hispanic weaving traditions of the Chimayó area of northern New Mexico, Baizerman (1987, 1988) contributed to the overall understanding of handcraft change by providing another perspective on handcrafts produced for new markets. Chimayó weavers have withstood the test of many decades of tourist oriented production without changing the weaving process, even though they have modified the product to meet the demands imposed by outsiders. Baizerman argues that craft

traditions should be defined as processes, not as products. If processes continue to be passed down from one generation to another, the tradition continues even though the product may change.

The adaptation of the Chimayó weavings was accomplished because communication links were established across the boundaries of the producers' and the consumers' cultures. Vendors, such as art dealers and gallery owners introduced new materials, new color combinations, and new forms by conveying consumer needs. Vendors influenced producers to conform to different market demands in order to generate as much income as possible. Thus, outsiders can affect changes in colors, designs, materials, and forms of weaving as a part of a continually emerging and unfolding tradition and not necessarily destroy the textile tradition as a process. Other examples of handcraft producers who have adapted indigenous handcrafts to appeal to consumers outside the indigenous community without making major modifications in the production processes are the Navajo of the U.S. southwest and the Cuna of the San Blas Islands, Panama (Brody, 1976; Kent, 1985; Salvador, 1976).

In summary, Jules-Rosette's model identifies direct and indirect communication links as sources of information about consumer desires. The information gained by the producer is then used to make decisions regarding product modification and development. The model provides insight into the necessity for establishing communication links with consumers or vendors if handcraft producers seek to develop products sought by tourists, collectors, and other handcraft consumers. Baizerman identifies the difference between modifying products to meet the demands of consumers in new markets and changing traditional production processes.

Profiles of Handcraft Consumers

In two studies that profiled consumers of ethnic textile handcrafts, researchers identified specific categories of consumers (Littrell, 1987; Slaybaugh, Littrell, & Farrell-Beck, in press). The five profiles that emerged were individuals who purchased textiles because of beauty and fine workmanship; individuals who buy textiles to support a personal style of dramatic dressing; persons who are attracted to ethnic-looking, handwoven textiles; consumers who want handcrafts that retain a handcrafted appearance but do not look ethnic or different when displayed in their homes; and individuals who buy only items that have a clear function at the time of purchase (Littrell, 1987; Slaybaugh, Littrell, & Farrell-Beck, in press). Additional categories that emerged from a study of consumers of Hmong textiles included individuals who wanted to provide economic support for the Hmong people and were interested in textiles that reflected Hmong traditions. The profiles of handcraft consumers provide insights that can be used as a mirror for producer perceptions of tourists and consumers in distant markets. The producers' perceptions can be compared to the profiles to identify discrepancies.

In summary, the growth of tourist and export markets provides potential for economic survival among indigenous artisans. Tourist art reflects the economic, cultural, and aesthetic goals of its producers and the expectations of its consumers. As an economic commodity, tourist art can be optimized for economic gain if craftpersons understand the dynamics of product and market development, and consumer desires.

Field Research with Teotitlán del Valle Textile Handcraft Producers

The purpose of this research was to develop and describe a classification scheme for the evolution of a product in response to changing consumers in the

Teotitlán del Valle handcraft marketing system. The Teotitlán del Valle handcraft market is a social system in which interactions that occur among producers, vendors, and consumers provide feedback regarding product acceptance and consumer preferences. The present research focused on relationships between handcraft producers, product, and consumers. Product modifications were examined in relation to product form, raw materials, colors, and design. The business practices of the entrepreneurial producers and their roles as vendors have been described and analyzed elsewhere (Popelka, Fanslow, & Littrell, 1989). Together, the studies provide insight on the dynamics among the three components of the Teotitlán del Valle handcraft marketing system.

Initial contact and introductions in Teotitlán del Valle were established in March 1984. A feasibility study was conducted in June 1986 and initial screening interviews to identify successful textile handcraft producers began in April 1987. Criteria for selection of entrepreneurs included: (a) individuals born and raised in the village of Teotitlán del Valle; and (b) producers defined as successful because their clients were from the tourist and export markets, and their income was generated from sales in the tourist and export market rather than from sales to local consumers or from agriculture.

A purposive sample was used due to the unique nature of the criteria used to define the population (Touliatos & Compton, 1988). Thirty-one textile producers were identified as the target population; two textile producers declined to participate in the research and two producers were deleted during interviews because in-depth information revealed they did not meet the selection criteria. Hence, the 27 producers used to classify and describe product evolution, market change, and consumer

preference represent 93% of the actual population. A typical participant was 41 years old and had at least a primary school education (see Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

Intensive field work was conducted from January to May 1988. Market observations, home and workshop observations, in-depth interviews, and participant observation were used to obtain information about product evolution. The interview questions focused on the producers' perceptions of change related to clientele, product form, raw materials, colors, and design. Interviews were conducted in Spanish. Although interviews were informal, all producers were asked common questions through the course of the conversations. As a result, parallel sets of data were obtained from all producers. The open-ended response format and informal nature of the interviews provided the opportunity to explore the individuality of each situation.

At the conclusion of the field work, the producers' responses were analyzed using content analysis and descriptive statistics. Chronological periods were organized using pattern-matching logic with the goal of explanation-building (Yin, 1985). The general content areas used to develop the chronological periods included changes in clientele, consumer preferences, and products. Specific changes related to products included form, raw materials, design, and color. Each period was assigned a descriptive name based on characteristics that differentiated the periods.

Product Evolution and Market Change

Product evolution and market change are organized into three periods. The periods are not clearly defined points in time because no single event or change

delineated the beginning or end of an era. Changes evolved gradually, thus at any point in time several overlapping product and market characteristics might be identified. The first period, the Product Experimentation Period, was a transitional period in which the targeted market shifted from indigenous persons to tourists. The changes of the first period occurred before the mid-1960s. The second period, the Product Expansion Period, had increased production for the expanding American tourist market and for the developing export market. This period began in the mid-1960s and ended in the mid-1970s. The third period, the Target Market Segmentation Period, included product development and production for specific markets such as the commercial export market, the European and Asian tourist markets, and the fine arts market. The third period began in the mid-1970s and extends to the late 1980s (see Tables 2 and 3).

Insert Tables 2 and 3 about here

Period I: Product Experimentation

The period of Product Experimentation is characterized by experimentation with the handcraft form to identify products that may find acceptance by tourists. Before the 1950s, *sarapes* were produced to meet family needs and to trade in the indigenous markets of Oaxaca and Chiapas. After the arrival of the Pan-American highway in the 1950s and the subsequent expansion of tourism in Oaxaca, tourists were identified and targeted as a new market for the *sarapes* produced by entrepreneurial weavers in Teotitlán del Valle. Initially, the *sarapes* had neck-slits for use as poncho-like garments (see Table 4). By the late 1950s, the neck-slit was

seldom included in the *sarapes*. Designed for use as interior decoration items and characterized by the absence of a neck-slit, the *tapete* form emerged by the mid-1960s.

Insert Table 4 about here

During this period, each item was created as a unique piece from hand spun wool. Natural wool colors were sometimes accented with small areas of red, rose, or blue obtained by dyeing yarns with natural dyes such as cochineal and Mexican indigo, known as *añil* (see Table 5). Designs usually were based on motifs found in the stone reliefs of the nearby ruins of Yagul and Mitla. Typical designs included the Mitla-step motif in bands, the Mitla diamond motif used as a single motif or as a tile-like network (see Figure 1), and flower-like motifs known as flor or sol de Oaxaca (see Figure 2). Near the end of the era limited experimentation with design occurred. New and more complex motifs, such as prehispanic god-figures, called *dioses*, and various symbols of Mexico, were introduced as central design features(see Figure 2).

Insert Table 5 and Figures 1 and 2 about here

The adoption of the *tapete* form and new motifs did not secularize the handcrafts because there were not significant pre-existing spiritual meanings attached to the *sarapes* or the motifs. However, the historic motifs associated with the ruins did symbolize the producer's Zapotec heritage. By the end of this period, the

tapete was established as a marketable product due to changes in form and motifs. An indigenous handcraft had been transformed from a clothing item to a decorator item accepted by the tourist market.

Period II: Product Expansion

During the second period, mid-1960s to mid-1970s, producers made *tapetes* in larger and smaller sizes, adopted many new designs from outside the Mexican and Zapotec cultural traditions, and experimented with new materials as they sought wider acceptance for their products in the flourishing tourist market. The number of U.S. and Canadian tourists visiting Oaxaca City and Teotitlán del Valle increased dramatically. One producer described the magnitude of change in tourism this way:

In the early 1950s, I rarely saw a tourist visiting our village ... maybe one, two, three in month. But with time, more and more tourists began visiting Teotitlán del Valle. Soon several tourist were arriving in the village every week, then everyday. By the mid-1970s, a few cars with American [U.S. and Canadian] tourists came most days. Now, tourists arrive by the bus load everyday.

The entrepreneurial producers identified tourists seeking souvenirs of their visit to Oaxaca as a lucrative new market. During this period, the size of the *tapete* was changing (see Table 4). The width of new looms increased from less than 1 meter to 1.2-1.5 meters. The wider looms permitted the proportioning of the *tapete's* dimensions to accommodate the scale of new designs adopted for use in large wall hangings and rugs. The smaller looms were utilized to make miniature *tapetes* (approximately 35 cm X 50 cm) that were inexpensive and easily portable souvenirs. By the end of this period, neck-slits had disappeared except for occasional tourist items marketed as authentic Indian *sarapes*.

The increased number of tourists provided a larger market and an opportunity for an increase in volume of business. Increased production necessitated an

abandonment of slow production techniques, such as hand spinning and dyeing with natural dyestuffs. Factory produced yarn spun from synthetic fibers such as acrylic became popular as producers sought methods for reducing labor and costs. The adoption of synthetic dyes was precipitated by two situations. First, the technology used to color wool with natural dyes did not yield satisfactory results when applied to synthetic fibers. As a result, synthetic dyes chemically compatible with the synthetic yarns were necessary. Second, adopted designs used in the period did not have color patterns rooted in Zapotec history. Hence, the colors obtained with synthetic dyes were aesthetically compatible with new designs; the range of choices available to tourists was expanded. During this period, 82% of the producers used what they described as bright synthetic colors. The saturated hues of green, red, blue, orange, and yellow were used for the motifs and accent stripes (see Table 5). High contrast bands were obtained by alternating white with dark brown, dark gray, black, and bright accent colors.

The producers stated that the tourist's desire for "something Mexican" or "something Oaxacan" encouraged the design and incorporation of motifs considered to be "Mexican" by tourists. These motifs included the Mexican national symbol (an eagle holding a snake while sitting on a cactus), the Aztec calendar, and prehispanic god-figures, called *dioses*. Other motifs that characterized this period included flower-like geometrics, birds and flowers, serrated diamond geometrics, and designs adapted from abstract paintings by artists such as Miró, Picasso, Escher, and Matisse (see Figures 2 and 3). Most often, a single large motif was located in the center of the *tapete*; a wide band of stripes was woven between the motif and the fringed ends. The band was omitted on *tapetes* featuring an abstract work by a contemporary artist.

Frequently, single geometric motifs or prehispanic animal motifs adapted from Encino's (1953) book of design were used for small *tapetes*. Producers attributed the adaptation of abstract paintings for *tapete* production to clients who requested that contemporary artists' works be reproduced in a woven form. Encino's book of prehispanic motifs originally was published in Spanish in 1947 and has been available in libraries and bookstores throughout Mexico for many years. Producers did not recall a particular individual introducing the Encino design book.

Insert Figure 3 about here

In summary, the second period was an experimental learning period in which producers developed a market orientation outside the community and indigenous market system. The producers incorporated a wide variety of modified products to test consumer preferences. The modifications included the incorporation of factory produced yarn and synthetic fibers as raw materials and of design ideas from outside the Zapotec tradition.

Period III: Target Market Segmentation

The Target Market Segmentation period was characterized by an explosion of designs inspired by sources outside the Zapotec and Mexican cultures and the modification of product design and color to meet the needs of target markets segmented to reflect different aesthetic preferences and price points. The third period, extending from the late 1970s to the present, was a time in which the production of items expanded from a predominantly U.S. and Canadian tourist market to an international

tourist market that included visitors from Japan, Germany, France, and other countries. Simultaneously, producers expanded into the commercial export market.

Sixteen producers (63%) specialized in the production of *tapetes* for both tourists and commercial buyers visiting Oaxaca City and Teotitlán del Valle. Fifty per cent of these producers identified tourists by nationality and associated specific aesthetic preferences with the nationalities that were frequent buyers of *tapetes*. German and Swiss clients were characterized as having an appreciation for weaving excellence, an interest in the technical construction and dyeing processes, and a preference for dark muted colors. The Japanese clients also had an appreciation for quality items and an interest in production methods. Unlike the Germans and Swiss, the Japanese preferred red, black, and white color combinations. Producers stated the French tourists preferred bright synthetic colors and lower priced items. An interest in production methods and a desire for quality were not attributes the Teotitlán del Valle producers associated with the French. Americans were described as a mixed group. Like the Germans, Swiss, and Japanese, some Americans showed an interest in the production processes and a preference for quality items. Other Americans sought the highest possible quality at a moderate cost.

Eleven producers (41%) specialized in developing one or more of the three market segments of commercial buyers. The first segment was large volume buyers. Large numbers of *tapetes* were produced in standardized designs and specific color combinations for large volume wholesale or retail outlets. The second segment demanded a variety of patterns targeted for handcraft galleries and ethnic art outlets. Finally, original one-of-a-kind and limited editions were created for fine art galleries.

The evolution of products developed to fill consumer demands in ever expanding markets attests to entrepreneurial producers' ability to identify the preferences and needs of nontraditional clients, many of which are different from the producer's own preferences or criteria. When asked how consumer preferences were ascertained, 78% of the producers stated that they could identify consumer preferences by noting what products potential clients asked to see and by being alert to statements clients made while viewing the merchandise available. Other methods used to make production decisions included maintaining sales records and observing consumers' purchases from other producers. The wife of one producer summarized understanding consumer preferences when she explained:

People always ask how do we know what is popular in the U.S. or where ever they are from. Well, you have to be really stupid not to know. All you need to do is listen. For example, if you have a lot of people ask for diamond patterns with blue colors...well, then you know you should be making blue diamonds. Also, when a group of clients talk to each other or to me about what they like or do not like, I learn about what will sell.

During this period, wool regained popularity because of consumer demand. However, the return of wool did not mean a return to hand spun and naturally dyed yarns. The exception was production of high quality, high priced wool items targeted for sales in galleries. Instead, most producers used factory spun, single-ply wool yarn dyed with high quality synthetic dyes in the producers' workshops. The return to wool was a response to clients' requests, not a desire by the producers to return to the original materials used to weave *sarapes*.

Colors preferred by the clients of the third period included earth tones and pastels. Low contrast color combinations became increasingly popular as the 1980s progressed, although the motifs and color combinations of the previous period were

never completely abandoned. By the late 1980s, low contrast combinations of muted darker colors, such as teal, mauve, and rust, and high contrast combination of black, dark gray, light gray, white, and red were beginning to appear in response to German and Japanese preferences, respectively.

In response to the needs of the new clients in the changing markets, producers continued design innovations. The variety of new designs included Navajo adaptations, human and animal figures adapted from prehispanic codices and other historic sources, Peruvian motifs, Canadian west coast Indian motifs, and the renewal of complex geometrics inspired by the historic Zapotec stone work found in the ruins of Mitla. Producers stated the sources for the designs, except the Zapotec designs, were from books provided by clients, borrowed from the public library, or purchased in a bookstore. One producer stated:

I started combining elements of Escher's sea and sky theme into a desert landscape because tourists want something peasant-like. Tourists think the design is so quaint. These combination designs are very popular with tourists in Oaxaca but don't sell well in the U.S.

Original designs created by producers for the fine arts market emerged during this period. Original expressions were executed by two producers in response to their own creative impulses. The most recent work of one 35-year-old artist pictured frolicking whales and a mermaid. Producers referred to all of these new designs generically as special designs or *los especiales*.

In addition to the development of the special designs, a genre of designs evolved that was referred to as commercial designs or *los comerciales*. Producers described *los comerciales* as designs that have been simplified for rapid weaving. The simplicity of the commercial designs allows producers to reduce the time required to produce *tapetes* at a level of quality acceptable for any given price point. Four

categories of commercial designs include: bands with small or repeating geometrics; bands with split diamonds, often called the lightening pattern; large stepped or serrated diamonds accompanied by end bands that may incorporate a band of Mitla stepped motifs; adaptations of the Navajo phase III chief's blanket; and birds and flowers, often in bands (see Figure 4).

Insert Figure 4 about here

One producer described his approach to making decisions regarding design. His comments illustrate the transition from Period II, Product Expansion, to Period III, Target Market Segmentation:

Fifteen years ago everyone made *tapetes* with bright synthetic colors in a big design in the center and stripes on the ends. Tourists seemed to think designs like *dioses* or the Mexican national emblem were typical, authentic designs. Then some Americans started coming to Teotitlán to order special designs ... designs they liked and wanted in weavings for their homes. I started making a few of these new designs, especially the designs adapted from abstract paintings by modern artists, and selling them to tourists. About nine or ten years ago I saw some Navajo designs in a book an American brought to Teotitlán for making a special order. I started experimenting with different designs and colors, making one or two new designs to see if they would sell. I would ask customers if they liked my designs and what they liked or didn't like and they would tell me. I still do this. Now I produce mostly commercial designs for wholesalers in the United States. The commercial designs I use rely on the use of color in bands accented by small geometrics. The different colors in bands make the design interesting but do not use a lot of time to weave. I have some weavers that specialize in certain designs because they must produce designs exactly to meet the requirements for quantity orders of standardized designs and colors. Also, I have some weavers that make Navajo-like designs for galleries in the U.S. Because Americans like the Navajo geometric designs, about five years ago, I started working on complex geometric designs adapted from the old stone designs in the Mitla. These have been very, very popular with collectors shopping in Oaxaca and with gallery owners in the U.S.

In summary, the continuing evolution of the *tapete* resulted from refinement in the producers' observations of specific market segments and of the aesthetic preferences of the consumers in each targeted market. The *tapete* modifications reflected the producer's ability to use market observations to identify ongoing trends based on consumer selections.

Insert Table 6 about here

Teotitlán del Valle Handcraft Change: A Comparison with Existing Models and Profiles

The handcraft producers' insights into market changes and product evolution support many aspects of both the Graburn model of artistic change and the Jules-Rosette model of communication links. The Teotitlán del Valle producers' perceptions of consumer preferences parallel many of the consumer profiles identified by Littrell, Slaybaugh, and Farrell-Beck.

The product changes resulting from the evolution of the *tapete* were parallel to four of Graburn's types of change in traditional arts. The parallel types include extinction, commercial traditional, souvenir novelty, and assimilated fine arts. The *sarape*, as it was produced for indigenous consumption, has become extinct. The successful craft producers in this study are no longer producing the traditional poncho-like garments. During the Product Experimentation Period, Graburn's commercial traditional form existed for that brief period in which craftpersons first shifted production from indigenous consumers to tourists seeking authentic Mexican *sarapes*. Today, the souvenir novelty style abounds as *tapetes* produced to satisfy the

preferences and needs of commercial clients and international tourists. The assimilated fine arts style is limited to the unique designs created by two producers who may be defined as fiber artists.

The conditions Graburn identified as necessary for each phase of artistic change existed for the handcraft producers in Teotitlán del Valle. The conditions included a large clientele existing outside the traditional market, a population of producers willing to produce for nontraditional clients and willing to depart from traditional standards of production, and a supply of readily accessible raw materials.

Graburn's two paths for production change co-existed in Teotitlán del Valle. Some handcrafts became simplified and miniaturized for large volume commercial clients and for tourists. In contrast, the special designs and original creations provided unique items targeted for relatively low-volume or high-priced markets. Although the products evolved differently along each path, *tapetes* could still be defined as traditional handcrafts by Baizerman's definition because the weaving process has remained relatively unchanged. The *tapete* of the late 1980s is an evolving product that fits Graburn's model for artistic change and is a product born from a traditional process.

The Jules-Rosette model for product change based on either direct or indirect consumer feedback was partially supported. The producers relied mostly on direct feedback because they also functioned as vendors. The producers who provided *tapetes* to wholesalers and retailers considered these vendors to be the end of the information chain; they did not try to second guess what a wholesaler or retailers' clients would buy. A typical explanation was provided by a 43-year-old producer's philosophy about consumer information.

I look for trends in what my different clients want. If I start receiving orders for particular designs and colors from some of my U.S. wholesalers, then I know those designs and colors are going to be good sellers to commercial buyers that walk in to my outlet in Teotitlán. I know the trend will sell to other commercial buyers, but the trend may not sell to other clients. The commercial buyers know their clients and what they want, I don't; therefore I don't worry about trying to find out about the buyers' clients. I look at what tourists are buying to decide what to have in my inventory to sell to tourists.

The value of indirect forms of consumer information compared to the value of direct forms for product change was not obtained in this research.

The product modifications identified by Jules-Rosette appeared as stages in the Teotitlán del Valle handcraft evolution. First the form and patterns changed to find commercial acceptance. Next, the range of motifs expanded with the prehispanic god figures, human figures, and animal figures becoming idealized cultural expressions to the tourists.

The *tapetes* produced by the Teotitlán del Valle craftpersons accurately reflect many of the product preferences identified in the profiles of handcraft consumers (Littrell, 1987; Slaybaugh, Littrell, & Farrell-Beck, in press). Special designs and original creations may be targeted for the beauty and fine workmanship consumers. Design based on historic Zapotec and other prehispanic motifs may satisfy consumers attracted to ethnic-looking, handwoven textiles. Likewise, designs based on tile-like geometrics and nontraditional motifs, such as adaptations of Matisse or Picasso, would provide options for individuals seeking home decoration items that look handcrafted but do not look ethnic. By design, *tapetes* are functional items that serve as wall hangings, rugs, and bed covers. Thus, the *tapete* may appeal to consumers profiled as only purchasing handcrafts that have a clear function.

In summary, indigenous craftpersons can accurately identify consumer preferences and adapt traditional products to fulfill the desires of nontraditional

consumers. However, craft producers must be willing to change markets, to interact with clients in the new market to ascertain aesthetic and product preferences, and to act on the information through product development for new clients. Craftpersons can modify traditional products to bridge production to new markets without destroying traditional aspects of the production methods.

Stages for Change in a Handcraft Marketing System

The three periods of Teotitlán del Valle handcraft evolution can be viewed as three generic stages for producers who choose to develop new markets outside the local community. In the first stage, craftpersons and the individuals composing the new market interface, thereby allowing the producer to experiment with product, design, and color alternatives. The emphasis in this stage is to determine if the product's original form or a modified form is acceptable to the new market. Implicit in this stage of product evaluation is the recognition that some products created for use in the indigenous community may not find acceptance in tourist and export markets, even if the product is modified. If the original product or a modified form is not acceptable to the new market, producers would need to explore the market to identify alternative products that would be acceptable. The initial experimentation must be accompanied by producers' being attentive to consumer responses and incorporating consumer feedback into future modifications or product alternatives.

The second stage is an expansion of product modifications based on the most acceptable product form identified in the first stage. The expansion of product modifications is focused on looking beyond the indigenous community for ideas and on determining the range of design and color options the new market prefers. The limits of the range are developed from an increasing knowledge and understanding of the

consumers and their desires. The successful expansion into new markets is accompanied by an increase in the number of items needed to satisfy consumer demand. Thus, this stage includes a search for ways to expand production. Possibilities for expanding production include substituting factory produced materials for hand processed materials, expanding the labor pool to include individuals previously not involved in craft production, and simplifying designs or ornamentation.

The final stage is the identification of market segments, the association of attributes differentiating the segments, the selection of market segments targeted as clients, and the refinement of product modifications to meet the expectations of the targeted markets. Potential segments include specific types of tourists, commercial buyers, and collectors of ethnic or fine arts. If commercial buyers are identified as the target market, the standardization of items for quantity orders must be implemented as a part of production.

Craft researchers, craftpersons, and individuals working in rural economic development can apply and evaluate the three generic stages of handcraft product evolution as they study and work with producers, vendors, and consumers in other handcraft systems where there is a desire or need to market products to new groups of consumers. Understanding each component within the handcraft marketing system and the relationships between the components provides a foundation for understanding the dynamics of product change and development.

Although all aspects of the market system should be addressed in future research, one specific area of the market system that has been identified for future research needs emphasis. Communication links by which producers develop skills for identifying consumer preferences and making product modifications that new markets

find acceptable warrants further study. The producers in Teotitlán del Valle relied on direct feedback from vendors and consumers to identify consumer desires and to modify traditional products for commercial acceptance. Indirect feedback may also be a valid source of information about consumers. However, no successful producers in this study relied exclusively or primarily on secondary information. The results of this research raise the following questions:

1. Is craftpersons' success at product development for new markets dependent on each craftpersons' becoming skilled at identifying and predicting market trends?
2. Are craftpersons who rely on indirect sources for consumer feedback limited by the abilities and imagination of the translating sources?
3. If craft producers rely primarily on indirect sources, what happens when the link to consumer information ceases to supply consumers?

In this research, a successful system for handcraft change evolved as producers interfaced with the new market to learn about the consumers and to understand their preferences and needs. Future research should continue to be directed toward understanding components of the handcraft marketing system as an interactive whole and on developing insights into the value of indirect and direct consumer feedback for craftpersons seeking to develop markets in distant locations and in different cultures.

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Field work in March 1984, June 1986, and April 1987 provided the foundation for intensive field work and data collection from January 1988 through May 1988. The research was partially funded by a grant from the Julia Anderson International Fund, College of Family and Consumer Sciences, Iowa State University.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of producers (n=27)

Characteristics	n	% total
Age		
20-29 years	4	15
30-39 years	6	22
40-49 years	12	44
50-59 years	5	19
Mean age: 41.1 years		
Education		
Some primary school	3	11
Completed primary school, may have some secondary	19	71
Completed secondary, may have some additional education	3	11
Completed university	2	7
Mean education: 6.8 or completed primary, some secondary		

Table 2. Market change (n=27)

Clients	Before Mid-1960s	Mid-1960s to Mid-1970s	Mid-1970s to Present
<u>Tourists</u>			
American (general)	x	x	x
U.S.	x	x	x
Canadian	x	x	x
European (general)		x	x
French			x
German & Swiss			x
Others			x
Asian (general)			x
Japanese			x
<u>Commercial buyers</u>			
American (general)			x
U.S.		x	x
Canadian			x
European (general)		x	x
French			
German & Swiss			x
Others			
Asian (general)			
Japanese			x

Table 3. Evolution of designs produced to satisfy tastes of new clients

Design	Production eras							
	Period I		Period II		Period III		Newest ^b	
	n	% ^a	n	% ^a	n	% ^a	n	% ^a
Special geometrics:								
Historic Zapotec motifs								
in tile-like patterns	8	30			3	11	2	7
Mitla stepped diamond	3	11						
Fior and sol de Oaxaca	10	37	2	7				
Navajo adaptations, large								
pattern (i.e., Teec Nos Pos)					2	7	2	7
Navajo adaptations, band								
pattern (i.e., Chief's phases)					4	15	10	37
Pueblo adaptation, band pattern					1	4		
Commercial geometrics:								
Generic commercial designs					20	74		
Bands with small geometrics								
and/or Mitla step			1	4	21	78		
Split diamond/lightening					4	15	2	7
Centered diamond with bands			2	7	10	37		
Pictorials:								
Centered Mexican motifs	3	11	16	59				
<i>Dios</i> (i.e., prehispanic								
god figures)	5	19	10	37	4	15		
Codex and prehispanic figures								
(animal and human)					2	7	1	4
Mexican village scenes					4	15	5	19
Navajo pictorial (i.e., Yeibache)					1	4	2	7
Pinturas (i.e., Miró, Picasso)	1	4	9	33	1	4	1	4
Other indigenous American								
inspirations							2	7
Other:								
Original art					1	4	2	7
Custom orders, client's design			2	7				
Structural design innovations								
(i.e., slit weave, exposed warp)							7	26

^a Expressed as percent of total number of producers (n=27). May not total 100% because some producers provided more than one response.

^b This column represents the most recent designs incorporated into tapete production at the end of Period III and is not a new era.

Table 4. Structural changes in the evolution of the *tapote*

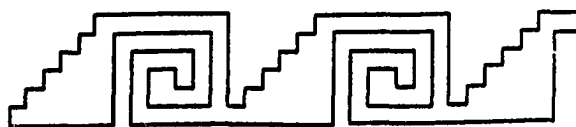
Responses	Production eras					
	Period I		Period II		Period III	
	n	% ^a	n	% ^a	n	% ^a
Elimination of neck slit	20	74	4	15		
Larger sizes (> 1 m)			12	44		
Larger sizes (> 1.5 m)					12	44
Smaller sizes (< .5 m)			4	15	5	19

^a Expressed as percent of total number of producers (n=27). Does not total 100% because some producers did not provide a response.

Table 5. Color trends in production for tourist and export markets

Responses	Production eras					
	Period I		Period II		Period III	
	n	% ^a	n	% ^a	n	% ^a
Natural wool (Black, gray, white)	13	48			6	22
Natural wool, high contrast bands; bright central motif	2	7	14	52		
Bright "synthetic" colors	1	4	8	30		
Pastels					2	7
Colors of nature, natural dye looking colors					19	70

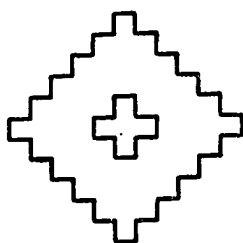
^a Expressed as percent of total number of producers (n=27). May not total 100% because some producers provided more than one response or did not respond.



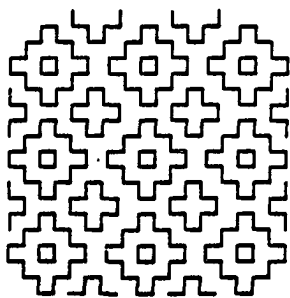
a. Mitla-step motif



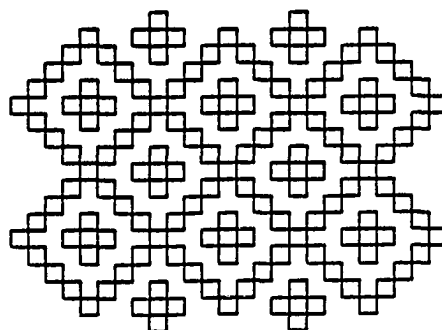
b. Mitla-step motif variation



c. Mitla or stepped diamond motif

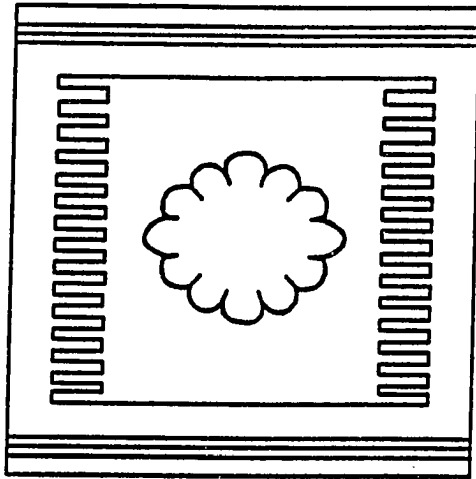


d. Tile-like variation of Mitla diamond design



e. Interlocking diamond

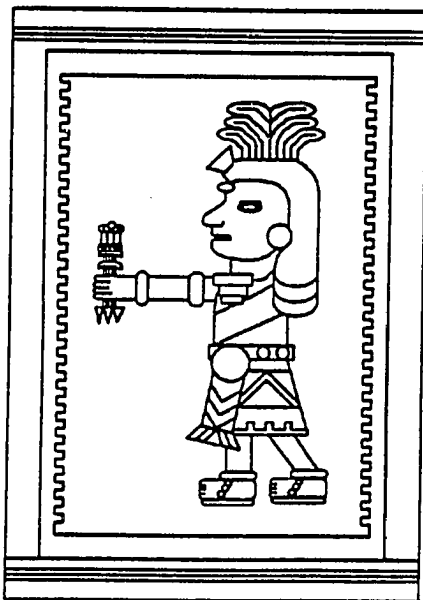
Figure 1. Designs inspired by Zapotec stonework of the Mitla ruins



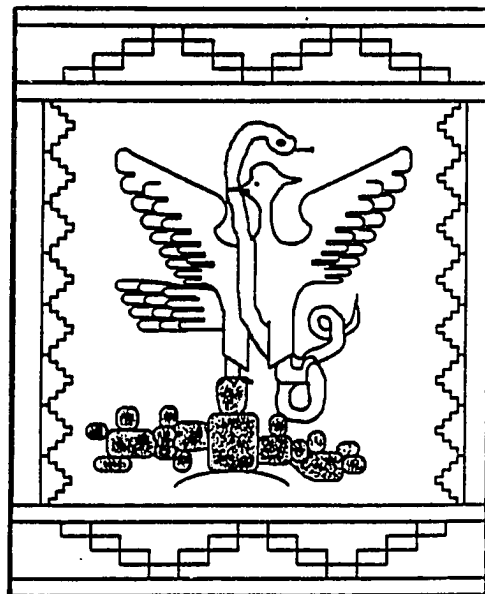
a. Flower-like geometric



b. Matisse adaptation

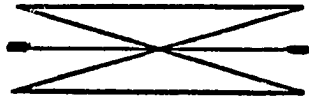


c. *Dios* variation

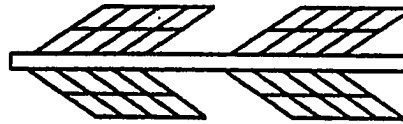


d. Mexican emblem variation

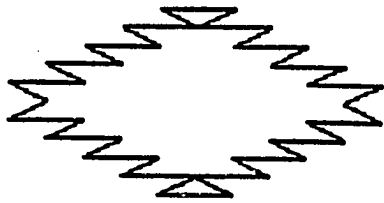
Figure 2. Designs introduced in late Period I and typical of Period II



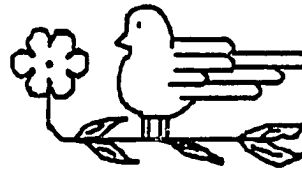
a. Butterfly, small geometric motif



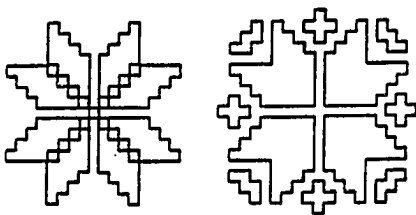
b. Arrow or chevron motif



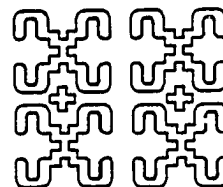
c. Serrated diamond motif



d. Bird and flower motif

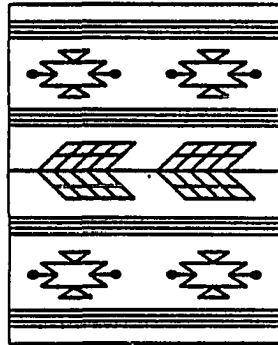


e. Two variations of star motif

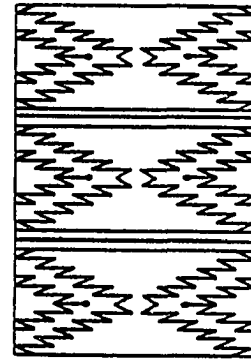


f. Hook motif forming complex geometric

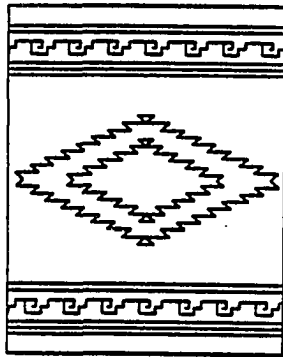
Figure 3. Period II and III motifs



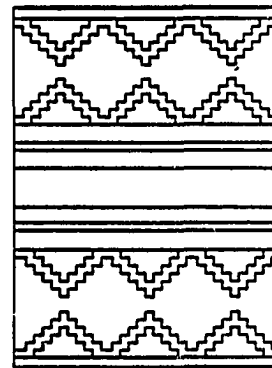
a. Bands with small and repeating geometric motifs



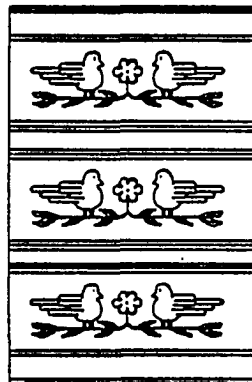
b. Split diamond or lightning



c. Large centered diamond motif with end bands containing Mitla-step



d. Navajo chief's phase inspired design



e. Birds and flowers in bands

Figure 4. Period III commercial designs

RESEARCH OVERVIEW AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Summary

The purpose of the research was to provide a multifaceted approach to the study of the textile handcraft market system of Teotitlán del Valle. The handcraft market is a social system formed by the interactions among producers, vendors, and consumers. This research emphasized (a) the business and personal characteristics of handcraft producers and (b) textile product evolution in response to changing consumers. To understand the craft producer, the entrepreneurial textile producers in Teotitlán del Valle were profiled. The focus of the profiles was on business practices and included investigation of personal background, production methods, and marketing strategies. To understand product change, a classification scheme for Teotitlán del Valle handcraft evolution in terms of market change, consumer preference, and producer response was developed and described. The focus of product evolution was on changes in product form, raw materials, colors, and design.

Initial contact and introductions in Teotitlán del Valle were established in March 1984. A feasibility study was conducted in June 1986 and initial screening interviews to identify the successful textile handcraft producers began in April 1987. Criteria for selection of entrepreneurs included: (a) individuals born and raised in the village of Teotitlán del Valle; and (b) producers defined as successful producers because their clients were from the tourist and export markets, and their income was generated from sales in the tourist and export market rather than from sales to local consumers or from agriculture.

A purposive sample was used due to the unique nature of the criteria used to define the population (Touliatos & Compton, 1988). Thirty-one textile producers

were identified as the target population; two textile producers declined to participate in the research and two producers were deleted during interviews because in-depth information revealed they did not meet the selection criteria. Hence, the 27 producers used to classify and describe product evolution, market change, and consumer preference represent 93% of the population.

Intensive field work was conducted from January to May 1988. Market observations, home and workshop observations, in-depth interviews, and participant observation were used to obtain information. For the entrepreneur profiles, questions pertained to information about the entrepreneur's background, production methods, and marketing strategies. For the classification scheme for product evolution, questions focused on the producers' perceptions of change related to clientele, raw materials, colors, and design. All producers were asked common questions through the course of the interviews conducted in Spanish. The open-ended response format provided the opportunity to explore the individuality of each situation. At the conclusion of the field work, the producers' responses were analyzed using content analysis and descriptive statistics. Next, entrepreneur profiles and product evolution categories were organized using pattern-matching logic with the goal of explanation-building (Yin, 1985). The salient characteristics that differentiated the entrepreneur profiles and the product evolution categories were used to describe each profile and category.

Producer-Entrepreneur Profiles

The typical producer-entrepreneur was in his early 40s, was married, and had three children. Producers in their 50s had six to eight children and younger entrepreneurs had fewer children. Most producers completed primary school. With

one exception, they were at least functionally literate in Spanish. The individuals with the lowest level of literacy had children who assisted in record keeping and reading orders received by mail.

The producer-entrepreneurs grew up in Zapotec speaking households in which weaving at home was a tradition. The entrepreneurs began apprenticeships when they were between six to eight years of age. The apprenticeships began in the home and included all phases of production, from fiber preparation to weaving. Initial instruction was provided by a father, grandfather, or older brother. After completing primary school, individuals apprenticed with a highly skilled master weaver.

Two reasons emerged as the motivation to begin operating an independent business. Fifteen entrepreneurs began their businesses because they perceived that opportunities were limited when they were either subsistence farmers weaving seasonally for supplemental income or weavers working for another person. The remaining 12 entrepreneurs always wanted to operate their own business. Most frequently, start-up capital was obtained by working long hours as a contract weaver for other workshops and by minimizing household expenses until enough money was saved to begin independent production on a small scale. Profits were reinvested in materials and equipment so that the business could be expanded.

Four profiles of entrepreneurs and businesses were identified based on the distinguishing characteristics of volume of production, range of unique or standardized *tapetes* produced, diversification of products, business behaviors such as criteria for hiring workers and delegation practices, sales sites, organization of workshops, and types of clients. Each profile was assigned a descriptive name based on its most salient characteristics. The four profiles were identified as Profile I: Externally Oriented,

Mass Production Entrepreneurs; Profile II: Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs; Profile III: Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs; and Profile IV: Design Entrepreneurs.

An orientation to the needs of nontraditional clients who place volume orders, an understanding of consumer preferences in distant markets, and a willingness to move beyond the familiar and into new arenas through market and product development characterized the Externally Oriented, Mass Production Entrepreneurs. These producer-entrepreneurs were large volume producers of *tapetes* that were standardized for multiple copies identical by size, design, and color and that were used to fill large orders placed by wholesalers and retailers.

The Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs chose to remain in their own environment and to build a business that capitalized on their perceptions of preferences among clients visiting and shopping in Teotitlán del Valle. To create a setting perceived as familiar to clients, these entrepreneurs built store front-like showrooms to display large inventories having a wide range of prices, qualities, and designs targeted for walk-in clients visiting the village.

The Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs operated businesses that utilized the traditional Zapotec markets for sales; however, tourists visiting the indigenous markets of Oaxaca replaced the former traditional consumers as the target market. These producer-entrepreneurs did not have showrooms or large inventories. Like the Internally Oriented, Local Showroom Entrepreneurs, the Outdoor Market Entrepreneurs produced *tapetes* having a range of prices, qualities, and designs, but in limited quantities.

The desire to operate a business that permitted creative expression while fostering close working relationships with family members characterized the Design Entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs produced only high quality one-of-a-kind *tapetes* for inventory or original works designed and commissioned by nonweaving artists or other clients. Quality and artistic expression were primary considerations in production.

The profiles of the Teotitlán del Valle entrepreneurs were compared to existing profiles of U.S. midwestern manufacturing entrepreneurs. Despite differences in culture, products, and production methods, the four profiles of Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs that emerged from this study had a surprising number of similarities with the U.S. midwestern manufacturing entrepreneurs studied by Smith (1967) and Scanlan (1979). The cross-cultural similarities provided support for the development of entrepreneurial craft producer roles that may have applicability for economic development among craftpersons in other geographic areas. The roles provide examples from which other handcraft producers and individuals working in rural economic development may evaluate possible options for entrepreneurial craft activity. Critical to all roles are the educational training and business skills necessary to purchase materials, to allocate materials to workers, and to determine prices based upon production costs.

One role is the craft person who develops a market through seeking out and establishing outlets in distant locations noted for tourist activity or export trade. Products targeted for the export market would need to be standardized by size, color, and design in order to meet the demand from large quantity orders. In two additional entrepreneurial roles artisans develop markets for tourists who visit the

craftpersons' communities. One role builds a business around a showroom with a western oriented shopping environment that is familiar to tourists. The other role appeals to tourists who are attracted to a shopping environment that maintains a local or authentic flavor, such as a local market. For both community oriented roles, the producers must identify specific locations frequented by tourists and other potential clients. Easily portable items available with different prices, designs, colors, and products must be available to satisfy the needs and preferences of tourists wandering through the sales area. A final role is the producer who creates unique designs and high quality items targeted for clients seeking original one-of-a-kind works of art and for collectors, artists, commercial buyers, and tourists who are willing to pay higher prices for quality art objects.

A comparison of the Teotitlán del Valle entrepreneur profiles with existing profiles of midwestern U.S. manufacturing entrepreneurs identified common business, production, and marketing practices between the producers of different products in two different cultures. The profiles provide the examples of roles that may be used by craftpersons in other cultures.

Product Evolution and Changing Consumers

Craft producers' perceptions of the evolution of a marketing system that focuses on changes in markets, consumer preferences, and products are presented as a chronology of three periods: the Product Experimentation Period, the Product Expansion Period, and the Target Market Segmentation Period. Changes evolved gradually, thus at any point in time several overlapping product and market characteristics might be identified.

The first period, the Product Experimentation Period, focused on the era before the mid-1960s. During this period, the market shifted from indigenous persons to tourists. The producers experimented with the handcraft's form to identify product forms accepted by tourists. Typically, items of this period were made from handspun wool, colors were those of the natural wool accented by small quantities of color obtained with natural dyes, and design were based on historic geometric motifs. The form of the item changed by closing the neck-slit of the poncho-like garment, the *sarape*. The new form, the *tapete*, was established as a marketable item. By the end of the period, producers began adopting new designs associated with the cultural heritage of Mexico.

The second period, the Product Expansion Period, focused on production for an expanding American tourist market and for a developing export market. During the second period, mid-1960s to mid-1970s, producers made *tapetes* in larger and smaller sizes, adopted many new designs from outside the Mexican and Zapotec cultural traditions, and experimented with new materials such as synthetic dyes and factory spun yarns of synthetic fibers. The experimental modifications were intended to increase product acceptance and to provide means for expanding production in the flourishing tourist market. Saturated hues of green, red, blue, orange, and yellow were used for large central motifs framed by high contrast bands of alternating white and black. By the end of Period III, producers had oriented themselves outside the indigenous community for product ideas.

The third period from the mid-1970s to the present, the Target Market Segmentation Period, focused on the expansion of production for the commercial export market, the European and Asian tourist markets, and the development of a fine

arts market. This period was characterized by an explosion of designs inspired by sources outside the Zapotec and Mexican cultures and the modification of product design and color to meet the needs of target markets segmented to reflect different aesthetic preferences. In response to consumer preferences, factory spun, single-ply wool yarns were dyed to the colors preferred by the targeted market segment. Popular colors and designs became identified with consumer trends and with evolving product modifications to meet changing consumer demands.

The periods of Teotitlán del Valle handcraft evolution can be generalized as three stages. In the first stage, craftpersons and the individuals composing the new market interface, thereby allowing the producer to experiment with product form, design, and color alternatives. The initial experimentation must be focused on identifying acceptable product forms and be accompanied by producers being attentive to consumer responses and incorporating consumer feedback into future modifications. The second stage is an expansion of product modifications developed from increasing knowledge and understanding of the consumers and their desires. Producers learn to look beyond the indigenous community for product development ideas. The final stage is the identification of market segments, the association of attributes differentiating the segments, and the refinement of product modifications to meet the expectations of the target market. The third phase may include the standardization of products for export to commercial buyers.

A system for handcraft change must provide both conditions and opportunity for producers to interface with the new market to learn about the consumers and to understand their preferences and needs. Indigenous craftpersons can accurately identify consumer preferences and adapt traditional products to fulfill the desires of

nontraditional consumers. However, craft producers must be willing to change markets, to interact with clients in the new market to ascertain aesthetic and produce preferences, and to act on the information related to consumer preference through product development. Craftpersons can modify traditional products to bridge production to new markets without destroying traditional aspects of the production methods.

Future Directions for Research

Recommendations for future research focus on identifying critical skills producers need to successfully develop handcraft businesses that capitalize on tourist and export markets. One research area is related to further identifying business skills necessary for initiating, maintaining, and aggrandizing a successful handcraft business. Critical business skills may be identified through a comparative study of the business practices of craft producers who have been successful in developing tourist and export markets with craft producers who have not been successful in developing these markets.

A second area is related to understanding the communication links by which producers develop skills for identifying consumer preferences and making product modifications that will find acceptance in new markets. The producers in Teotitlán del Valle relied on direct feedback from vendors and consumers to identify consumer desires and to modify traditional products for commercial acceptance. The indirect feedback may be a valid source of consumer information. However, no successful producers in this study relied exclusively or primarily on secondary information. The results of this research raises the following questions:

1. Is the craftpersons' success at product development for new markets dependent on each craft person developing market assessment skills that prepare the craftperson for identifying and predicting market trends?
2. Are craftpersons who rely on indirect sources for consumer feedback limited by the abilities and imagination of the translating sources?
3. If craft producers rely primarily on indirect sources, what happens when the link to consumer information ceases to supply consumers?

Research providing answers to these questions could provide insights useful for craftpersons seeking to develop communication links that provide continuing and reliable sources of information concerning consumer preferences.

Other research on client-producer relationships should be focused on understanding why particular producers were selected and patronized by tourists and vendors. Interviews with tourists and commercial clients could be used to identify the criteria used to select the producer from whom handcrafts were purchased. This information would assist in evaluating the accuracy of producers' perceptions of client preferences and in developing production and marketing strategies that capitalize on the criteria identified as important to the target market.

Finally, a longitudinal study of the Teotitlán del Valle producer-entrepreneurs should be conducted to track changes. Areas of focus for identifying changes include shifts between categories of entrepreneurs as capital is accumulated and production is expanded: changes in the volume of production as an indicator of producers' sustaining, increasing, or declining market share of the export market; changes in individual workshops as aging entrepreneurs relinquish control of production and marketing decisions; and changes resulting from a decline in consumer preferences for handcrafted textiles. The information provided by a longitudinal study would provide insights on the continuing evolution of handcraft producers who have developed tourist and export markets.

In summary, research should be focused on understanding the components of the handcraft marketing system as an interactive whole and on developing insights into the value of indirect and direct consumer feedback for craftpersons seeking to develop markets in distant locations and in different cultures.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank all individuals and institutions who supported this research with funding. Without the generous financial assistance of the College of Family and Consumer Sciences of Iowa State University, the Textiles and Clothing Department at Iowa State University, the American Home Economics Association Foundation, the Association of College Professors of Textiles and Clothing-Central Region, and my husband, Michael, this research would not have been possible. A special thank you is extended to the Julia Anderson International Fund, College of Family and Consumer Sciences, Iowa State University, for assisting in funding the intensive field work and data collection conducted January 1988 through May 1988.

I was fortunate to have the guidance and emotional support of two very special major professors, Mary Littrell and Alyce Fanslow. Early in my graduate course work, Dr. Littrell introduced me to the excitement of international field research and to experienced field researchers in Mexico. For those introductions, I will be forever grateful. Dr. Fanslow's expertise in the area of research methods and evaluation provided the knowledge base from which an academic career that embraces research may be launched. Because of her caring guidance, I have developed a passion for exploration through research. Also, I want to acknowledge the guidance provided by the other members of my doctoral committee: Michael Whiteford, Jane Farrell-Beck, Agatha Huepenbecker, and Sally Williams. In Mexico, Elizabeth Cuéllar, Irmgard Weittlaner Johnson, and Ramon Fosado provided expertise and encouragement throughout the research. Antonieta Solano García de Pacheco and Pedro Pacheco Vasquez challenged me to achieve the level of language skills necessary to conduct field interviews. To each of these friends, thank you.

In addition to my committee, I received an abundant supply of emotional support from my husband and daughter, Brecca. I particularly appreciate all the times Michael and Brecca came to my rescue when I had "trouble with a computer program" and when I had to be rescued from the swamp of household responsibilities. A loving thank you, to you.

And to the Teotitlán del Valle entrepreneurs and their families, thank you for sharing your your time, your homes, and your lives with me. Without your willingness to answer countless questions, this research would not exist.

**APPENDIX A: SMITH'S PROFILES OF U.S. MANUFACTURING
ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR BUSINESSES**

Table 1. Summary of Characteristics for Craftman-Entrepreneurs (C-E) and Opportunistic-Entrepreneurs (O-E)¹

Life history and career pattern:

Family background

C-E's had task-oriented and practical work values and had fathers that were skilled workers. The C-E had one role model, usually a relative or family friend.

O-E's had fathers that owned small businesses. The O-E had successive role models that acted as mentors during various life and career stages.

Education

Formal education

C-E's education was limited to technical areas.

O-E's had technical and liberal arts courses.

Work experience

C-E's held part-time jobs from an early age. They successfully mastered tasks and machines more quickly than associates, then moved on to master new challenges; thereby, developing competence in many areas. They were motivated to be the best and to have a reputation for doing a good job.

O-E's had a wide variety of work experience other than technical. The O-E stayed with a job until the goals were accomplished.

Business start-up circumstances:

C-E's did not have the goal of starting a business from the beginning of the career. They started their businesses as a means of continuing to excel in mastering tasks, obtaining independence from managerial supervisors, and avoiding the perceived social interaction and work place politics necessary to do good work or to obtain promotions. Some critical event acted as a catalyst that precipitated the formation of the new business.

O-E's had long range plans for initiating businesses. Plans included education and financing.

Patterns of social and business behavior:

Relationship to workers

C-E's viewed themselves as paternal figures. They did not identify with unions or with management.

O-E's identified with managers and were psychologically removed from employees.

Planning practices

C-E's did not have plans for their businesses, nor did they have plans for changes that would result in growth.

O-E's had plans for business change and growth.

Delegation practices

C-E's did not delegate authority or responsibility.

O-E's did not perceive a need to be cognizant of all details of the organization; therefore, they delegated routine matters to managers.

¹ Adapted from N. R. Smith's The Entrepreneur and His Firm: The Relationship between the Type of Man and Type of Company (1967).

Table 1. (Continued)

Hiring practices	
	C-E's hired relatives, friends, or long time business associates with similar backgrounds and orientations.
	O-E's did not necessarily hire friends or long time business associates; they tried to hire the best person available for the job.
Relationship to external economic environment:	
Sources of capital, number and types	
	C-E's feared outside control. They avoided banks as sources of capital.
	Capital was obtained from personal savings or loans from friends and relatives.
	O-E's did not fear outside control. They obtained capital by selling stock in the company and borrowing from banks.
Marketing and selling strategies	
	C-E's relied on personal contact and reciprocity with well known customers.
	O-E's considered the market, then actively convinced consumers that they wanted the product.
Competitive strategies	
	C-E's built on personal reputation for producing quality products at the lowest price.
	O-E's built on personal reputation for quality and price, and pursued product development.
Communication ability	
	C-E's had limited spoken and written communication skills. Thus, the C-E did not travel away from the work environment as a result of lack of confidence related to inability to communicate.
	O-E's had a high degree of verbal skill and were effective in nonverbal communication.
Future growth plans	
	C-E's saw the industry as a closed universe and believed increases in sales were made at the expense of others in the industry. The C-E did not consider expanding into other business activities or production. C-E's were not anxious for growth or expansion.
	O-E's viewed the industry and business world as open-ended with growth in sales coming from sources other than by taking away from competitors.
	O-E's expanded the business into other areas and products.
Relationship to external social involvement:	
Community involvement, community associations	
	C-E's were not active in community affairs, did not join social clubs, and did not socialize with customers or the business community. They belong to the same organizations as their workers. Children could have higher education, but not at prestigious schools.
	O-E's were involved in community social life, social clubs, and community organizations. Children went to the the best schools because higher education was an expectation.
Professional involvement	
	C-E's were not active in professional organizations.
	O-E's were active in professional and business organizations.

Table 2. Summary of Characteristics for Rigid and Adaptive Firms¹

Customer mix:

Rigid firms retained the same types of customers as when the business was initiated.

Adaptive firms changed in types of customers as new markets were developed.

Product mix:

Rigid firms produced only one type of product or a limited range of related products.

Adaptive firms produced a diversity of products.

Production methods:

Three types of methods were identified:

- . custom products produced for a specific client,
- . standardized products produced to fill orders, and
- . standardized products produced for inventory.

Rigid firms used only one of these methods from the initiation of the firm. Adaptive firms increased production methods to include two or more types.

Concentration of production facilities:

Rigid firms concentrated production facilities at one site.

Adaptive firms had production facilities dispersed.

Concentration of markets:

Rigid firms targeted one market with a set geographic limit.

Adaptive firms targeted many markets and did not place geographic limits on the potential markets.

Concrete plans for changes in any of the foregoing areas:

Rigid firms generally did not have plans for change.

Adaptive firms had plans for change in one or more areas.

¹ Adapted from N. R. Smith's The Entrepreneur and His Firm: The Relationship between the Type of Man and Type of Company (1967).

APPENDIX B: MODELS FOR HANDCRAFT CHANGE

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These consist of pages:

134-136, Appendix B

U·M·I

**APPENDIX C: QUESTIONS USED TO GUIDE INTERVIEWS DURING DATA
COLLECTION**

IDENTIFICATION DATA**Informant****Name:****Workshop name:****Workshop address:****Home address:****Sale location(s):****Age/date of birth:****Sex:****Marital status:****Education:****Role(s) in production and marketing:****Informant's Family****Spouse:****Name:****Age/date of birth:****Education:****Role(s) in production and marketing:****Children:** (For each child obtain this information.)**Name:****Age/date of birth:****Place of residence:****Education:****Roles(s) in production and marketing:****Marital status:****Spouse's name:****Education:****Role(s) in production and marketing:**

Grandchildren: (For each grandchild obtain this information.)

Name:
Age/date of birth:
Place of residence:
Education:
Role(s) in production and marketing:
Marital status:

Spouse's name:
Education:
Role(s) in production and marketing:
Children's names:

Family members not from Teotitlán del Valle:

Name:
Relationship:
Place of birth:
Ethnic group:
Age/date of birth:
Education:
Role(s) in production and marketing:

Residence:
Work location:

Family members, other than unmarried children living in compound:

Name:
Relationship:
Age/date of birth:
Education:
Marital status:
Spouse:
Role(s) in production and marketing:

Household members responsible for household tasks such as child care and food acquisition and preparation:

Name:

Role(s):

Household members involved in agriculture or community service:

Name:

Role(s):

WORKSHOP OBSERVATIONS

Workshop locations:

Number of looms at each location:

Size of looms:

Age of looms/dates acquired:

Types and quantity of other production related equipment:

Current stage of production on each loom:

weaver working

item in progress, no weaver

warped

being warped

empty

Number of persons present and their involvement in production related tasks:

Sex of person involved in production related tasks:

Observations about working conditions for each site:

electric lights in work area

water source

composition:

exterior: walls

roof

interior: floors

walls

ceiling

Workshop proximity to:

living quarters

office

showroom/sales area

SALES LOCATION OBSERVATIONS

Address(s)/ site(s):

Number of items displayed (hanging):

Number of sales representatives at site:

Producer-entrepreneur present at site:

Sex of sales persons present:

Business cards available:

Provides production location on request:

Languages used in sales transactions:

Sales site conditions:

electric lights in sales area

water source

composition:

exterior: walls

roof

interior: floors

walls

ceiling

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Production

How do you make your *tapetes*?

How are these processes different from the processes you used ten years ago?

Labor

Who makes your *tapetes*?

How many people work for you? What are their roles in production and marketing?

How are job assignments decided?

How do you keep track of what you have produced and where it will be sold?

Patrons

Who are your customers? How would you describe your customers?

Do your customers today differ from those you had 10 years ago? If so, how?

What kinds of *sarapes* do your customers most want to buy? How does this differ from 10 years ago?

How do you know what customers want to buy?

Products

What kinds of textiles do you make?

Are you making types of textiles today you did not make 10 years ago? Twenty years ago? Which ones?

How would you describe the colors you use in your textiles?

How would you describe the designs/motifs used in your *tapetes*?

Where do you get the ideas for your *sarape* designs?

How are the designs and colors you use today different from the designs and colors used 10 years ago? Twenty years ago?

Will you tell me about the textile you made of which you are most proud?

Workshop Organization

Where are your *tapetes* made? Other textile craft items?

How many looms do you have and where are your looms located?

How is your workshop different from other workshops?

Marketing

Where do you sell your textiles?

How often do you go to places where you sell your textiles?

Are your marketing practices different today than 10 years ago? Twenty years ago?

How do you travel to and from markets?

Change

You have talked about changes related to _____. How was the decision made to make that change?

How has your workshop changed over the past 20 years?

How have other workshops changed over the past 20 years?

How is Teotitlán del Valle different today than 10 years ago? Twenty years ago?

What changes are you planning for the future?

Family Background

What types of work did your father do? Your mother?

Where did your parents sell their *sarapes*?

How did your parents start their workshops?

Have your parents traveled or worked in the U.S.?

Will you describe your parents' workshop?

How did your parents decide what designs and colors to use?

Do you have any *sarapes* made by your parents and grandparents?

Education and Training

Where did you go to school?

What did you study in school?

Did you enjoy going to school? Why or why not?

What subjects did you like best?

What did you learn in school that helps you in *sarape* design, production, and marketing?

How did you learn to make *sarapes*?

What books or other materials do you read? How often?

How often do you watch television? Listen to the radio?

What information from books, other reading materials, television, or radio do you use in making decisions related to *sarape* design, production, and marketing?

Work Experience

What types of work have you done for others workshops? Which workshops?

What did you learn working for others that has helped you make decisions related to *sarape* design, production, and marketing?

Where have you worked other than in your workshop or your parents workshops?

What did you learn in these jobs that has helped you make decisions related to *sarape* design, production, and marketing?

Participation in Community Political and Ritual Structure

Have you held any *cargos* (voluntary community offices)? Which one and when?

Are you currently holding any *cargos*? Which one?

What *compadrazgo* (fictive kin) relationships do you have?

Travel

Where have you traveled?

To what places are you likely to travel?

To what places would you like to travel?

Producer-entrepreneur Personal Skills

How do you keep track of your orders and your inventory?

How do you decide where to locate production facilities?

How do you decide where to locate sales sites?

What differences do you believe exist between different sales sites?

Why did you decide to market the way you do?

How do you decide what types of materials will be used to make your *sarapes*?

How do you decide what processes will be used to make your *sarapes*?

How have you financed your workshop?

What were your total sales, in pesos or dollars, last year? The first six months of this year?

What were your expenses last year? The first six months of this year?

Do you believe you can change your future or do you believe everything is determined by fate?

Do you set goals then devise a plan to reach those goals?

What are your sources for new design, production, and marketing ideas?

How do you decide which new ideas you will try?

What is your role in relation to the people who make *sarapes* for you?

What languages can you speak?

Producer-entrepreneur's Points of View

How would you describe Teotitlán del Valle?

How would you describe and classify textile producers in Teotitlán del Valle? In Santa Ana, San Miguel, Díaz Ordaz, and Ocotlán?

Who are the three best weavers in Teotitlán del Valle?

Who are the three individuals who are the first to try new designs? Processes?
Marketing methods?

Who are the three individuals who market the most *sarapes*?

How do you describe a successful producer-entrepreneur in Teotitlán del Valle? What does it take to be successful?

DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHS

Each informant will be asked to select *sarapes* /*tapetes* to be photographed. The informant will be asked to discuss the reasons for selecting each *sarape*. Items will be selected to meet the following criteria:

1. The *sarape* that represents your current "best seller".
2. The *sarape* you like the best.
3. The *sarape* you like the least.
4. One or two *sarapes* that are most like the oldest styles you produced ten years ago? Twenty years ago?
5. One or two *sarapes* that are the newest designs you are making.
6. The oldest *sarape* you own.