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Scottish kiltmaking: Knowledge, practice, and potential for Protected Geographic Indication

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Scottish kiltmaking: Knowledge, practice, and potential for Protected Geographic Indication

by

David P. Loranger

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Apparel, Merchandising, and Design

Program of Study Committee:
Eulanda A. Sanders, Major Professor
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Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2016

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to kiltmakers past and present, and to all of those who passionately work to perpetuate the kiltmaking practice. It is also dedicated to my father, Robert Loranger, who gave me the confidence to pursue my dreams.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore kiltmakers' experiences as practitioners and their perspectives regarding the possibility of Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) status or Certification Mark for the Scottish kiltmaking industry, with the aim of helping to transform protection for these individuals' livelihood. Utilizing a phenomenological approach, this study explored the experiences of both learner and expert kiltmakers, along with those of teachers and administrators in schools and firms in the greater Edinburgh and Highland regions of Scotland. An emphasis was placed on discovering participants' experiences relating to the processes of learning and practicing kiltmaking; the industrial, cultural, and governmental forces impacting kiltmaking; gender issues experienced by female kiltmakers; the evolution of the kilt as a cultural symbol, garment, and industry; and the possibility of establishing Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) or Certification Mark protections on Scottish-made kilts.

Participants agreed: (a) kilts and kiltmakers are an important component of Scottish cultural heritage, (b) support from government, industry, and educational institutions is essential in order to perpetuate the kiltmaking practice, (c) the development of well-defined standards for authentic Scottish kilts is beneficial, (d) learning is accomplished by Scaffolding in both apprenticeship and certification, and kiltmakers engage in life-long learning, and (e) protection for the kiltmaking industry is desirable; however, kiltmakers are not sure how it would be accomplished. Participants' experiences were grouped into internal (i.e., passion and a commitment to tradition that leads to learning kiltmaking) and external (i.e., interactions with industry and government). Cultural experiences such as family history emerged as bridging the gap between internal and external experiences for participants, with

kiltmakers noting that as producers of Scottish National Dress, they are both stewards of a piece of Scottish culture, while being simultaneously impacted by the larger set of Scottish cultural norms and values.

A graphical representation of participants' experiences emerged from the data, and the theoretical concepts of Social Capital, Cultural Transmission, Scaffolding, Feminism, and Culture assisted in elucidating the results. This study's aim was to better understand experiences of individuals in the Scottish kiltmaking community and to begin a stream of scholarly literature devoted to kilts and kiltmaking. Therefore, the present study adds to the body of knowledge by exploring an iconic cultural garment that has been largely ignored in scholarship, along with those who carry on the long-standing tradition of Scottish kiltmaking.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The kilt may be one of the most iconic garments in the world and is a symbol of historic Scottish culture (Crane, Hamilton, & Wilson, 2004). Its usage has proliferated throughout the globe for various reasons and in many different contexts (Faiers, 2008). Throughout history, political figures, businessmen, and style arbiters have used the garment to forward their agendas (Trevor-Roper, 1984). However, the story of the Scottish kilted garment is one of evolution (Bolton, 2005), as both its silhouette and fabrication have changed to suit purposes relating to style and practicality. The kilt began in relative obscurity as a garment worn by poor and marginalized people in the Scottish Highlands (Bolton, 2005) and was adopted by the Scots as their national dress (Trevor-Roper, 1984); reaching iconic cultural status (Faiers, 2008). The garment is a dress symbol co-opted by many individuals (Martin, 1988) and impacted by numerous forces; and it continues to be redefined to this very day (Bolton, 2005; Loranger, 2014).

The kilt is a part of Scottish culture, and as such, Scottish culture imparts meaning on the garment (Crane et al., 2004; Tuckett, 2009). Material culture symbols, which Prown (1982) defines as “artifacts of the beliefs-values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions-of a particular community or society at a given time” (p. 1) are significant in establishing membership in a particular group, and differentiating members according to factors such as status, gender, and family association (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1989). The kilt is an important part of constructing a Scottish ethnic identity that crystallizes intangible concepts of membership and is an key component in the set of material culture objects that defines Scottish culture (Faiers, 2008), differentiating the Scottish cultural group from others (Crane et al., 2004; McCrone & Bechhofer, 2008).

Scotland is a major contributor to the global fashion industry, as textiles & apparel account for 8,400 jobs and £835 million annually (Scotland.org, 2015). In 2009, the Highland Dress industry accounted for approximately £350 million annually (“Licensed to Kilt,” 2009). Kiltmakers represent a sub-section of the Scottish fashion industry, and are important both to business and culture (Scotland.org, 2015), with the Scottish Government creating a national certification program meant to preserve kiltmaking by training new kiltmakers.

However, the Scottish fashion industry has met considerable challenges in the twenty-first century, as an increased amount of manufacturing has been outsourced to countries where production rates are less expensive (Loranger, 2014). A report commissioned by the Scottish Executive Enterprise and Lifelong Learning Department and the Scottish Textiles Network (2000) noted that job losses occurred in the Scottish textiles and clothing sectors, with contributing factors including price competition from foreign imports and a low-skilled workforce. An interview in *The Scotsman* with the Chief Executive Officer of a Highland Dress company details that the company’s long-term supply chain strategy has included moving production overseas and establishing cooperative agreements with foreign manufacturing and retailing partners (“Licensed to Kilt,” 2009). The Chief Executive Officer claims these partner firms produce Highland Dress items using the company’s traditional manufacturing procedures. Scotland, much like the rest of the world, exists in a global business economy and is not immune to pricing pressures created by importation of cheaper goods made overseas. Pricing pressures perpetuated by cheaper foreign goods have impacted the kiltmaking industry in a negative way, and owners of Highland dress firms are looking for avenues to protect both their culture and livelihood.

Protections for artisanal products manufactured within the European Union exist via Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) status, which stipulates that certain goods are unique due to the attributes they derive from the area of their production, or by a specific production process; this status is not owned by a particular producer (Ragavan, 2001). Another avenue for protection is that of Certification Mark, where an organization or group of producers qualifies producers as certified via a specific location, use of components, or production method (Ibele, 2009). In July 2014, a Green Paper was commissioned by the European Union to investigate the establishment of PGI based not upon physical attributes or location, but rather upon the use of a communal body of indigenous knowledge shared by artisans that is used to produce specific products (EU Green Paper, 2014). Such protections may be of interest to those who produce cultural apparel products such as Scottish kilts, as there is potential that those who produce these products have generated and shared a culturally-specific body of knowledge over time through transfer of know-how.

Purpose

Although there is much scholarly literature available relating to subjects that connect with kiltmaking, such as Scottish identity (Crane et al., 2004) and tartan history and production (Faiers, 2008), there is a dearth in the literature with regards to kilt construction and composition, the process of learning and maintaining a career in kiltmaking, and the kiltmaking industry. Most scholarly research in the area uses the kilt only as an example of products made of tartan, such as in Faiers' (2009) *Tartan* and Martin's (1988) *Transmutation of the Tartan*. Other references that specifically address kilts and kiltmaking are very specific, and do not offer a research-based approach to the topic that offers current insights into the kiltmaking practice. In *The Art of Kiltmaking*, Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer (2001)

offer a brief history of the kilt and an instructional, step-by-step guide to kiltmaking, while Bolton's (2005) coverage of the kilt in Berg Fashion Library's *A-Z of Fashion* is strictly a short historical account of the kilted garment. Still other scholarly articles cite the kilt as one component of the system of Scottish national dress (McCrone & Bechhofer, 2008; Tuckett, 2009) in order to forward a conversation regarding national and cultural identity.

A body of reports commissioned by the Scottish Government and private consulting firms has analyzed the Scottish textiles and clothing industry from a macro-standpoint in which kiltmaking is pooled in with other professions, such as textile production and leather craft (Scottish Executive Enterprise, 2000). The kiltmaker training certification manual prepared by the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) and Creative SkillSet UK (2008) established a standardized process to train and certify kiltmakers; however, there was not an analysis of the process of learning and mastering kiltmaking, and considerations were not given to the experiences and feelings of kiltmakers in terms of practice, gender, and economy. The current body of literature has not investigated how kiltmakers learn and practice their craft, and how they fit into the overall Scottish economic system. In addition, gender factors are important, since the research has uncovered more women than men working as kiltmakers. If these issues are not taken into account, then efforts by the Scottish government are not fully informed, which could be the cause of a lack of interest and participation in the current kiltmaker certification program, an effect that has already been observed (A. Kerr, personal communication, September 25, 2014).

The purpose of this study was to explore kiltmakers' experiences as practitioners and their perspectives regarding the possibility of Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) status or Certification Mark for the Scottish kiltmaking industry, with the aim of helping to transform

protection for these individuals' livelihoods. This study has the potential to develop and document a much-needed understanding of the kiltmaking practice that might be utilized by the Scottish kiltmaking community to develop marketing strategies to strengthen and perpetuate the Scottish kiltmaking business. Therefore, the study sought to fill a gap in the literature by directly investigating the experiences of kiltmakers and the technical and economic aspects of kiltmaking practices in the Edinburgh and Highland regions of Scotland.

Research Questions

The following research questions were developed for documenting and understanding Scottish kiltmakers' experiences, along with the potential impact of Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) or Certification Mark on kiltmakers and the kilt industry in Scotland¹:

1. What is the experience of kiltmaking in the Edinburgh and Keith regions of Scotland?
 - a) What are kiltmakers' experiences while learning and having a career in kiltmaking?
 - b) What are the experiences of teachers?
 - c) What are the experiences of administrators?
 - d) What are the differences between learners' and teachers' experiences?
2. How do kiltmakers learn, and then master kiltmaking?
 - a) What differentiates a non-expert learner from an expert (master) kiltmaker?
 - b) What comprises the learning process for kiltmakers?
 - c) What is unique about the Scottish kiltmaking practice, in comparison to other apparel and tailoring professions?

¹ See Appendix H for linkages between these questions and theoretical foundations.

3. What are the salient design and production processes utilized in Scottish kiltmaking?
4. How are Scottish kiltmakers' practices impacted or informed by societal, and gender norms and/or, political and economic policies?
 - a) What are the gender experiences of female Scottish kiltmakers and how are these experiences similar or different than their male counterparts?
 - b) What understanding do Scottish kiltmakers have of the United Kingdom and Scottish governments' relationship to the Scottish kiltmaking industry?
 - c) What are Scottish kiltmakers' views of the Scottish kiltmaking industry in the Scottish economy?
 - d) What are kiltmakers' understanding of the current kiltmaking Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) certification program in the United Kingdom?
 - e) What are Scottish kiltmakers' knowledge regarding Certification Mark and Geographic Indication protections?
 - i. How does knowledge lead to attitudes towards, and beliefs about these types of protections?
5. How do the unique aspects of kiltmakers' knowledge dovetail into EU Green Paper expectations on establishment of Geographic Indication protection?

Objectives

To accomplish this study of Scottish kiltmaking, the following objectives have been developed:

1. Understand the process of learning, mastering, and practicing Scottish kiltmaking through interviews, observations, analysis of artifacts, and creation of a kilt.

2. Identify key points of congruency between Scottish kiltmaking knowledge characteristics and the European Union's criteria for Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) protection of indigenous knowledge products.
3. Comprehend how gender impacts female kiltmakers' experiences in their careers.
4. Document kiltmakers' knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes regarding the kiltmaking economy, the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) certification program, and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI).

Scope and Limitations

The following scope and limitations have been identified for this study:

1. The purposive sample for this study will be assembled via a snowballing technique. Therefore, participants are familiar with each other and have affiliations with common institutions.
2. As culture's impact on kiltmaking practice is of interest in this study, only kiltmakers who are permanent residents of the Edinburgh and Highland regions of Scotland will be interviewed, and interviews will be conducted in Scotland.
3. Kiltmakers who utilize hand-tailored and/or machine techniques will be interviewed.
4. Kiltmakers at all levels of experience will be interviewed (i.e., learners through experts).
5. The principle investigator is personally acquainted with one of the key informants in the study, and the participant is assisting in gaining other participants to include in the study.

6. Triangulation occurred by comparing previously published research on kilts and kiltmaking, data collected from the interviews with artifact analysis from 16 samples at the National Museum of Scotland Archives, and the principle investigator's design notes from his own kilt creation.

Definitions

Breacan an Feelay (Great Kilt) A garment comprised of a single piece of woolen fabric two yards wide and five to six yards long that is gathered into pleats, wrapped around the wearer's body, and is then belted at the waist. This garment originated in the Scottish Highlands. The time period of its genesis is subject to debate, leading to claims of origination anywhere from the fourteenth to sixteenth century, and was abolished in 1747 (Bolton, 2005; Laird, 2016; Martin, 1988).

Certification Mark A "word, name, symbol or device, or any combination thereof" (Ibele, 2009, p. 42) that is owned by a single person or entity and used by persons or entities other than the owner to establish quality of goods through location, components, or process of manufacture.

Collective Marks A type of trademark that is owned by a group of people, entities, or a combination of both, which claims a superior quality of goods produced by the members of a community rather than non-members. Procedures for

validation of quality are set by the owners of the mark (Giovannucci, Josling, Kerr, O'Connor, & Yeung, 2009).

Dress

“An assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body” that is externally perceived through the five senses (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992, p. 1).

Ethnic Dress

An external dress supplement that can be used as a cultural reference or signifier (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992), and “a material and behavioral manifestation of self and of self-in-society” (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1989, p. 16).

Feileadh beag (Little Kilt)

A garment made of various fabrications (primarily wool tartan). It is a single, uncut piece of fabric that covers the wearer’s mid-section and is pleated in the back. It evolved from the Breacan an Feilay, or Great Kilt, sometime during the mid-eighteenth century (Bolton, 2005; Martin, 1988).

Highlanders

A group of people of Celtic origin that inhabited the northern regions of Scotland, spoke the Gaelic language; males wore the Great Kilt.

Kilt	A men's garment of Scottish origin that is a single, uncut piece of varying types of fabric that is pleated in the back and worn around the lower body.
Kiltmaker	A person who is learning or has learned kiltmaking practice from another person (Loranger, 2014).
Lowlanders	Individuals living in the lower portion of Scotland who spoke the English language and practiced British customs.
Out workers	Freelancers that primarily work out of their homes, are self-employed, are paid by the piece or per diem and may be associated with a variety of firms.
Protected Geographical Indication (PGI)	A registered, legal mechanism provided by the European Union (EU) to Member States and regulated at the State level. The process links product quality with a particular place of origin and/or a process/technique of the artisans that produced it. Unlike a trademark, PGI is not owned by one person or entity and protects a specific product created by a specific group of producers (Ragavan, 2001).
Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA)	A quasi-governmental organization that is authorized by the Scottish government to develop, implement, and monitor training and qualification programs under the

Scottish Qualifications Act of 2002. This agency collaborates with educational and industry organizations to administer training and to certify individuals. Its Board of Management consists of nine individuals from various sectors of government (Scottish Qualifications Authority, n.d.).

Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ)

A type of certification program administered by the Scottish Qualifications Authority addressing on-the-job training. These certifications are offered in seventy industry-specific areas, are developed in collaboration with representatives from industry, and range in difficulty from 1 (Secondary School Level) to 5 (Master's Degree Level). Within the fashion and textiles area, certifications can be obtained in manufacturing of textile products and kiltmaking (Scottish Qualifications Authority, n.d.).

Sett

A tartan plaid pattern that appears on a woven piece of fabric, and that is comprised of various colors, measurements, and arrangements that are placed specifically to create a design via warp and weft yarns (Scottish Tartans Authority, n.d.).

- Sporran** A Celtic word for purse. A small pouch on a belt or chain, usually made of an animal skin that is worn on the front of the kilt as an alternative to pockets (Scottish Tartans Authority, n.d.).
- Steeking** Celtic for stitching (Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer, 2001). A row of stitching that is placed inside the back set of kilt pleats, but does not show through on the outside facing. This row of stitching holds the kilt together by joining the areas that were cut out from the top of the pleats (waist) to the fell (seat) of the kilt.
- Stripe** The portion of the sett (tartan plaid pattern) that runs horizontally and vertically across the kilt (Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer, 2001).
- Trews** From a Gaelic word for pants. A tartan patterned pant with a high waistline and tight fit that may be worn by men in place of a kilt when wearing evening Highland Dress. Wealthier men in Scotland wore these garments during the time that The Great Kilt (Breacan an Fealay) was popular with poorer Highlanders (Martin, 1988).

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Review of Literature section is presented in two parts. The first part provides background information on cultural dress processes, history and usage of the kilt in Scotland, types of protection on cultural products, country of origin effects, and examples of protections on cultural goods. The second part discusses various theoretical frameworks that may lend insight into the proposed inquiry, including how kiltmakers may organize and educate themselves, and how gender roles may impact individuals' experiences.

Part I

Cultural Dress

As a garment that is strongly associated with Scottish culture, and in preparation to understanding kiltmakers' experiences, it is important to gain a baseline understanding of how dress functions as part of culture. Dress can serve many purposes, especially in terms of cultural identification. Dress is defined as "any modification or supplement...to the body" (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992, p. 1) that can be externally perceived through the five senses, and can make a number of statements about demographic and psychographic aspects of a person's life and experiences. , including the person's place in society or in a social group (Sanders, 2011; Hamilton & Hamilton, 1989). Hamilton & Hamilton (1989) defined dress both as "an arrangement made up of material items using the body as a background canvas" (p. 16), and a person's voluntary and purposeful efforts to engage in this process. Roach & Musa (1980) note that dress is any perceptible change to an individual's person and any tangible items that are put on it.

Dress can act as a mechanism to make sense of social and cultural place and may be used by individuals and groups to develop and communicate meanings of everyday

experiences (Kaiser & Damhorst, 1991). It can also be a tool in facilitating the feeling of inclusion that one has with a social or cultural group (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). Eicher (1995) noted “the building blocks of ethnicity are the body, a language, a shared history and origins, and religion and nationality” (as cited in Nash, 1989, p. 5-6), and goes on to identify one of the aspects of cultural identity as dress, and states “cultural authentication” occurs when “articles of dress become selected, characterized, incorporated and transformed by a group” (p. 3). Dress helps to symbolize the relationship between people and the societal systems in which they operate, as well as group identity and purpose (Damhorst, Miller-Spillman, & Michelman, 1999; Hamilton & Hamilton, 1989).

Societal standards are also constructed, symbolized, and facilitated through dress (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). Social norms and mores are important to continuation of society, as identifiers such as dress place members of society within space and time and stabilize the system. This, then, maintains and forwards the societal system as a whole. Mevhibe & Ozdemir (2012) state that handicrafts, including ones that can be categorized as dress items, can act as an important cultural conduit by transmitting cultural norms and values from generation to generation. The Scottish kilt is an example of such an item, as it is a long-standing component of Scottish culture and also a representation of it (Martin, 1988; Trevor-Roper, 1984).

Individuals generate self-identity partially through dress, as it acts as an external complement to the internal experiences that one is encountering in the world (Forney & Rabolt, 1986). Based upon prior experiences, individuals develop an expectation of others’ reactions to them and use dress as a component of interaction to generate acceptable and positive reactions (Stone, 1990). In fact, opinions held about individuals may be generated

through dress, a priori to conversation, or through other social encounters. In particular, ethnic identity can be internally bolstered through the use of dress as an external symbol of inclusion (Damhorst, Miller-Spillman, & Michelman, 1999; Forney & Rabolt, 1986). In her study on Greek dress, Welters (1995) observed the complexities of dress as a communication tool, and states that groups use dress on both “macro level” (to external groups) and “micro level” (p. 75) (within the group) to communicate.

However, even though dress is a recognizable external identity cue (Forney & Rabolt, 1986), it is not *absolutely* necessary to maintain group order. In their study of Scottish-Americans’ participation in the wearing of Highland Dress items such as kilts and sporrans, Crane et al. (2004) found that their participants actually had a reverse correlation between level of Scottish heritage and engagement in wearing Highland Dress. Participants who could prove that they had a strong genetic bond to Scotland wore less Highland Dress items, while those participants who had little connection to Scotland wore more items.

Theorists Wicklund & Gollweitzer (1981) posit that an individual, upon feeling as if they are *not* fully part of a social or cultural group, will attempt to compensate for this feeling of isolation by acquiring the symbols that are associated with the aspirational group, and these symbols include dress items. Dress can also act as a conduit by which cultural values and norms are perpetuated (Mevhibe & Ozdemir, 2012). Therefore, it appears that utilization of traditional dress items to symbolize group differentiation, inclusion, and status depends on a variety of factors, and is dependent on the context in which it occurs.

Cultural Homogenization

As the world becomes a more globalized place, world culture has homogenized—the global mindset is one that transcends and sometimes even replaces individual cultures’

heritage. As interactions between cultural groups become more commonplace, cultural distinctions are reduced (Barth, 1969). One of the byproducts of this homogenization is decreased interest in – and appreciation of – traditional handicrafts (Mevhibe & Ozdemir, 2012) and a departure from tradition towards the incorporation of non-culturally-specific knowledge and techniques (Hemmings, 2015). Culturally-specific handicrafts perform a role of cultural transmission, since knowledge of construction and manufacturing of handicrafts represents a component of cultural identity that is passed down within the ethnic group from generation to generation (Mevhibe & Ozdemir, 2012). Although these handicrafts only comprise one element of ethnicity, they sustain a self-concept for members of the group “that links to a meaningful heritage” (Eicher, 1995, p. 4). Barth (1969) noted that cultural boundaries are delineated by social content, and that these boundaries are noticed only when the spheres of social content come into contact. It would then be logical to conclude that in order to perpetuate cultural heritage and identity, there needs to be an unbroken chain of cultural knowledge transmission to future generations.

Kilt History

Great Kilt. Although subject to debate, kilts have probably been worn in some form since the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (Laird, 2016; Martin, 1988), and this garment has always been exclusively worn by men. The word *kilt* could have evolved from Scotland’s Scandinavian roots—from the term *kilta*, which means “bundle” (Martin, 1988, p. 53). Another theory of the origin of the kilt is that it was an Irish garment worn over a tunic (Scottish Tartans Authority, n.d.). Initial incarnations of the kilt are not unusual, in that basic clothing consisting of fabric wrapped around the body has been used in many cultures during times when tailoring did not exist (Laird, 2016; Loranger, 2014). Much like earlier versions

of these types of garments, such as Greek togas, the Great Kilt (also known as the Breacan an Feileadh, Feileadh Mhor, or Belted Plaid [Scottish Tartans Authority, n.d.]) involved a single piece of fabric anywhere from six to twelve yards in length that would be gathered around the body and belted in the middle (Figure 1). One idea is that the wearer would place the piece of cloth on the ground, lie on top of it, wrap it around the body, and then belt it (Herman, 2001), while others contend that there were loops attached to the inside of the garment through which the wearer would thread some type of rope (Scottish Tartans Authority, n.d.). The garment was extremely utilitarian, functioning as a tent, blanket, and sleeping bag, and insulated the wearer in harsh conditions (Laird, 2016). Also, by not draping the entire length of the leg, it did not get wet while crossing moors (Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer, 2001; Trevor-Roper, 1984). In winter, the wearer could lay the fabric down on water, which allowed the fibers in the garment to expand; the resulting layer of ice would provide even more protection against the elements (Scottish Tartans Authority, n.d.). Early versions of this garment were the choice of poor Highlanders since trousers, also known as trews (Herman, 2001; Martin, 1988), that were tight-fitting pants that were usually worn by men of higher classes, were more expensive and involved some type of patternmaking and cutting. This garment was worn until its banishment via the Act of Proscription in 1747 (Bolton, 2005; Martin, 1988).

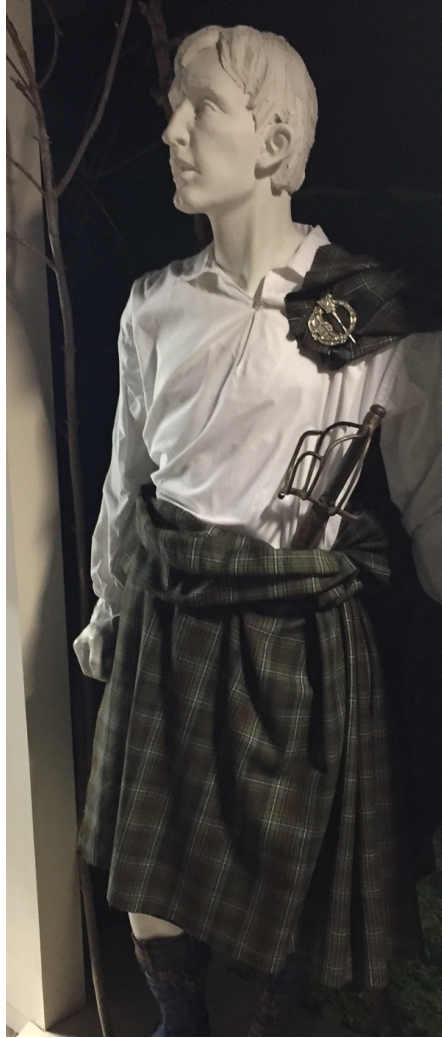


Figure 1. An example of the Breacan an Feilay (Great Kilt). Courtesy Highland House of Fraser, Inverness, Scotland. Photo taken by the author.

Little Kilt. The Breacan an Fhéilidh (bre-can-a-fee-lay) later evolved into the Feiladh Beg (phi-la-beg), or the Little Kilt, which is the contemporary silhouette that is popularly known (Figure 2). This evolution of the kilt into its modern form is subject to much debate. For some time it was thought that this incarnation was invented out of necessity around 1720-1730 in an iron foundry located in Glengarry, Argyll that was owned by Thomas Rawlinson, an English Quaker industrialist (Martin, 1988). The story that was perpetuated stated that Rawlinson needed to eliminate the severe hazards posed by a combination of

excessive amounts of cumbersome cloth that comprised the Great Kilt and exposure to furnaces' open flames. The result was told to be a streamlined version of its predecessor, comprised of 5-8 yards of tartan or tweed fabric that eliminated the upper portion of cloth that wrapped around the torso with tacked-down pleats that previously were formed by belting the length of cloth (Martin, 1988). Laird (2016) posits that earlier versions of the Little Kilt contained less fabric (approximately five yards), and the amount of yardage grew to eight as pleating to the sett became increasingly popular. This version of the kilt's origins was challenged and is now generally thought to be false, as original accounts that attribute the garment's change to Rawlinson were sporadic and seemed to have been perpetuated by Englishmen working in Scotland, who considered themselves to be more sophisticated and better educated than the Highlanders (Devine, 1999; Laird, 2016).

Instead, Laird (2016) and Hamilton (1991) propose that the development of the Little Kilt was only one of many innovations occurring in Scottish dress through Scotland's rapid progression into the Industrial Age in the late eighteenth century, a time of political upheaval. Highlanders who had previously lived off the land and used the Great Kilt as a utilitarian garment did not need so much coverage, due to their switch from agrarian to industrial incomes and lifestyles. Laird (2016) notes that the kilt's evolution was also a function of the machinery available to weave cloth. Looms were less than one yard wide (25-30 inches) in the early eighteenth century but had grown to 60 inch widths by the mid-eighteenth century. A narrower loom had previously meant that lengths of fabric needed to be sewn together in order to produce a longer length (tartansauthority.org), however with the advent of wider looms, kilts could now be made of a single width of fabric (Laird, 2016).



Figure 2. An example of the Feiladh Bega (Little Kilts) ca. 1720. Courtesy Highland House of Fraser, Inverness, Scotland. Photo taken by the author.

Act of Proscription. Scotland had signed the Act of Union with England in 1707 (Herman, 2001), and there were growing tensions between parties for and against unification with England. Jacobites were those against unification who wished the return of the Scottish throne to the Stuarts who had reigned over Scotland, England, and Ireland up until 1688 (Devine, 1999). This group had engaged British forces in uprisings, which culminated in the Battle of Culloden in 1746. As a reaction to this instability, the British government enacted a sumptuary law banning the wearing of Highland Dress (Martin, 1988), which lasted from 1747-1782:

No man or boy, within that part of Great Britain called Scotland, other than shall be employed as officers and soldiers in his Majesty's forces, shall on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the plaid, philibeg, or Little Kilt, trowse, shoulder belts, or any part whatsoever

of what peculiarly belongs to the highland garb; and that no tartan, or partly-coloured plaid or stuff shall be used for great coats, or for upper coats. (Robson, 2013, p. 492)

There were only a few exceptions, such as Highland Regiments serving in the British military (Martin, 1988), although Hamilton (1991) discovered that the dress was still embraced in certain reaches of Scotland, since enforcement of such laws was very difficult to execute. The law was then repealed in 1782 by King George III, due to the efforts of the Marquis of Graham, who carried the legislation through British Parliament at the behest of the London-based Highland Society, whose organizational goal was the promotion of Highland culture (Devine, 1999). Upon the death of Charles Stuart in 1789, the Prince of Wales (who would later become King George IV) began to engage in the wearing of Highland Dress, and became a Scottish enthusiast (Devine, 1999). It was during this time that tartan and Highland Dress became associated with Scotland as a whole, and the donning of Highland garb became fashionable.

King George IV visit and the Sobieski-Stuarts. The heroic performance of the Highland Regiments during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) had led to the public's fascination with the heroic Scottish Highlander (Devine, 1999) and a romanticization with Highland Dress. Lowlander literary legend Sir Walter Scott envisioned Highland Dress as a method to further solidify ties between Scotland and England, which capitalized on the general public's—and then King George IV's—fascination with tartan and kilt (Martin, 1988). Scott was one of the main instigators of “kilt mania” (Martin, 1988, p. 54) that peaked during the King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, and the visit was meant to be an overture to the Scottish people to signify unity between the two countries. Scott was pro-British, and had embarked on a campaign to organize Scottish leaders in support of King George IV. Highland Dress was one component of Scott's campaign, since he knew that the

wearing of this dress by both Scots and the English would visually illustrate that there were no hard feelings between the two countries. This gesture would signify that Scottish leaders were no longer angry about impositions on their freedoms, such as the banning of Highland Dress, and that an era of peace between the two countries had begun (Trevor-Roper, 1984). The perceived peace was in stark contrast to reality. Simultaneously in northern Scotland, poor Highlanders were being thrown out of their homes and off their land by commercial landlords and mass deportations had begun (Devine, 1999).

The interpretations of kilt and tartan fabrics that we know of today originated around 1840, as much like her father, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were avid enthusiasts of Scotland (Loranger, 2014; Martin, 1988; Tuckett 2009). As Martin (1988) points out in his paper *Transmutations of the Tartan*, “Prince Albert wore Highland Dress with great style and enthusiasm” (p. 57). With this, both kilt and tartan were further popularized and embraced. In 1842 and 1844, a Polish businessman by the name of Sobieski-Stuart (the name Stuart was his own invention) published a registry of Scottish tartans known as the *Vestiarium Scoticum* and another work entitled *The Costume of the Clans* that claimed to be records of ancient family/tartan associations and styles. 140 years later, Sobieski-Stuart’s publications were subsequently discredited as propaganda for wool merchants (tartansauthority.org; Martin, 1988) but were extremely influential, as everyone believed the books as authentic, and particular tartans became associated with specific families. The family/tartan associations set out in Sobieski-Stuarts’s books are still utilized to this day (tartansauthority.org).

Modern kilt incarnations. For the following 150 years, the kilt continued to be utilized as the dress of the Highland Regiments and a uniform for ceremonial occasions. Kilts once again illustrated the current social and political events in the United Kingdom during

the 1970s, when they were incorporated into the punk aesthetic (Martin, 1988). Punks, who were youths disaffected by economic and political circumstances, attempted to use dress in a portfolio of symbolic tools to express anger and frustration over what they felt were oppressive forces that constrained their possibilities and choices (Hebdige, 1995). Since that time, designers such as Alexander McQueen, Vivienne Westwood, Jean Paul Gaultier, Howie Nicholsby, and Jennifer Cantwell have updated various components of Scottish dress to reflect the influences of punk culture, rock and roll, and rebellious, alternative lifestyles (Loranger, 2014). This has been achieved in Westwood's re-interpreting the famous Scottish kilts in non-traditional colors, Gaultier's playing with kilts to illustrate dress-based gender associations, Nicholsby's interpreting the classic Scottish kilt in non-traditional textiles such as denim and polyvinyl chloride (PVC), and Cantwell's addition of personalized adornments to pieces.

Kilt as Part of Culture: Symbol, Communicator and Ethnic Identifier

The kilt has developed a uniquely Scottish connotation over time (Martin 1988; Trevor-Roper, 1984) and the notion of the kilt as Scotland's national dress evolved via a developed system of symbols and communication. The kilt is a non-verbal expression of one's inclusion in the Scottish cultural boundary (Barth, 1969; Crane et al., 2004), and the definition of a cultural boundary becomes even more apparent when there is an interaction with other cultural boundaries (McCrone & Bechhofer, 2008). Throughout history, the kilt was even used as an intra-cultural boundary differentiator between Lowlanders and Highlanders (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1989; Martin, 1988; Tuckett, 2009). The kilt has communicated both internal and external messages (Forney & Rabolt, 1986), such as in the case of Jacobites as a symbol of rebel ideology and in Highland regiments as an outward

identifier of exemption from the Act of Proscription (Tuckett, 2009). Hamilton & Hamilton (1989) observed internal and external forces such as these in their analysis of the Karen people of Thailand, and noted that even though the Karen used dress as an intra-cultural differentiator, there was a common core meaning of dress within the Karen cultural boundary. Hamilton & Hamilton (1989) also noted that additional research should be done on meanings of dress in other unique cultural boundaries.

Though its lineage is not as ancient as is commonly thought, much like tartan, the kilt has succeeded as a declaration of being Scottish and also serves as an authentic piece of Scottish history as part of “a coded set of signifiers” (Martin, 1988, p. 52) whose usage reveals individuals’ cultural affiliations and motives (Strauss, 2003). The kilt’s power as a signifier is evident in its use as a means of conveying intimidation by the Highlanders (Loranger, 2014) in various conflicts where it was contextualized as warrior dress, or as a symbol of pro- and anti-British sentiment during the times of King George IV and Queen Victoria (Herman, 2001; Martin, 1988; Tuckett, 2009).

Kilt’s use as a tool by human change agents. The very origins of the kilt’s popularity speak to its usage by individuals as a vehicle to achieve certain political goals of the time (Loranger, 2014; Martin 1988; Strauss, 2003), along with its role as a powerful cultural symbol. Operatives of the British Government attempted to utilize the kilt as a tool with which to exert control over popular culture (Devine, 1999). The Sobieski-Stuarts used tartan and kilt as a means of expanding business opportunities for the Scottish textile industry. The iconic status of the kilt in Scottish culture is supported in this instance; even though Sobieski-Stuart was publicly discredited, both tartan and kilt continued to be embraced by the Scots (Martin, 1988; Trevor-Roper, 1984) and retain their position in the

culture's contemporary set of values and norms. Stuart's use of kilt in his scheme of invented tradition illustrates the power and effectiveness of the kilt as a symbol and communication tool and serves as a primary example of human participants' roles in the definition of the kilt within Scottish culture (Martin, 1988, Trevor-Roper, 1984).

Political figures have also illustrated the interface that human participants have with the kilt in order to define cultural reality. The use of the kilt as a public relations tool by Sir Walter Scott to quell tensions between Scottish separatists and the English monarchy in 1822 (Trevor-Roper, 1984) demonstrates that the kilt actually helped to define the outcome of a pivotal chapter of Scottish culture by use of its power of meaning.

The kilt has also been used as a method of counter-cultural political, gender and style statements by sub-cultural groups such as punks and gays (Bolton, 2005; McCracken, 1986). The kilt is used in various contexts in non-Scottish cultures where it could be contextualized as a "skirt" in an attempt to communicate the challenging of pre-defined sexual stereotypes, norms, and values (Bolton, 2005; McCracken, 1986) or as a symbol of hyper-masculinity and confidence (Bolton, 2005, Loranger, 2014). Combinations of designers and individuals have attempted to make a purposeful statement through the contextual usage of the kilt.

Contemporary usage of the kilt includes wearing the garment as a sign of solidarity with traditional Scottish cultural membership (Barth, 1969; McCrone & Bechhofer, 2008). Individuals modernize the wearing of the garment by pairing it with t-shirts and Doc Marten's® boots (Bolton, 2005). In the twenty-first century, the kilt continues its constant redefinition by forces of change. Designers such as Howie Nicholsby of Edinburgh have reimagined the garment by trimming down the silhouette, lowering the waistband/waistline,

and incorporating fabrications such as leather & denim and offering a cell phone pocket (Loranger, 2014).

Types of Kilts

Traditional Kilts

Today's version of the Feiladh Beg (phi-la-beg), or Little Kilt, remains traditionally fabricated of approximately 6-8 yards of woolen tartan fabric, and is divided into three parts: front apron, back apron, and pleats (Figure 3). The continuous length of fabric for the kilt is usually ripped along the warp of the fabric, so that the selvedge of the fabric forms the hem of the kilt. This means that when viewing tartan kilts, the warp pattern and threads of the fabric will run horizontally, while the weft pattern and threads will run vertically.



Figure 3. Parts of a kilt. Photo taken by the author.

The back apron is placed under the front apron in the front of the wearer's body, and buckles on opposing sides of the aprons hold the garment in place. The pleats are each stitched down in the back of the garment, from the waistband to the fell (or seat of the

wearer), then a row of stitching called steeking is placed on the reverse sides of the pleats at the fell to hold them together. The steeking stitch is not visible from the outside of the kilt (Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer, 2001), but acts as the backbone of the kilt; the stitching runs through the pleats and holds them together. Traditional kilt waistbands usually sit 2 inches above the wearer's hipbone, and reach the top of the knee.

Traditional kilts are usually made of tartan, but can also be fabricated from woolen solids and tweeds (Figure 4). In design terms, kilts may be pleated to the sett (Figure 5) or to the stripe (Figure 6), and either the kiltmaker or the customer may determine the design they wish, although the design can also depend on the occasion for which the kilt is being worn (Faiers, 2008). When pleating to the sett, the kiltmaker will match the tartan pattern across the pleats, so as to create the illusion that the pattern is unbroken across the back of the kilt. When pleating to the stripe, the kiltmaker will fold the vertical repeat of the tartan pattern under the pleats to hide it, thus creating an unbroken horizontal stripe pattern across the back of the kilt (Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer, 2001). Kilts may also be knife pleated or box pleated. When knife pleating, fabric is folded to the side going in the same direction and pleats are fanned on top of one another (Figures 4 & 5). When box pleating, fabric is folded in opposite directions and the two folds meet in the middle of the pleat (Figure 6).



Figure 4. An example of a knife pleated tweed kilt. Courtesy National Museum of Scotland archives. Photo taken by the author.



Figure 5. The kilt of King Edward VIII of England reverse knife pleated to the sett. Courtesy of National Museum of Scotland archives. Photo taken by the author.



Figure 6. A kilt box pleated to the stripe. Courtesy of National Museum of Scotland archives. Photo taken by the author.

Faiers (2008) posits that box-pleated kilts (those pleated to the stripe) arose around the year 1790, when a military kiltmaker developed the technique as a way to make the kilt appear more streamlined as part of uniform wear. The author also states that the technique of box pleating gave kiltmakers the ability to unpick the kilt when it showed signs of wear, and re-pleat the garment, so as to hide the worn sections of cloth (Faiers, 2008). Today, pleating kilts to the sett using knife pleats is the more common method.

Modern Kilts in the 21st Century

While kilts are still uniquely men's garments, there are very few rules for modern kilts, which are kilts that do not adhere to the traditional kilt silhouette (i.e., 2" rise above the hipbone) or fabrication (i.e., tartan and tweed). Scottish designers such as Howie Nicholsby and Jennifer Cantwell have updated various components of Scottish kilts and accessories to

reflect the influences of punk culture, rock and roll, and rebellious, alternative lifestyles (Loranger, 2014). This has been achieved in Nicholsby's interpretation of the classic Scottish kilt in non-traditional textiles and Cantwell's addition of personalized adornments to accessory pieces such as the sporran. Other kiltmakers incorporate modifications like fabrications in non-traditional fabrics such as denim, leather (Figure 7), printed fabrics, suitings, Nomex®, and PVC (Figure 8), a shorter rise that is worn at the hipbone, a sometimes slightly longer length that falls beneath knee, and the addition of exterior pockets. Designers have also modernized the look by constructing matching kilt suit outfits that feature a sportscoat and vest (Figure 9).



Figure 7: Vin Diesel wearing a leather kilt by Howie Nicholsby. Photo courtesy of Howie Nicholsby.



Figure 8: Howie Nicholsby holding a silver PVC kilt and traditional tartan kilt and wearing a camouflage kilt. Photo courtesy of Howie Nicholsby.



Figure 9: Alan Cumming in a kilt suit by Howie Nicholsby and sporran by Jennifer Cantwell. Photo courtesy of Howie Nicholsby.

Kiltmaker Certification

Creative Skillset/Skillfast-UK is a non-profit industry organization that acts on the behalf of the textile & apparel industries in the Britain and Scotland, and has been authorized by the government of the United Kingdom to develop training and policy programs in a variety of creative-based skill areas such as media and fashion (Creative Skillset, n.d.). Its primary purpose is to perpetuate creative skill training in order to satisfy the needs of industry members. In Scotland, Creative Skillset/Skillfast-UK administers the development and maintenance of, and participation in, qualification programs under the auspices of the

Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) (Scottish Qualifications Authority and Creative SkillSet UK, 2008). The organization develops qualification programs through activities that include input from industry members, combined with primary field research. It also scrutinizes potential industry firm participants that wish to act as training centers for various programs. Qualifications are called SVQs, meaning Scottish Vocational Qualifications (Scottish Qualifications Authority, n.d.), and are practice-oriented training programs. Each SVQ is assembled and agreed upon by an industry board comprised of professionals who are experts in their respective areas. SVQ training programs are categorized in 5 levels of work complexity and management responsibility (Appendix C), with 1 being the least amount and 5 being the highest. These classifications vary from specialization to specialization, due to the nature of the work. The current SVQ in kiltmaking is ranked at a Level 3 (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2013).

The requirement to achieve the kiltmaking SVQ is the completion of eight units from a pre-established set of training units, extensively explained in an 83-page handbook (Appendix D). Six of the training units are mandatory, and two of the units are optional. There are two categories of optional units, and trainees must choose one unit from each category. The mandatory units include:

1. Health, Safety and Security at Work
2. Look After the Work Area in Manufacturing Sewn Kilt Products
3. Maintain the Quality of Production Materials in the Kilt Making Process
4. Prepare, Measure, Mark Out and Cut Material for the Kilt Making Process
5. Carry Out Pressing in the Kilt Making Process

6. Select, Prepare and Cut Materials for Trimmings in the Kilt Making Process
(Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2013, p. 6)

The two additional optional units are clustered in the areas of: (a) machine versus hand-sewing of kilts, and (b) back-of-house management, bespoke service, and customer relations.

Firms and schools that are authorized by the Scottish Qualifications Authority (Figures 10 and 11) are provided with extensive guidelines in terms of the training and assessment structure (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2013). The program pedagogy is one of an apprenticeship, where individuals are initially given basic training and tasks, and then work their way up into more complex assignments and also receives managerial and customer service training. Rubrics are provided for each unit that outline actions and knowledge that the candidate must master. Assessors/trainers are instructed by the SQA to use the following stages in compiling the SVQ:

1. Planning for assessment
2. Generation and collection of candidate evidence that shows confidence in the selected units
3. Judging the evidence of the candidate's confidence in making an assessment decision based on this evidence
4. Recording the assessment decision and the candidate's achievement (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2013, p. 8)

Assessors/trainers are instructed to use the following techniques to gather evidence of the candidate's ability:

1. Observation
2. Product Evidence

3. Questioning
4. Personal Statements
5. Witness Testimony
6. Simulation
7. Other sources: photos, forms & reports, video/audio tapes, case studies & assignments, interviews & professional discussion (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2013, p. 14-17).

External assessors' opinions of candidates' performance are observed by an internal verifier to ensure reliability (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2013). Additionally, expert witnesses may be called upon if additional verification is needed. The Scottish Qualification Authority notes that regular touchstones are key to the candidate staying on plan. Although the Scottish Qualification Authority does not include timelines for completion of the certification on their website or Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) guide.



Figure 10: An example of a Scottish Qualifications Authority certificate. Photo taken by the author.



Figure 11: An example of an authorized Scottish Qualifications Authority kiltmaking shop. Photo taken by the author.

Other Traditional Scottish Garments

In order to understand the kilt's role in culture, it is helpful to pinpoint other garments that play a role in the Scottish experience. This section will briefly outline two garments that have impacted Scottish culture on a smaller scale.

The Order of the Thistle Regalia. The honor of the Order of the Thistle is in recognition of those who have either contributed to Scottish society through service or have held public office, and is the most prestigious award in Scotland (The British Monarchy, n.d.). Its origins are subject to debate; sources claim that the Order was either founded by King Achaius in 809 or by James III sometime in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth Century. The Order fell into obscurity for a period of time, and was later reinvigorated by George IV in the early nineteenth century. As with the kilt, the regalia of the Order was used by George

IV as a symbol of unification during his visit to Scotland in [year] (The British Monarchy, n.d.). The traditional regalia (Figure 12) consists of an emerald green velvet mantle, velvet hat with white feather, and insignia with an image of the St. Andrews Cross and the words “Nemo me impune lacessit,” translated, “No one provokes me with impunity” (Britannica.com, n.d.). This ensemble is donned for official occasions such as knighting (Royal Collection Trust, n.d.).



Figure 12: The Order of the Thistle regalia. Reprinted: Royal Collection Trust

Scottish Academic Regalia. In his paper entitled *The Scarlet Gown*, Cooper (2010) states that the red color of academic regalia may have originated at The Queens College, Oxford, whose founding rules indicate that students were to dress in either red or purple robes to commemorate the Passion of Christ. Cooper (2010) goes on to detail that red academic regalia (Figure 13) was also noted by students at Louvain University in 1467, where many Scottish students attended. Although not well documented, some researchers

posit that red academic regalia seems to have originated in Scotland in 1690 through a Parliamentary Covenanting Commission (Cooper, 2010). In 1695, the Commission declared:

That all Masters or Regents, and also the students in the seaverall Universities and Colledges within this kingdome, be obleidged to wear constantly gownes the tyme of the sitting of the Colledges, and the Regents or Masters shall be obleidged to wear black gownes, and the students red gownes, that therby the students may be discourraged from vageing or vice. (Cooper, 2010, p. 14)

However, Cooper (2010) disagrees with this conclusion, and notes that red academic robes most likely originated sometime between the mid-sixteen and mid-seventeenth century, and that red robes were documented in use at the University of Glasgow as early at 1635.



Figure 13: Red St. Andrews Academic Robe.

Although the red gown was still worn in the twentieth century, its use varied. For instance, Cooper (2010) notes that red gowns were no longer required at the University of Glasgow in 1904; however, at other universities throughout the twentieth century, some instructors required the dress for special events such as oral examinations. The red gown is

still in use today for specific occasions at St. Andrews University, which is the only Scottish university that continues to employ it. Other notable Scottish universities such as University of Edinburgh only employ gowns at graduation ceremonies (L. Jeffery, personal communication, August 29, 2016)

Traditional Knowledge, Handicraft, and Country of Origin Effects

Iconic garments such as the kilt have survived through the generations by a process of traditional or indigenous knowledge transmission (Tehrani & Riede, 2008; Mevhibe & Ozdemir, 2012). UNESCO defines indigenous knowledge as “local knowledge that is unique to a culture or society” (“Indigenous Knowledge,” n.d.). Eicher (1995, p. 4-5) defines “the building blocks of ethnicity” as “the body, a language, a shared history and origins, and religion and nationality.” Indigenous learners acquire culture-specific knowledge and skills (Kater, 1993) that are an important component in their society. Bonifacic (1992) notes that this knowledge can be developed within a culture and perpetuated through the generations, or may be assumed from a source outside of the culture. The indigenous knowledge transmission process serves to indoctrinate individuals to a culture and also facilitates preservation of cultural traditions in a specific area, by continuing skills and material items that contain the essence of a culture (Bonifacic, 1992; Kater, 1993; Ogle & Schofield-Tomschin, 2002). This process also enables the continuity and growth of businesses that are a vital component of specific countries’ economies (Mevhibe & Ozdemir, 2012). Theorists such as Eerkins & Lipo (2007) have made the analogy of genetic evolution to material culture traditions, as processes used by indigenous artisans to produce cultural items by traditional means has the ability to carry memes of a society. Memes are defined by Webster’s Dictionary as “a cultural unit (an idea or value or pattern of behavior) that is

passed from one generation to another by nongenetic means (as by imitation); ‘memes are the cultural counterpart of genes’” (Merriam-Webster, 2016).

Maundu (1995) states that the process of perpetuating indigenous knowledge can be negatively impacted by changes in patterns of daily life in host communities. Modification in methods of manufacturing or educating citizens has the potential to alter the course of indigenous knowledge progression in a way that deteriorates cultural characteristics (Bonifacic, 1992; Maundu, 1995). In order to preserve cultural traditions, some researchers argue that there needs to be a concerted effort by the community to administer educational programs and develop business policies to support the continuation of indigenous knowledge and crafts (Bonifacic, 1992; Maundu, 1995).

Consumers identify with the cultural heritage associated with material culture products, and assign great value on products based on their unique character. This is the case with Scottish products such as the kilt (Black, Smith, Kheria, & Porter, 2015). Quality characteristics are associated with the source of products, and product origin can impact consumers’ decision to purchase one product over another (Jimenez & San Martin, 2014). Al-Sulaiti and Baker (1998) conducted a meta-analysis of articles on *country of origin* effects (COO) and note that the phenomenon is important, since markets have become globalized and intensely competitive. Several of Al-Sulaiti and Baker’s (1998) cited studies indicated that consumers who purchase products that are identified as “made in” a certain country—especially those who are not very familiar with the product—tend to use COO in order to classify products in terms of “quality and workmanship” (p. 153). Schooler (1965) found that consumers engage in stereotyping of products based on COO, and that consumers sometimes rate products based solely on where they are manufactured. COO can also appeal to

consumers' psychographic tendencies, as Thakor and Pacheco (1997) found that consumers may attach certain hedonic qualities with COO, such as how stylish an item is. Schooler (1965) notes that COO impressions may vary depending on demographic variables and geographic location of consumer.

Producers of counterfeit goods have keyed into the value that consumers place on cultural heritage and country of origin, and have attempted to capitalize on it by producing products of lesser quality that do not utilize traditional processes or materials. In terms of the kilt, this has caused tension between domestic firms that produce authentic products, and firms that aim counterfeit products towards the tourist trade, claiming that the products are Scottish-made goods, when they are in fact made in other countries (Allen, 2014; Black et al., 2015). In the United Kingdom, the action of "passing off, which is not based on statute but on the development of the common law in the Scottish and English courts" (Black et al., 2015, p. 53), is defined as mis-representing a product that has acquired "goodwill over a period of time" due to "qualities and characteristics" (p. 55). Mis-representation can be defined as usage of iconography and wording that implies that a product is made in a certain area or by certain methods when it is not the case (Black et al., 2015). For instance, non-Scottish makers of scotch type whisky have used icons, such as pictures of bagpipers and tartans, to insinuate that their product was of Scottish origin. This is also the case on the Royal Mile in Edinburgh, where tourist stores (dubbed "tartan tat") sell non-Scottish produced kilts and do not openly disclose the country of manufacture, while other elements of the store (i.e., music, décor, employees) imply that items are made in Scotland (Figure 14). To combat this, competing retailers who carry genuine Scottish-made goods make a point of

stating their goods are authentically made in Scotland and displaying this prominently (Figure 15).

Industrial production enables these types of counterfeiting of cultural goods, and can have a negative impact on handicrafts. Faster and cheaper production methods can achieve similar-looking results to traditional handicrafts, but are most likely made using different methods and skills that do not continue the chain of traditional cultural knowledge.



Figure 14: The largest “tartan tat” shop just off the Royal Mile in Edinburgh. Photo taken by the author.



Figure 15: A shop on the Royal Mile in Edinburgh displaying Made In Scotland. Photo taken by the author.

Owners of firms that utilize traditional means to produce Scottish kilts have indicated interest in exploring avenues to protect and preserve the mantle of knowledge of which they are stewards (Loranger, 2014).

Since the kilt is so strongly associated with Scottish culture, there is a distinct possibility that consumers may not verify COO when in the process of deciding on purchasing a kilt, and could mistake non-Scottish-made kilts for ones made in Scotland (Loranger, 2014). There are kilt shops in the Edinburgh area doing business under a Scottish name, but in fact, the owners and production are foreign (Allen, 2014). By not acknowledging that their products are manufactured in another country, such firms usurp the system of COO associations, and customers do not receive the traditionally made goods for which they assume they paid (Allen, 2014). Protections such as geographic indication (GI) and Certification Mark account for this, and ensure that customers are purchasing what they expect in terms of quality and workmanship. These legal mechanisms act under authority of governments to establish a system whereby origin and methods of manufacture are well defined. If firms wish to participate in this system, they must adhere to the standards that the GI/Certification Mark establishes. This system and its standards have the potential to protect a domestic industry which is not only important as a component of Scottish culture, but that is under attack from an influx of cheap imports.

Geographic Indication and Certification Mark Protection

Nations that produce culturally and geographically specific products have used geographic indication (GI) as a way to protect, market, and verify the quality of their traditionally-produced goods (Ibele, 2009; Herrmann, 2009; Ragavan, 2001). Originally, GI

was used to authenticate agricultural goods such as champagne from less-expensive products produced in other geographic areas (Kemp & Forsythe, 2006). This protection was provided under the auspices of various legal systems of individual countries within trading blocs, such as the EU, and has a range of functions, one of which is consumer protection. Ragnekar (2004) notes that this product authentication is important, since there are product quality aspects that are obvious to consumers, and others that are more nuanced and unobservable. It is through protections and certification that consumers are assured of certain levels of product quality and production. This is important, since many consumers do not have the training or acumen to understand or observe good or poor quality (Loranger, 2014).

Certain salient product aspects may not be tied to a geographic area, as much as to groups within areas that produce goods (Ragnekar, 2004). These groups are usually comprised of small, cottage industry firms or individuals who don't have the same leverage as large, industrial entities producing non-authentic goods. This is especially important in terms of the Scottish kilt industry, as kilts are a goods whose production base consists largely of non-organized freelance workers that larger firms use to supplement their full-time staff (Loranger, 2014).

In 2014, the European Union (EU) commissioned a green paper entitled *Making the Most Out of Europe's Traditional Know-how: A Possible Extension of Geographical Indication Protection of the European Union to Non-Agricultural Products*, which was a follow-up to a 2013 study entitled *Study on Geographical Indications Protection for Non-Agricultural Products in the Internal Market*. These two documents investigated the possibility of extending geographic indications to cover products produced by artisans who utilize traditional processes that are a result of the perpetuation of indigenous knowledge.

The 2014 paper posits that the increasingly globalized economy has generated a need for consumers to be able to determine if products are authentic, and that authenticity is not relegated to “price and basic features of a product” (European Union, 2014, p. 4). The paper states:

Geographical indications (GIs) are indications that identify goods as originating in a country, region or locality where a particular quality, reputation or other characteristic of the product is essentially attributable to its geographical origin, for example Bordeaux (wine) or Prosciutto di Parma. (EU Green Paper, 2014, p. 4)

The 2014 paper goes on to state that non-agricultural products that may have potential to be covered by GI protection are estimated at 4.08 million per year (European Union, 2014) in the EU region alone. These products tend to be produced by smaller, usually unorganized groups of artisans who are under constant pricing pressure from non-authentic goods. Part of the new interest in increased GI protection has been a result of the realization that if left unprotected, indigenous high-quality goods could cease to be produced, and these cultural products’ production act as an anchor for local communities. The disappearance of such products could result in irreparable damage to the cultural heritage in various areas (European Union, 2014).

By definition, establishing GI characteristics is more straightforward with products such as foods and spirits, as these are manufactured from raw materials and processes that are directly attributable to specific geographic regions. The identifiable characteristics of non-agricultural products that utilize “traditional knowledge and production methods, which are often rooted in the cultural and social heritage of a particular geographical location” (European Union, 2014, p. 4), are often much more difficult to pinpoint.

GIs are directed towards products where country of origin attributes are paramount to a customer’s purchasing decision. GIs exist to ensure that inauthentic products may not be

passed off as genuine, and are mainly meant to allow small-to-medium sized firms to claim exclusivity and better market their products. The EU Green Paper (2014) specifically notes that products that are produced by small-to-midsized firms and utilize traditional methods are constantly competing with products of lower quality and price that do not incorporate the same indigenous expertise. The EU Green Paper's (2014) findings indicate that almost two-thirds of the sampled businesses have experienced declines in sales due to inexpensive, low-quality merchandise imported from Asia.

In addition, GIs are also meant to maintain and perpetuate traditional knowledge that has been amassed over an extended period of time. The EU Green Paper (2014) notes that GIs are an effective way to “sustain cooperation networks among producers and between producers and other local interested bodies, (e.g. public bodies and tourist organizations). They therefore help build Social Capital in a region” (p. 11).

Although agricultural GIs are regulated at the EU level, individual EU member states currently regulate non-agricultural GIs at the country or provincial level (European Union, 2014). The result of this lack of uniform standards at the EU level has resulted in firms' assuming the cost of deploying different legal strategies in order to protect their interests in the marketplace. As an alternative, the EU Green Paper (2014) proposes other forms of protection such as Certification Marks, as viable avenues of protection, and cites the unique fabric Harris Tweed as an example of one such product utilizing this strategy. However, the EU Green Paper (2014) notes that Certification Mark protection is much less uniform and widely recognized, as it is implemented on the local level, and may not be enforced in foreign markets. By contrast, EU-level GI protection has much broader enforcement potential, as it exists within the EU single market, and is also part of larger treaties that the

EU has negotiated, such as the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement that is managed by the World Trade Organization (WTO).²

Additionally, the TRIPS Agreement stipulates that certain types of products, termed “homonous GIs” (European Union, 2014, p. 15) are generic, and are not eligible to be protected, as they can refer to goods manufactured in different countries. The EU Green Paper (2014) uses an example of eau de cologne as a generic term to refer to perfumes, and states that eau de cologne is not necessarily a term that defines a product made in Cologne, Germany. However, it does state that non-agricultural products may need additional definitions as to what constitutes a certain country of origin. The EU Green Paper notes that these links would be judged according to the current definition of a GI:

A GI must identify a product as originating in a specific territory, region or locality, where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the goods is a result of its geographical origin. A GI is used when trading to establish a connection between product quality, reputation or other characteristics and the place of origin. A specific ‘causal link’ between the product’s quality, reputation or other characteristics and their designed geographical origin is required, as those qualities depend on the natural conditions (specific geological, hydrological, soil and climate characteristics) of the place of production and/or the ways human societies work with them (i.e. know-how developed by the people in this area /particular skills developed over the years by local experts). (EU Green Paper, 2014, p. 16)

Some Scottish non-agricultural products such as Harris Tweed and tartan currently enjoy legislative protections (Scotland.org, 2015); these protections range from Acts of Parliament to official registries that protect and register designs. For example, the government of the United Kingdom passed into law The Harris Tweed Act, which created a Harris Tweed Authority that could set and maintain standards and certify products made of authentic Harris Tweed fabric. This Act also set standards for legal action against any

² Note that the BREXIT decision was made while this manuscript was being written. Discussion of this issue will take place in Chapter Six.

businesses that attempt to falsely claim that a product is made of genuine Harris Tweed. An excerpt from the Harris Tweed Act reads as follows:

1993 CHAPTER xi. An Act to make provision for the establishment of a Harris Tweed Authority to promote and maintain the authenticity, standard and reputation of Harris Tweed; for the definition of Harris Tweed; for preventing the sale as Harris Tweed of material which does not fall within the definition; for the Authority to become the successor to The Harris Tweed Association Limited; and for other purposes incidental thereto. (legislation.gov.uk, 1993)

At present, the Scottish kiltmaking industry does not qualify for such protections, because the Scottish government has not yet pursued similar protections for kiltmakers.

Some kiltmaking firms have partnered with the Scottish Qualifications Authority and Creative Skillset/Skillfast UK, an organization that developed a Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) process for kiltmakers that certifies that individuals who engage in the practice are not only trained thoroughly on all aspects of designing, manufacturing, and running a business, but also adhere to a base set of standards for kilt construction (Loranger, 2014; Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2013). A Creative Skillset/Skillfast UK official notes that “the uptake has been low” (A. Kerr, personal communication, September 25, 2014), meaning that fewer new students have been signing up for the course than expected. Although the organization has promoted learning of kiltmaking, Creative Skillset/Skillfast UK has argued that there is no need for external legislation to protect the kiltmaking industry (T. Sunderland, personal communication, 2014). The net result is that the practice of making one of the most iconic garments in the world is left without any protection or vehicle with which to market itself, and the potential for the deterioration or extinction of Scottish kiltmaking practice is very real. Kiltmakers remain very interested in some sort of legislative certification and protection for their practice and tradition (Loranger, 2014).

Some in the Scottish kiltmaking community believe that official protections through legislation (either on the UK or EU level) would benefit both the domestic kiltmaking industry and consumers by increasing transparency of Scottish made products (Loranger, 2014). There are several options available to Scottish kiltmakers, and slight differences in the protections afforded by these vehicles beg analysis. In his work, *The Socio-Economics of Geographical Indications*, Rangnekar (2004, p. 16) provides a matrix overview comparing two of these options (Figure 16)—namely, Geographic Indications (GIs) and Certification Mark protections.

There are some important notes with respect to these two types of protection. First, and most importantly, GIs are predicated upon a product's origin, whereas Certification Marks are based on product attributes, which may or may not be tied to a product's point of manufacture. Second, these protections are incorporated into various countries legal systems in different ways (Ibele, 2009; Herrmann & Maruhn, 2009). The EU “define[s] and treat[s] GIs as a distinct type of intellectual property” (Ibele, 2009, p. 36), whereas other countries such as the United States “treat GIs as a subcategory of trademarks” (Ibele, 2009, p. 36). Referring to Ragavan's (2001) point on assignability of intellectual property

	Geographical Indications	Certification Marks
Objective	Protection of identification of product's origin and its link with quality and reputation	Protect the certification of a product's quality characteristics, which may - though not necessarily - include geographical origin
Ownership	Mainly a public right; most often (say, within the EU) the indication is owned by the State or parastatal institution	Mainly a private right owned by the trade association or producer group
Registration	Protection is a result of a mix of public (ex officio) and private actions	Protection is a result of private actions by the trade association
Administration	The regulating council, often a consortium representing firms in the product's supply chain, oversee administration (e.g. <i>Comité Interprofessionnel du Vin de Champagne</i>)	The association of manufacturers who own the certification mark administer the mark
Inspection	An independent agency or the government undertakes inspection of compliance with standards stipulated in the indication	Owner of the certification mark oversees inspection of compliance to standards stipulated in the mark
Duration of protection	Protection begins with registration and continues until the conditions justifying protection are upheld	Protection begins with grant of mark and must be renewed periodically (usually 10 years)

Source: Based on OECD (2002); Vivas and Muller (2001)

Figure 16: Rangnekar's (2004) Comparison of GI & Certification Marks (2004): Reprinted.

Rights (see Figure 16: *Ownership/Geographical Indications*), the Scottish kiltmaking industry may fit well into GI protection. GIs have public ownership, and because of problems of fixation (defined as identifying who owns particular intellectual property), ownership of the knowledge rights to kiltmaking would not be assignable to an individual. Third, the implementation and administration of these protections differ, as GIs are created and administered by a governmental body, such as the EU or United Kingdom government, while Certification Marks can be created with cooperation from the government, but then are maintained by a private organization. An example of this type of Certification Mark protection is "Made in Italy," where a private company, the Institute for the Protection of Italian Manufacturers (ITPI), was given the right by the Italian government to bestow a certification upon companies that met pre-determined criteria (Molne & Lamm, 2013).

Products are assessed in terms of 5 characteristics (i.e., quality, style, image, fame, and prestige).

Case of Protected Geographic Indication for indigenous knowledge craft products. In their coverage of Turkish handicrafts, Mevhibe & Ozdemir (2012) note 32 fiber based products that currently enjoy GI protection, four of which are textile weavings and embroideries. Overall, 30% of Turkish goods that are protected by GI could be considered handicrafts (products produced by indigenous artisans). These Turkish products have enjoyed such protections for approximately 20 years. The authors also state that there are six additional products whose applications were submitted for GI protection. The authors note that these products are important, since they are transmitters of culture and history for the region and ethnic group (Mevhibe & Ozdemir, 2012), and provide a livelihood to the group of craftspeople who produce them. Turkish craft products also carry a sort of guarantee of quality with them, since the processes that produce them have developed over hundreds of years, and the process of producing them has continuously improved over that time (Mevhibe & Ozdemir, 2012). The Turkish government establishes geographic indication protection on products through Law No. 5 (Mevhibe & Ozdemir, 2012), which “creates employment and value added,” (p. 116) preservation of material culture traditions, and overall economic growth.

Case of Certification Mark status for traditional products. Mungtavesinsuk (2008) notes that the government of Thailand has taken steps to protect indigenous traditions and skills by constructing the Peacock Standard for Thai silk. The certification was instituted by Queen Sirikit of Thailand, and is recognized in 22 countries world-wide (Mungtavesinsuk, 2008). Silk textiles are categorized into four specific quality standards ranging from gold

(highest quality raw materials and strictly traditional processes), to silver (a combination of traditional and applied processes), to blue (traditional processes that are modified to ensure market viability), to green (a combination of current and traditional processes and may contain synthetic fibers). Aside from encouraging the continuation of artisans' skills and traditional production, the Standard ensures that customers are provided with accurate product information that results in more informed purchase decisions. The color coding of Peacock Standard seals is a simple vehicle to communicate product quality and manufacturing differences to customers.

Part II: Theoretical Frameworks

There are specific theoretical frameworks that are useful in understanding a variety of aspects of kiltmakers' experiences and the state of the Scottish kiltmaking industry. Social Capital Theory provides an important framework to understand the organization of the Scottish kiltmaking industry, and how kiltmakers are situated within it, while Cultural Transmission Theory and Scaffolding Theory assist in developing a perception of how kiltmakers may interact to develop a body of knowledge. Since a large portion of the sample (n=17) was female, Feminism Theory allows us to take account of any gender issues that may be occurring in the industry. Last, theories grounded in culture help create an understanding of how the kilt is situated in Scottish culture, how it has changed over time, and how various arbiters have impacted its evolution. These theories will be discussed in the following section.

Social Capital Theory

Social Capital Theory aims to explain how social groups are organized to develop a system of reciprocity of resources that is mutually beneficial. Previously to the work

conducted by Coleman (1988), economists only considered the fiscal aspects of reciprocity, while sociologists focused on the social organization aspect. Coleman (1988) argues for a more inclusive theoretical framework that incorporates logic from both sociology and economics. This framework considers the impact of specific circumstances within a “social context” (p. S96) on individuals’ personal decisions. Therefore, this viewpoint explains both micro-level decisions made by individuals, as well as the macro-level creation of systems of social organization. This distinction is most important in this instance considering kiltmakers’ experiences in relation to the establishment of Protected Geographic Indication or Certification Mark. As previously mentioned, kiltmaking is a traditional cultural institution and a business within the industrial ecosystem. Kiltmakers make a conscious decision to participate in the the kiltmaking business, are facilitators of the transmission of kiltmaking knowledge, arbiters of kiltmaking styles, and consumers and producers of Scottish culture. The nature of kiltmakers’ experiences is of personal interest here, as elements of apprenticeship, types of tenure with kiltmaking firms, and interactions between industry, government, kiltmakers and kiltmaking businesses play directly into Social Capital Theory. The theory specifically speaks to networking by groups of individuals to establish influence within the social system.

Coleman’s (1988) Social Capital Theory is an appropriate grand theory platform to use in this investigation, as it aims at understanding how kiltmakers relate to one another and to kilt firms within the Scottish kiltmaking industry. Coleman (1988) states that Social Capital resides in the relationships that individuals in a particular community have with one another and how those in the community use those relationships to their advantage and the groups’ advantage. In his article entitled “Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital,”

Coleman (1988) uses an example of New York City wholesale diamond merchants to illustrate an example of the theory. This close-knit community relates to one another in such an intimate way that there is an inherent sense of trust that facilitates a synergy of efforts, along with a sense of organization. Merchants know each other very well—to the point that they allow large sums of diamonds to change hands for inspection without any documentation, all the while knowing that the other will not cheat or steal.

In another example, Coleman (1988) explains that “South Korean student radical activists” exhibit a “cellular form of organization” that facilitates the transition from one person opposing the government to participation in larger-scale oppositional activities (Coleman, 1988, p. S99). Individuals within the Social Capital system operate a bank-like system of debits and credits that allow members to do well for others, and bank those good deeds with the expectation that they may recall the debt in the form of a favor in the future. Coleman (1988) does note, though, that such systems are dependent on such factors as culture, governmental types, levels of wealth, characteristics of social systems and communication touch points. In addition, this entire system is based on trust that individuals within the system have for each other. The proposed investigation draws from this theory by observing if kiltmakers retain this sort of organization, because this type of system would be necessary to facilitate progress towards Protected Geographic Indication or Certification Mark status for the entire group.

DeCarolis & Saporito (2006) provide advancement on Coleman’s (1988) theory by analyzing entrepreneurial endeavors using the Social Capital framework. The researchers state that engagement in entrepreneurship is dependent on the interactional processes between “social networks and certain cognitive biases in entrepreneurs” (p. 41). This is an

important concept to consider, since Coleman's (1988) original theory does not account for the effect of individuals' confidence in their ability to be successful at an indigenous craft business. DeCarolis & Saporito (2006) introduce a concept of "cognitive biases" via "illusion of control" (p. 43) in their proposed model. Foley (2008) further supports this conclusion in his comparison of indigenous entrepreneurs in Australia, Hawaii, and New Zealand as he found definitive differences in networking efforts that are caused by cultural variations in family and community structures. Foley (2008) also notes that indigenous artisans modified their networking efforts, depending on their relationship with the dominant community. Social Capital theory is an important foundation to understand what types of pre-cognitions kiltmakers and owners of kiltmaking firms may harbor. Negative expectations of success may preclude kiltmakers' engagement in the kiltmaking businesses, and may also deter them from organizing into a structure that could facilitate PGI or Certification Mark protection.

Cultural Transmission Theory (CT)

The origins of this theoretical line of thinking are based in Darwin's Theory of Evolution and were originally conceptualized in the work of A.L. Kroeber in the 1940s (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007). Kroeber began by noting that kernels of cultural meaning are called memes, and posited that a specific society's "cultural inventory" was assembled through "diffusion" of memes through interaction with nearby societies (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007, p. 241). Diffusion was the process that facilitated transfer of kernels of information within and amongst societal groups. This viewpoint was gradually updated in the mid-twentieth century to focus less on the cultural units that are diffused amongst societal groups, and more on instances of "error during transmission" (defined as misinterpretation of information) that

would speed up or slow down transmission, and “transmission mechanisms,” such as observation and spoken instruction (Erkins & Lipo, 2007, p. 241).

The modern manifestation of CT is more inclusive, as it accounts for the cultural component of evolution, and supports the belief that members of a society learn in portion from the social context, and also filter and alter their understanding of information based on their “worldview” (Erkins & Lipo, 2007, p. 244). Individuals perpetually learn, adapt (either accidentally or purposively), and hand off information that has been altered. Thus CT acknowledges aspects of imitation and purposive adaptation of information by focusing on the impact of exchange on the consistency of information and understanding. The theory accounts for congruity in a cultural groups’ shared material culture traditions by considering that individuals in close proximity to one another will tend to adopt comparable “worldviews,” therefore processing information in a generally similar fashion. Over time, this similarity in processing leads to continuity, as the body of knowledge is generated on the foundation of the previous generations’ understandings. In addition, a common understanding of a culture that is shared by such a group provides a rich context for individuals to understand a material culture item both as a manufactured object, but also as a component of culture. Therefore, this fidelity of understanding leads to additional material culture consistency.

As information transfer is the centerpiece of CT, variations in “content, form, and structure” (Erkins & Lipo, 2007, p. 247) can affect the process and must be considered. “Content” can be comprised of elements such as intricacy of the information being communicated, the type of information (e.g., print, oral, pictorial), how many times the information is gone over, and how the information is arranged. For instance, it is clear that

the construction of a kilt includes a complex set of instructions. In order to transfer this information, it would be optimally effective to provide diagrams, words, and oral instruction at regular intervals in order to convey what is necessary to successfully construct such a garment. Eerkins & Lipo (2007) point out that these elements impact how people's view, understand, store, and replicate information.

Scaffolding Theory and Indigenous Knowledge Transmission

Tehrani & Riede (2008) refer to the process of "scaffolding," (p. 320) where apprentices learn from master artisans over a relatively long period of time. In the learning process, the master delegates individual pieces of the handicraft to the apprentice, then begins to build upon the apprentice's skills by assigning more difficult and complex tasks (Tehrani & Riede, 2008). This gradual build in complexity of skills is continued until the apprentice learns the production of the entire craft piece. It is a process of critique, where the master gives the apprentice feedback on their work; it is also a process of observation, where the apprentice mimics the master. As apprentices build mastery of the manufacturing process, they begin to adapt the process to their own liking, thus developing their own technique of fabricating the material culture object (Tehrani & Riede, 2008).

Traditional craft knowledge, otherwise termed as indigenous knowledge³, is developed over a long period of time via an unbroken chain of sharing information between individuals and generations, and is an example of Scaffolding Theory. The form of passing down this knowledge can vary from in-home instruction between elder and younger

³ UNESCO defines indigenous knowledge as "local knowledge that is unique to a culture or society" ("Indigenous Knowledge," n.d.). Eicher (1995, p. 4-5) defines "the building blocks of ethnicity" as "the body, a language, a shared history and origins, and religion and nationality."

generations to formal schooling and apprenticeships (Mundy & Compton, 1991; Tehrani & Riede, 2008). Such knowledge becomes endangered occasionally when the chain weakens or is broken (Thompson, 1999). This could be due to more industrial ways of making the material culture object (Ragavan, 2001), or could also be caused by social or economic circumstances that supplant the traditional material cultural object's role (Hamilton, 1991; Thompson, 1999) or form (Hemmings, 2015). Aside from the deterioration of cultural context that occurs when the material culture knowledge chain is broken (or lost altogether), there is an impact on the indigenous economies that supply particular cultural traditions (Hamilton, 1991; Ragavan, 2001; Thompson, 1999). Sometimes artisans that produce specific material culture objects are of a lower societal class, which means that they have less chance to influence the system that has the potential to protect their livelihood (Ragavan, 2001).

Indigenous knowledge recognizes that a cultural community that acts as a repository and transference mechanism for traditional craft skills that exists within a cultural boundary. Key to this process is the manner in which knowledge is transferred from person to person; it is usually “deliberate instruction” (Mundy & Compton, 1991) that is communicated via an oral tradition, which utilizes scaffolding techniques as the process of handing down skills from master to apprentice. By developing this process over a period of generations, artisans develop their own form of intellectual property, but because of issues of “fixation” (Ragavan, 2001, p. 43)—meaning, since the knowledge is commonly owned, it cannot be attributed to any one person—it is difficult to establish rights of usage. However, common ownership of knowledge does not mean that it impossible to establish some sort of certification or

protection, because other countries and traditional crafts have been successful in establishing knowledge rights.

Feminist Theory

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, female intellectuals contemplated and promoted “the dignity, intelligence, and basic human potential of the female sex” (Rampton, 2015, para. 2). Ramirez, Soysal, & Shanahan (1997) note that during this time of rapid industrialization “men were the bearers of civil, political, and social rights” (p. 735) in a system where women did not have a say. Growing awareness of this imbalance of power was created through liberal, socialist thinking and resulted in the Suffrage Movement, which was a component of the First Wave of feminism (Ramirez et al., 1997; Rampton, 2015). Suffragists addressed the fact that women did not have the same citizenship rights as men (Ramirez et al., 1997), and were politically vocal in stating that women should have the right to vote, a right that was granted in 1920.

The period of 1960 to 1990 produced the rise of the Second Wave of feminist thought and action, which centered on “identity politics” where “race, class, and gender oppression are all related” (Rampton, 2015, para. 8). Although this wave referred to the collective “we,” feminists of various ethnicities were key in illustrating the anglo-centric ideals of many of the thoughts of this time period, and pointed to numerous and concurrent oppressions as issues to be dealt with (Mann & Huffman, 2005).

The current Third Wave of feminism addresses women and the global economy, which is of particular interest in the present study of the Scottish kiltmaking industry. In her article entitled “What’s in a name?,” Hill-Collins (1990, 1996) notes that there are three overarching spheres impacting feminism on a global basis: economics, politics, and family.

In the economic realm, Hill-Collins (1996, p. 12) cites “educational opportunities, industrial development, and employment policies.” In politics, Hill-Collins makes reference to women’s rights to have a voice through voting, and in the family arena health care access is cited. Sanders (2011) points to Hill-Collins’ (1990) tenants of Black Feminist thought by remarking that “self-definitions,” “intersecting oppressions of race, class, and gender,” “political activism,” and “awareness of cultural heritage” (p. 270) serve as the foundation for Black Feminist Theory, and are key to understanding how oppressive forces are not only coped with, but also subverted and overcome.

These issues may have a direct impact on the kiltmaking industry, as three-quarters of the kiltmakers in the Phase I pilot study were women. The research questions at hand dovetail into these female kiltmakers’ access to training, and government policies that can either constrain or develop their ability to make a living from the kilt industry. Their status as “out workers” or freelancers also has the potential to limit their access to healthcare, which would normally be provided as part of an employer’s benefits package.

Theories Grounded in Culture

Fashion cycles. A distinction needs to be made regarding types of cycles that affect the kilt as a fashion item. Sproles (1981) makes the distinction between long- and short-term fashion cycles. Long-term changes to fashion occur over decades, and short-term changes occur much quicker. Timeframe is especially important in analyzing a garment that has a history spanning hundreds of years; a differentiation needs to be made between modifications to the garment that are truly significant, versus changes that are more cosmetic and short-lived. One would assume that long-term changes are driven by larger social, political and economic events and that smaller movements and forces which quickly come and go drive

short-term changes. An example of a significant change would be the shift from the Breacan an Fhéilidh to the Feiladh Beg, which was driven by industrialization. An example of cosmetic changes would be the reinterpretation of the kilt into denim, leather, and other fabrications (Loranger, 2014; Martin, 1988), which is a function of Zeitgeist (Blumer, 1969; Mackinney-Valentin, 2012).

Zeitgeist is a German term meaning “spirit of the times,” and is an important factor when analyzing changes in a focused time and place. Short-term cycle changes are defined by tastes that exist for a limited moment in history and long-term cycle changes are deeply rooted in “stable structures” such as identification with certain classes, nations and traditions (Mackinney-Valentin, 2012). Zeitgeist and stable structures can be used to create categories and classifications for influences of change. Sproles (1981) also noted that more research is needed in terms of an “evolutionary analysis” (p. 122) that covers garments’ historical change with respect to fashion cycles. Understanding of iconic garments like the kilt would be advanced by categorizing change influences that have impacted and continue to impact the garment during its history.

Kaiser, Nagasawa & Hutton (1995) speak of fashion change in the context of a particular time and space and assert that the process is usually gradual, not drastic, and occurs in an ongoing manner. Fashion changes are not compartmentalized neatly into spans of time; they are viewed as a combination of long- and short-term processes occurring simultaneously. In order to create a construct for sorting out change influences on the kilt, it is not only necessary to place them into categories of short- and long-term changes, but also to realize that the effects of various forces can overlap and impact each other.

Movement of meaning. Key to understanding the relationship between a culturally iconic garment (kilt) and its native culture is the interface between the garment and the culture to which it is attributed. Dress can serve as a communication tool for standards of cultural norms and values that are exclusive to the garment's native culture (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992), and this is achieved by meaning being imparted to the garment from already established social constructs (McCracken, 1986).

Imperative to this understanding of attribution of meaning is that human change agents such as designers (e.g., Vivienne Westwood) or political leaders (e.g., Sir Walter Scott) are using established cultural meanings, while potentially at the same time inventing or applying new meanings of their own (McCracken, 1986). Sub-culture members can use garments' meanings to challenge cultural constructs (McCracken, 1986), and sometimes contribute to the redefinition of garments. Human change agents resituate the kilt in cultural context, and then cultural expectations are changed in some tangible way by the redefinition as the expectations and meanings diffuse to others within and even possibly to those outside of the cultural boundary (Barth, 1969).

Any attempt to classify and categorize change factors would have to take both human and non-human forces of change into account. Dress is a method of communicating and establishing social roles on a macro-level, but at the same time, there is a uniquely micro-personal facet to establishing meanings through dress (Hamilton, 1997; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). Therefore, even though the kilt may have a core meaning for society, each observer will have a slightly different interpretation of the kilt's meaning due to their own unique background and due to characteristics of the wearer.

In their study of individuals who identified as Scottish and their use of dress in the establishment of identity, Crane et al. (2004) found that each individual had a slightly different interpretation of traditional Scottish dress. Some respondents felt that Highland Dress was unnecessary if one could trace their lineage back to Scotland, and others found ethnic dress key to their connection with Scottish identification. The one common thread was the agreement that Highland Dress is a core identifier of a Scottish cultural connection.

Sources of meaning. Collective Selection Theory (Blumer, 1969) is a useful concept in beginning to think about forces that impact the kilt's definition. The theory takes a variety of human activities into account. For instance, buyers choose from a set of available designs, and they must consider fashion history, social movements, and contemporary definitions in the process. Garments that are designed and sold are defined by the filtering of information through a current set of cultural expectations, and this is the reason why seemingly unrelated designers and merchandisers can come to the same conclusions regarding selection of styles of garments sold in the market (Blumer, 1969). Human change forces can come from a variety of socioeconomic levels and backgrounds, and their influence depends on the social interactions in which they engage.

There are a number of participants in the "fashion system," (McCracken, 1986, p. 76) and their function is processing and transferring cultural information. Human participants play certain roles in the fashion system (e.g., designer, buyer, fashion consumer, counter-culturalist), and these roles can assist in establishing a framework into which participants can be placed and organized. The concept that McCracken (1986) developed does not include consumers, instead relegating participants to two categories: "(1) product designers, and (2) fashion journalists and social observers" (p. 77). This seems somewhat limiting, considering

the historic examples previously outlined. However, McCracken (1986) does go on to state that there is a micro-level process by which consumers use goods to attribute self-meaning. Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992) concur, stating that consumers' "subjective interpretations" (p. 4) ultimately determine the final communicated meaning of goods. The conclusion is that the evolution of meaning includes consumers as participants in the change process.

Hamilton (1997), expands on the idea of sources of meaning by including both human participants and socio-cultural forces, and asserts that both macro- and micro-level forces must be considered when analyzing sources of meaning. Change forces can take the form of individuals operating within the culture, but can also include cultural and other forces that impact the fashion system. The model that Hamilton puts forth (see Figure 17) takes into account macro- and micro-level forces that have been researched by Barth (1969), Blumer (1969), McCracken (1986), and Kaiser et al. (1995).

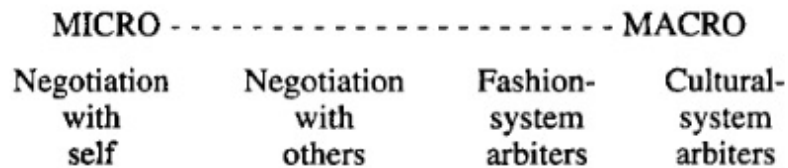


Figure 17. Hamilton's (1997) macro-micro continuum. Reprinted (p. 164).

On one end of Hamilton's (1997) continuum, all activity of a society occurs within a cultural system where a set of acceptable rules and norms exists. According to Hamilton and Hamilton (1989) "the extant general cultural system" (p. 167) sets the tone for normalcy and dictates what is acceptable. Within that cultural boundary exists a fashion system with arbiters who are defined by Hamilton (1997, p. 165) as "decision makers in the fashion system who have enormous explicit influence on how individual consumers of fashion construct individual meanings." Included in the fashion system are human arbiters, as well as

“material/technological means, social structural forms, institutions and organizations, and ideology” (p. 167). Towards the micro-side of the continuum negotiations with self and with others tend to involve considerations of cultural ambivalence. Kaiser et al. (1995) states that cultural ambivalence (contradictory concepts that need to be resolved) manifests in many different forms—in terms of masculine versus feminine, for example. When ambiguous styles emerge, such as men in American mainstream society wearing earrings, they contradict expected cultural norms that men do not wear women’s accessories, and have to be reconciled. Kaiser et al. (1995) posits that this resolution happens on the micro-level, whereas Hamilton (1997) contends that the process also happens on the macro-level, since this is where the cultural group’s set of expectations originates.

On the micro-level, negotiation with others involves considerations of macro-level cultural values and norms, while negotiation with self involves integrating products of negotiation with others, and then taking one’s own personal memory and values into account. Hamilton (1997) also states the need for additional research of the dynamics of the continuum in different cultures, due to “differences in cultural/historical realities” (p. 170) that could lead to variances in dynamics. This seems to be the most complete framework so far, since it includes tangible and intangible forces. Considering the condensed kilt history previously provided, this seems like a better system to use to begin categorizing change factors. It is also an excellent means to account for aberrant changes that occur, such as the Act of Proscription outlawing all Highland dress.

Theoretical Applicability

The cited theories are useful in various facets of studying kiltmaking practice, as they assist in understanding cultural, social, financial, and political aspects under study. The

following table is presented to illustrate the linkages between applicable theories and subject areas.

Table 1. Theoretical application to dissertation sections

Chapter 2 Section	Applicable Theories
Cultural dress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fashion cycles (Blumer, 1969; Kaiser et al., 1995; Mackinney-Valentin, 2012; Sproles, 1981) • Movement of meaning (Barth, 1969; Crane et al., 2004; Hamilton, 1997; McCracken, 1986; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992) • Sources of meaning (Blumer, 1969; Hamilton, 1981; McCracken, 1986; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992; Wicklund & Gollweitzer, 1981)
Cultural homogenization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) • Fashion cycles (Blumer, 1969; Kaiser et al., 1995; Mackinney-Valentin, 2012; Sproles, 1981) • Movement of meaning (Barth, 1969; Crane et al., 2004; Hamilton, 1997; McCracken, 1986; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992) • Sources of meaning (Blumer, 1969; Hamilton, 1981; McCracken, 1986; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992; Wicklund & Gollweitzer, 1981) • Scaffolding Theory (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008)
Kilt history	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) • Fashion cycles (Blumer, 1969; Kaiser et al., 1995; Mackinney-Valentin, 2012; Sproles, 1981) • Feminism Theory (Hill-Collins, 1996, Mann & Huffman, 2005; Ramirez et al. (1997; Rampton, 2015; Sanders, 2011) •

Table 1: (Continued)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Movement of meaning (Barth, 1969; Crane et al., 2004; Hamilton, 1997; McCracken, 1986; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992) • Scaffolding Theory (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008) • Social Capital Theory (Coleman, 1988; DeCarolis & Saporito, 2006) • Sources of meaning (Blumer, 1969; Hamilton, 1981; McCracken, 1986; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992; Wicklund & Gollweitzer, 1981)
Kilt as part of culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) • Fashion cycles (Blumer, 1969; Kaiser et al., 1995; Mackinney-Valentin, 2012; Sproles, 1981) • Feminism Theory (Hill-Collins, 1996, Mann & Huffman, 2005; Ramirez et al., 1997; Rampton, 2015; Sanders, 2011) • Movement of meaning (Barth, 1969; Crane et al., 2004; Hamilton, 1997; McCracken, 1986; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992) • Scaffolding Theory (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008) • Social Capital Theory (Coleman, 1988; DeCarolis & Saporito, 2006) • Sources of meaning (Blumer, 1969; Hamilton, 1981; McCracken, 1986; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992; Wicklund & Gollweitzer, 1981)
Traditional knowledge, handicraft, COO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) • Scaffolding Theory (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008) • Social Capital Theory (Coleman, 1988; DeCarolis & Saporito, 2006)

Table 1: (Continued)

Geographic indication & certification mark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) • Scaffolding Theory (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008) • Social Capital Theory (Coleman, 1988; DeCarolis & Saporito, 2006)
Kiltmaker certification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) • Scaffolding Theory (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008) • Social Capital Theory (Coleman, 1988; DeCarolis & Saporito, 2006)

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

Rationale for the Collection of Qualitative Data

This study was conducted using qualitative research methods, which are advantageous to “develop an in-depth exploration of a central phenomenon” (Creswell, 2015, p. 204). Qualitative researchers tend to gather field data by conversing directly with participants. However, data can also be gathered by observation, secondary document analysis, photos and video (Creswell, 2013). The qualitative research process is inductive, meaning that the researcher begins with a large amount of interview data, and then proceeds to label participants’ quotes and group them in order to arrive at specific, thematic findings.

According to Creswell (2015), there are five steps in qualitative research designs; these include: (a) identification of participants and locations, sampling approach identification, (b) gaining permission to use the locations for research purposes, (c) specifying information that is applicable for research questions, (d) instrument development, (e) data collection implementation. Figure 18 below is a graphic explanation of how these recommended steps were used and expanded upon for this dissertation study.

The qualitative research process is distinct in that the researcher functions as a data collection instrument and the inquiry is conducted in the field, or what Guba (1981) calls “nature” (p. 79). It is for this reason that the researcher needs to account for the interaction between themselves and respondents, as well as for the impact that the setting has on the inquiry (Guba, 1981). In addition, the researcher acknowledges the existence of multiple realities, and therefore must realize personal biases in the research process. Guba (1981) also notes that it is because of these dynamics that researchers must take steps within the research

process to build “credibility, transferability, dependability, [and] confirmability” (p. 83, Table 3). The details of Phase I and Phase II of this inquiry will detail actions taken to accomplish this goal.

Epoche Statement

As the principle investigator, and as of the beginning of Phase I of the study in October 2014, I was extremely unfamiliar with the process of kiltmaking and the construction of kilts. An acquaintance of mine, who owns a kilt shop, was the inspiration for this study. He shared with me problems that the Scottish kiltmaking industry is experiencing, which includes pricing pressures caused by the importation of inexpensive, poor quality merchandise; coupled with lack of government interest in the kilt business. I own two kilts from my acquaintance’s shop that I enjoy wearing. I also have romantic pre-conceptions about the ancient nature of Scottish culture that are the result of being exposed to movies and advertising messages. I read scholarly articles that have caused me to think about the background of Scottish Highland Dress and its being artificially created, along with feminine and gay gender pre-conceptions that are associated with kilts; which I view as only being attached to certain cultures (especially American culture). I expected to experience participant resistance to my inquiry as an American citizen who is researching another culture. However, I was able to build a very strong rapport with the participants.

Dissertation Process Model

A model was developed in order to organize and explain the research process (see Figure 18). The model is divided into two main areas, Phase I and II. The aim of Phase I, which was the pilot study that was conducted in October 2014, was to orient the principle investigator to the Scottish kiltmaking industry, and to identify potential areas of

investigation. Phase I consisted of the following steps: (a) literature review and the *Journal of Fashion, Style, and Popular Culture* interview, (b) identification of research questions, (c) development of instruments, (d) obtaining Institutional Review Board (IRB)/site permissions for human subjects research, and (e) data collection. Data collection included: travelling to Scotland to conduct pilot interviews, videotaping a kiltmaker, analyzing the National Museum of Scotland kilts, reviewing Scottish Vocational Qualification documents, and creation of a kilt by the principle investigator.

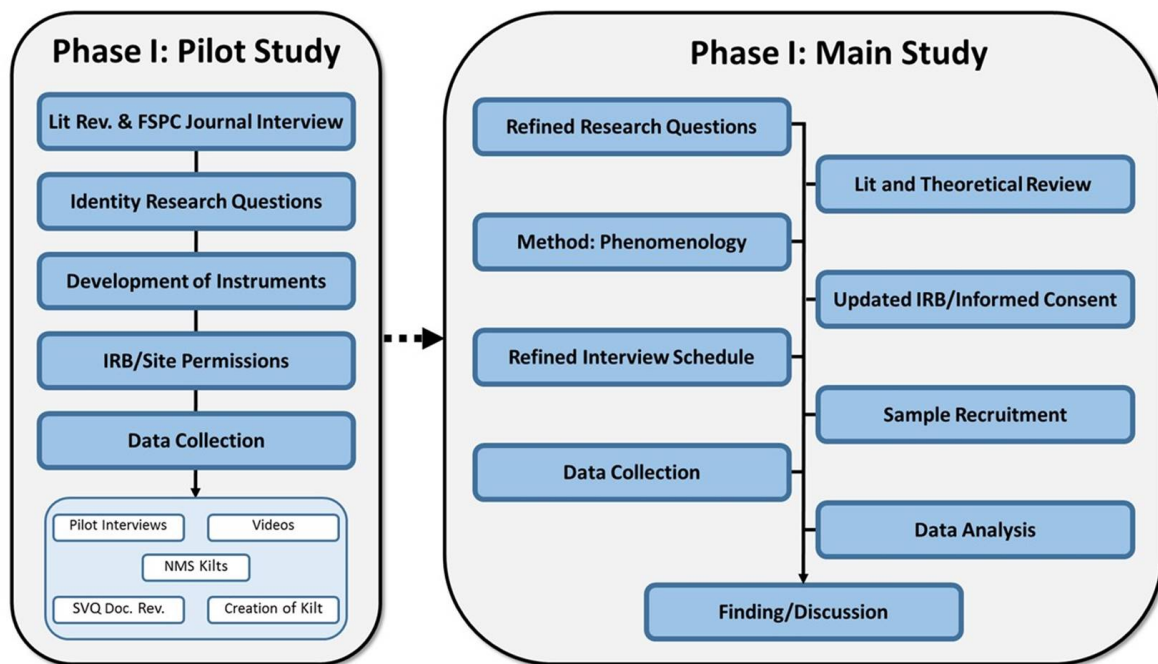


Figure 18. Dissertation study process model.

The findings of the Phase I were utilized to inform Phase II, which further focused on kiltmakers' experiences in learning and practicing kiltmaking. The participant pool was expanded to include administrators in the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) in kiltmaking. Phase II steps included: (a) refining the research questions, (b) reviewing additional theories and literature, (c) selecting phenomenology as the method of inquiry, (d)

updating previous IRB application from Phase I, (e) refining the interview schedule (informed by Phase I findings), (f) collecting data through interviews in Scotland, (g) analyzing the data, and (h) arriving at findings, discussion points and conclusions.

Phase I: Pilot Study

Background and Overview

Inspiration for the pilot study phase was an interview conducted with Howie Nicholsby in the *Journal of Fashion, Style, and Popular Culture* entitled “Addicted to skirts: An interview with Howie Nicholsby” (Loranger, 2014). During the interview, Nicholsby discussed the Highland Dress tradition of Scotland, along with current events in the kiltmaking industry, including updating the silhouette, business challenges caused by cheaper goods coming from overseas, and the potential for PGI or Certification Mark protection for Scottish kilts. In August 2014, a pilot study was undertaken to understand the process of Scottish kiltmaking with the aim of informing a larger dissertation study. A previous review of literature revealed a dearth in coverage of kiltmaking practice, kiltmakers’ experiences and the kilt industry in Scotland. In some studies, kiltmaking is not addressed as a distinct area of investigation, but rather is used as an illustration of a product constructed of tartan (Faiers, 2008), or an item included in an array of cultural garments (Herman, 2001; Martin, 1988; Trevor-Roper, 1984).

The pilot study focused on four kiltmakers at two kiltmaking firms in the greater Edinburgh, Scotland area. An informed consent form was developed (Appendix A), and Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was obtained from Iowa State University. Site permissions were obtained from both owners of the participating Scottish kiltmaking firms.

All participants signed the informed consent form. The data collected in Phase I was included in Phase II of the study.

Sample Description

The principle investigator's lack of familiarity with the Scottish kiltmaking industry and relatively few connections with kiltmakers demanded that a purposeful, snowball sampling approach be used. The choice of this method ensured that data would be obtained from individuals who were very familiar with the subject matter, and would give the principle investigator the ability to generate leads on additional participants as needed (Creswell, 2015). Guba (1981) notes that this type of sampling ensures "transferability" (p. 86), since it is guided by "emergent insights about what is important and relevant" (p. 86). Four kiltmakers were interviewed for the pilot study as per Creswell's (2007) recommendation for number of participants in qualitative case studies. The snowball sample included a range of ages and experience levels. These kiltmakers, who range in age from 31-50, with 8-31 years of experience (Table 2), work for two firms in the greater Edinburgh area of Scotland. Three-quarter (n=3) of the participants were female.

The two firms that consented to participate in the pilot study are both owned by acquaintances of the principle investigator. Firm 1⁴ is located in an area that caters to a more fashion-oriented customer and only offers made-to-order kilts, and Firm 2 owns several branches throughout the country, focusing on traditional off-the-rack Highland Dress and offering a larger assortment of products, such as sporrans, hats, and shoes.

⁴ Participant firms will be referred to as "Firm 1," "Firm 2," etc. in this document to protect anonymity, per IRB requirements.

Table 2. Demographic information on pilot study participants⁵.

Participant #	Pseudonym	Firm No.	Gender	Approx. Age	Yrs. Of Experience	Student
1	Terry	1	Female	31-35	8	No
2	Betty	2	Female	46-50	31	No
3	Lisa	2	Female	36-40	21	No
4	Tom	1	Male	41-45	30	No

Data Collection and Analysis

Multiple sources of data not only lead to a greater understanding of phenomena under study, but also to increased reliability (Rossman & Rallis, 2012; Creswell, 2013) and credibility (Guba, 1981). Therefore, the stages of the data collection were: (a) analyze artifacts, (b) record a kiltmaking video, (c) collect and analyze kiltmaker interviews, and (d) create a kilt prototype. Together, these methods led to a richer picture of kiltmakers' experiences for Phase II of the project.

Artifact analysis. First, 16 kilts from the National Museum of Scotland archive that ranged in age from circa 1800 -2000 were photographed, materials and other data were recorded, and measurements were taken. Smith (2013) notes that visual methods are an impactful method to develop an understanding of material culture objects by offering evidence that assists in understanding lived experience. Schwartz (1989) states that photographs provide plentiful amounts of meaning that may be used to interpret material culture.

⁵ All names are pseudonyms chosen by participants.

Data collection and analysis. Prown (1982) notes that it is necessary to treat material culture artifacts as newly observed in order to remain objective. The researcher must engage in a process of describing the relationship between the object and himself, then making inferences about what use the object may have served, and lastly forming testable research questions that emanate from the object itself. To that end, photographs were taken of the front and back aprons, pleating, trim, interiors, and other unique details of the artifact kilts.

Instruments. An instrument was developed to record measurements and observations from the kilts at the National Museum of Scotland archives (Appendix E). The instrument included accession number, year, fabrication, tartan name and description, colors, trim and details, whether the kilt is part of a larger outfit, usage occasion, owner's name (if any), and key points of measurement. The same Canon PowerShot camera was used to photograph, as was used in the videotaping stage. The photographs were then immediately uploaded onto a secure file storage website, in compliance with IRB requirements.

Initial findings. The principle investigator noted that aside from the wide range of time periods represented by the artifact kilts, a high level of consistency existed in materials, trimmings, and construction of the garments. There was also a distinct difference in kilts worn for ceremonial and military purposes rather than kilts used as everyday wear, as the former were highly embellished. Military kilts were also box pleated to the stripe, as everyday kilts were knife pleated to the sett. Ceremonial kilts circa 1822 were accompanied by other components of the outfit, such as sashes that were the same tartan as the kilt.

Kiltmaking video. Second, a kiltmaker was videotaped making a kilt from beginning to end, and times were recorded as to how long it took to complete each major step in the kiltmaking process. Bates (2013) notes that video recording generates rich data that captures

a greater number of elements having to do with participants' experiences than merely recording words or still pictures. The context in which the data are generated are more fully captured by this medium. Video documentation allowed for a deeper understanding of kiltmakers' experiences, as taping not only captured the kiltmaker's actions, but also the overall context of the situation by combining pictures and sound.

Data collection and analysis. Bates (2013) recommends treating video data analysis much as textual analysis, in that transcriptions are completed, and then codes and themes are developed. However, Bates (2013) notes that it is beneficial to also extract selected video segments to provide with the analysis, as examples of observations. Terry, a pilot study participant who Firm 1 recruited to be filmed, was filmed for approximately 10 hours, making a kilt from beginning to end. Her interview was conducted during the filming of the kiltmaking. The principle investigator was able to observe the kiltmaker's techniques and materials used to create the kilt, and noted steps and time to complete each step in the kiltmaking process (Appendix F). Data files were immediately uploaded onto the file storage website, in compliance with IRB requirements.

Instrument. An instrument was developed to record numerical and observational data during video recording (Appendix F), including timing of stages of kiltmaking. Recording was accomplished via the video mode of a Canon PowerShot camera with tripod; extra battery life was achieved via several rechargeable batteries that were changed out every 27 minutes, as the principle investigator had tested the equipment prior, and found this to be the average maximum battery life.

Initial findings. The principle investigator found that, in terms of time, there are major stages of kiltmaking, which are planning out the kilt and sewing of the pleats. Through

observing every stage of the process, the principle investigator was better able to understand the specific level of detail, number of components, and considerations that go into the making of a kilt, and discovered that kiltmakers show a high level of adaptation when it comes to their own personal techniques.

Kiltmaker interviews. Participants chose pseudonyms in order to ensure confidentiality, as per IRB requirements. Interviews were conducted in public spaces, such as the retail floor of one of the kiltmaking firms, and began with open-ended, general questions and proceeded to more specific, probing questions. The purpose of this was to build rapport with the participants, and to allow participants to fully express and explore their thoughts (Seidman, 2013).

Data collection and analysis. All interviews were recorded at the location, transcribed and placed into Word document format by the principle investigator at a later date. The principle investigator then coded the first 10 pages of the first interview and forwarded the coded transcript to the dissertation advisor who served as second coder. Upon audit coding the pages, the inter-rater reliability was not at the 80% threshold (Creswell, 2013). The principle investigator then re-coded the pages, and forwarded them back to the second coder for a second round of analysis, which resulted in 75% inter-rater agreement. It was agreed that the four transcripts from the Phase I portion of the study would be re-coded with those of the Phase II transcripts at the Phase II data analysis stage.

Instruments. A combined demographic questionnaire and interview schedule (Appendix A) was developed. The demographic questionnaire contained participant code, gender, age range, country of birth, education level/institution/degree, job title, years of experience, and other previous occupations. The interview schedule posed questions to

participants in areas of learning of kiltmaking, adaptation of the kiltmaking process, and opinions on the current state and future of the kiltmaking business. Fowler's (2013) recommendations on question construction were used as a guide for clarity and terminology. The interview schedule was structured in a manner where more general open-ended questions led into specific sub-questions, in order to generate a more detailed description from participants (Creswell, 2014; Rossman & Rallis, 2012).

Initial findings. Participants remarked that there is a need to establish mechanisms to officially certify kiltmakers' abilities and to couple this with efforts to market Scottish-made kilts. Participants agreed that beyond mere certification, there needs to be a concerted effort by the Scottish government to provide official protection for Scottish-made kilts, as customers generally cannot tell the difference in quality levels between inexpensive kilts made overseas and more expensive kilts made in Scotland. It was also found that questions asked of participants regarding the manufacturing process lent less to the understanding of kiltmakers' experiences, as this aspect seemed less important to participants. Questions about experiences of culture, kiltmaking learning & practice, and economic issues seemed to be more important to participants. The information gathered in the pilot study stage served an important purpose of refining the interview schedule for the dissertation stage of the project in terms of level of detail required.

Creation of a kilt prototype. The principle investigator constructed a kilt as part of coursework for AMD 625-Design Theory and Process over the summer of 2016. Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer's (2001) *The Art of Kiltmaking* was employed in this effort, as it utilized a kiltmaking approach that differed from the technique used by Terry during the videotaping session. The kilt was made out of black denim, so as to provide the principle investigator not

only with documentation of a different technique, but also of experiences with utilization of a different fabrication, something promoted in the pilot interviews. In the initial study phase, it was discovered that there were a diverse number of interpretations of “authentic” Scottish kilts, and what comprised an “authentic” kilt. The interpretations appeared to center around differences in fabrication and silhouette. Some kiltmakers had developed kilt styles that were termed “fashion forward,” and these silhouettes utilized non-tartan fabrications such as denim, lowered the rise of the garment by 2 inches, and included novel features, such as cell phone pockets. However, these “fashion forward” kiltmakers stressed that they were still trained in traditional kiltmaking methods, and adhered to this training in construction of these newer kilt interpretations. Therefore, the principle investigator decided that developing an approach that incorporated traditional kiltmaking methods and non-tartan fabrication would lead to a more robust understanding of the gamut of kiltmakers’ practice and experiences.

Based on the choice of black denim, the principle investigator centered on the “Scottish Punk” theme for the project. It also resonated with the principle investigator due to information gathered during the course of literature review for the paper and presentation that would accompany the kilt ensemble, as literature review revealed that denim was a mainstay textile in the punk culture of the 1970s and 1980s in the United Kingdom (Cartlidge, n.d.; Cole, n.d.), and that punk culture has been known to utilize the kilt for anti-authority and gender-based statements (Martin, 1988). Other fabrics including Royal Stewart tartan wool Melton, Keith tartan wool twill, and black cotton poplin were used for fringing and lining. The principle investigator used his experience creating the kilt to contrast with kiltmaking methods observed while visiting various workshops in Scotland and it was expected that

undertaking the project would allow the principle investigator to develop a greater understanding of the kiltmaking process and kiltmakers' experiences.

Data collection and analysis. The process was photographed at key points, and a diary was kept by the principle investigator in terms of his experiences while making the kilt. Comparisons were made to the process observed while videotaping the Scottish kiltmaker in Edinburgh.

Supplies and tools used. Materials included six yards of black denim, three buckles, a yard of tartan Melton fabric, a yard of horsehair canvas, black cotton poplin, studs, appliqués, black seam binding, black cotton denim thread, and hand sewing needles. An Elna® home sewing machine was used for the machine stitching. The principle investigator used Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer's (2001) text *The Art of Kiltmaking* as an instructional manual.

Initial findings. In line with Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer's (2001) suggested approach, a chart was developed to establish key specifications of the kilt where waist and hip measurements were divided between the front and back of the garment, using a technique called "splits" (p. 50). This involved sub-dividing the overall measurements. However, there was an amount of interpretation expected from the principle investigator/kiltmaker, where Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer's (2001) noted that it would be prudent to "assign more than half the waist measurement to the apron section and less than half to the pleats section" in the waist area, and "less than half the hip measurement to the apron section and more than half to the pleat section" (Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer, 2001, p. 50) in the hip area. It was also noted that the person following the instructions should repeat this process a few times to establish a range of "splits" (p. 50). Therefore, the principle investigator was called upon to use his best judgment in establishing measurements using a trial-and-error method. The main issue with

the process involved the principle investigator/kiltmaker taking his own measurements, which proved to be difficult. The instructions also stressed the importance of marking the “right side” of the fabric, and the principle investigator recalled that he had observed this while videotaping a participant making a kilt in Scotland. However, the kiltmaker participant had noted that a mark indicating the right versus wrong side of the fabric would be placed on the fabric by the factory before the goods were shipped to the kiltmaker. Usually this mark would take the form of a tag or a round sticker.

The principle investigator/kiltmaker then engaged in the next step of kiltmaking, which involved ripping the fabric and transferring the measurements taken on the body to the cloth by marking the textile with chalk. As is traditionally done, the kilt was orientated horizontally over 6-8 yards of the warp of the fabric (there always extra fabric, due to the length of the kilt at 22 inches being less than the width of the fabric being 60 inches). The excess portion of fabric needed to be ripped off, and the selvedge edge of the fabric created the bottom hem of the kilt. First, the principle investigator/kiltmaker measured 22 inches from the selvedge of the fabric and marked this measurement in chalk, then proceeded to mark off 6 yards of the length of the fabric. After this was accomplished, the fabric is ripped along the warp to create a 6 yard by 22-inch length of cloth. As the principle investigator/kiltmaker took this step, he recalled that the literature had stated that looms during the time of the Little Kilt’s creation were much narrower in width.

The subsequent chalking process seemed architectural in nature, as key points were first marked to delineate the borders of the front and back aprons of the garment, then the lines were connected in a freehand manner by the principle investigator/kiltmaker. It was at this point that the outline of the garment was apparent, and the process seemed to clarify for

the principle investigator/kiltmaker, as he could establish boundaries for the silhouette of the garment. A connection was also made to some basic garment making principles, key points such as center back were delineated (Figure 19). Also, the principle investigator/kiltmaker noted the orientation of the fabric, as the selvage of the fabric was to create the hem of the garment.

Afterwards, pleats were marked with chalk, and there was a revelation that a large hidden box pleat would be left in the front of the garment in order to leave extra fabric with which to let the kilt out if need be. This further clarified comments made by participants in the pilot study stage, who commented about un-picking a kilt in order to make repairs or alterations to the garment. Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer (2001) then instruct kiltmakers to hand baste the seams for the aprons (Figure 20).



Figure 19: Chalking the boundaries of the aprons.



Figure 20: Front apron of the kilt with basted edges.

Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer (2001) then instructed to hand sew each pleat from fell (seat of the garment) to waistline. There was a key difference, along with some similarities noted in the authors' approach to sewing pleats, versus the principle investigator's observations in the pilot study. Although Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer (2001) stipulate that no pins or basting were to be used to accomplish this task, participant kiltmakers were observed in the pilot study pinning down and basting the pleats after marking. The principle investigator/kiltmaker decided to pin and baste the pleats. However, Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer (2001) were in line with kiltmakers observed in the pilot study by stating that the fabric should be draped over the kiltmaker's knees while they were sitting in a chair. Similarly, it was recommended that the kiltmaker's feet be slightly raised, in order to give control over the fabric.

Initially the principle investigator/kiltmaker was concerned with time constraints and the dense nature of the fabric, and then realized that it would be beneficial to engage in some machine work on the garment in order to understand concerns that machine kiltmakers

encounter. The principle investigator/kiltmaker then decided that the best solution would be to use an Elna® home sewing machine to accomplish the task of sewing the pleats, as it would speed up the process, facilitate the sewing task, and provide the principle investigator/kiltmaker with yet another aspect of kiltmaker experience. Additionally, the principle investigator/kiltmaker decided that pinning (Figure 21) and basting (Figure 22) the pleats in advance of sewing them would be a better solution than sewing un-basted pleats, as he was a beginner, had little sewing experience, and the fabric selected was more difficult to control during sewing with a machine. While sewing the pleats, the principle investigator/kiltmaker encountered difficulty with the density of the fabric, which manifested itself in a number of broken sewing machine needles and the under-fabric of pleats being sewed to one another incorrectly.



Figure 21: Kilt pleats pinned in preparation for basting.



Figure 22: Kilt pleats basted in preparation for sewing.

The canvassing⁶ of the kilt was similar in technical approach to participant kiltmakers observed during the pilot study stage, with canvas being applied to the top of the kilt aprons using a stitch resembling a large, spaced out chevron.

Last, the principle investigator/kiltmaker affixed trims, including black cotton poplin lining, Royal Stewart wool Melton fringing, and buckles. The principle investigator machine sewed the buckles onto the kilt, and also used fabric glue to keep fringing in place while sewing.

In the course of creating the kilt (Figure 23), the principle investigator encountered additional revelations regarding the process that differentiates kiltmaking from sewing skirted garments: (a) The amount of fabric in a kilt (6-8 yards) is unique in comparison to a skirt (3 yards), and therefore, the weight of a kilt (approximately 4 ½ pounds) is far greater than a skirt, (b) The kiltmaker is responsible for deciding what measurements/specifications are to be used to mark the kilt. It is a trial-and-error method, mathematical skills are required,

⁶ Canvas typically consists of horse hair fiber, and is a stiff fabric that is usually used inside of garments to lend rigidity to construction.

and a specific calculation method is employed, (c) There is no pattern to follow when making a kilt, as opposed to a skirt, which, in the principle investigator's past experience, always requires a pattern, (d) Creating a kilt involves many more hours (30 hours) than creating a skirt (8 hours from principle investigator's past experience), and (e) A kilt is a canvassed garment, while a skirt is not.

It was immediately noticed that Tewksbury & Stuehmeyer (2001) maintained a different approach to pleating than was observed by the principle investigator while videotaping in Scotland. When pleating in the videotape, the kiltmaker first basted all of the pleats, then sewed from waistline to fell. *The Art of Kiltmaking* advised sewing from waistline to fell, one pleat at a time, without basting. This made the experience of sewing the 32 pleats very difficult for a first-time kiltmaker. The principle investigator also noticed that one of the authors, Elsie Stuehmeyer, had learned to make kilts in Glasgow, while the principle investigator's sample of kiltmakers was located in Edinburgh. A point was made to carry over this observation into the Phase II inquiry when kiltmakers in other parts of Scotland would be observed and interviewed.

Overall, the exercise of making the kilt informed Phase II, as it clarified major parts of the kiltmaking process for the principle investigator and uncovered challenges such as shaping and pleating that kiltmakers face when practicing. The principle investigator utilized this information in the development of the Phase II interview schedule, in that questions regarding components of the kilt were deleted and replaced with questions that focused on kiltmakers' process. In addition, themes that emerged from Phase II observations and interview data were similar to the principle investigator's experiences during the process of kiltmaking. For instance, the theme of *planning* that emerged from the interviews indicated

that planning the kilt is a major step in kiltmaking. This was in line with the principle investigator's experiences in kiltmaking.



Figure 23: The final ensemble entitled “Scottish Punk,” including the kilt.

Phase II

Phenomenology

“An inductive, descriptive research method,” phenomenology is a qualitative inquiry technique used in an attempt to understand participants’ “lived experiences” (Omery, 1983, p. 50). Hence, the methods used in phenomenological inquiries focus on the lived experience of participants (Omery, 1983). Researchers conducting phenomenology generally attempt to accomplish three goals when viewing the phenomenon under study: (a) avoid any

preconceptions, (b) delimit the range of the experience, and (c) attempt to discover participants' experiences during the course of the inquiry (Omery, 1983). The nature of phenomenological inquiry is reflexive; the researcher admits potential biases and discloses them and incorporates them into the analysis.

The kiltmaking process and knowledge transmission amongst kiltmakers could be characterized as a phenomenon, as it involves a process that cannot be quantified (Creswell, 2015). Phenomena manifest in the “lived experiences of individuals” (Creswell, 2013, p. 14), and can be summed up in the cumulative set of “conscious” (Creswell, 2007, p. 58) experiences of a group of individuals who experience the phenomena. Description (not analysis) of those experiences is documented in attempt to explore how these phenomena interact and impact the lives of individuals. Before any efforts are undertaken, the principle investigator engages in a process that Moutsakas (1994, p. 90) calls “epoche,” where preconceptions of the participants and locations under study are recorded by the principle investigator, and act as a guide of comparison during “Phenomenological Reduction,” which is the process of coding data and grouping data segments into themes.

Sample Description

Sample size. Creswell (2007, 2013) recommends a phenomenological sample size of three to ten participants. However, the principle investigator considered the 4 interviews that he had conducted in Phase I, and also that qualitative standards usually recommend a average of ten participants (Creswell, 2007). Rossman & Rallis (2012) also note that sample sizes should take the amount of data yielded by each interview into account (if each interview is quite long, then fewer participants are required, and if interviews are shorter, then more participants are required). Based on the interviews conducted in the Phase I study, kiltmakers

are able to realistically sit for 30 minutes to be interviewed while working. Therefore, the principle investigator strategized to conduct interviews of a similar length in workrooms in shops and kiltmaking schools. Based on the study's sample size requirement ($n=15$), and the four interviews conducted in Phase I, 13 additional interviews were conducted in Phase II, resulting in 17 total participants for the study.

Description of snowball sampling. This method of sampling is appropriate when a researcher is unfamiliar with a phenomenon or the depth of its intricacy. Using this method, researchers only begin to develop the sample after they have initiated the interviewing process, by asking current respondents to suggest others who may be willing to participate in the study (Creswell, 2015). This approach develops a reliable participant base, as future respondents are vetted through individuals who are currently involved in the study, and is a step in assuring "transferability" (Guba, 1981, p. 86). Since the principle investigator determined that Phase I participants were well-versed in knowledge of the phenomenon under study, the additional participants recommended by them seemed equally knowledgeable (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, the principle investigator contacted the Phase I participants, asking them to recommend other individuals for Phase II. One participant recommended contacting a firm in the Edinburgh area that had recently begun to train kiltmakers under the auspices of the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA). In addition, another SQA-approved Scottish educational institution specializing in kiltmaking had been contacted in advance and confirmed their participation.

Participant location. Potential participants were located in the greater Edinburgh, Scotland area and in the Scottish Highlands. This on-site, face-to-face interaction allowed the principle investigator to observe participants in their actual setting for an entire day at each

location. During Phase II was the second time that the principle investigator visited Firm 1. Guba (1981) notes that “prolonged engagement at the site” (p. 84) and “persistent observation” (p. 85) allows the researcher to note biases on both their own and their participants’ parts, as well as to develop an idea of aspects of the location and participants. This increases “credibility” of the study (p. 84).

Description of participants. Table 3 details participants’ firm association, gender, age, years of experience, and status as student or practitioner. Firms that did not participate in Phase I of the study were assigned new numbers. Phase II participants had not participated in Phase I and chose their pseudonyms and were assigned new participant numbers. Firm 1 from Phase I of the study consented to continue their participation in Phase II, with additional kiltmakers being interviewed. This firm is located in on the Royal Mile Edinburgh and caters to a fashion-forward kilt clientele. Firm 3 is also located on the Royal Mile, and caters to traditional kilt-wearing customers. This firm also sells many accoutrements to kilts. Firm 4 is a non-profit educational institution in the Scottish Highlands that teaches kiltmaking, in addition to running a small non-kilt-oriented gift shop selling knick knacks to generate extra revenue.

Table 3. Demographic information on Phase II participants, including Phase I participants. All names are pseudonyms.

Participant #	Pseudonym	Firm No.	Gender	Approx. Age	Yrs. Of Experience	Student Yes/No
5	Jessica	1	Female	36-40	14	No
6	Elizabeth	1	Female	56-60	3	No
7	Anna	1	Female	26-30	1	Yes
8	Charlotte	1	Female	50-55	5	No

Table 3. (Continued)

9	Mary	3	Female	41-45	24	No
10	Robert	3	Male	50-55	32	No
11	Kim	4	Female	50-55	2	Yes
12	Morgan	4	Female	41-45	1	Yes
13	Karen	4	Female	56-60	1	Yes
14	Arlene	4	Female	41-45	1	Yes
15	Cookie	4	Female	60+	7	No
16	Bryne	4	Female	46-50	10	No
17	Taylor	4	Female	50-55	25	No

Consent and IRB. Both Creswell (2007, 2015) and Rossman & Rallis (2012) state that gaining permission from participants (either individuals or institutions) and IRB is the first key step in beginning to collect qualitative interview data. IRB granted e-mail consent (Appendix J) to the principle investigator to interview additional employees of the currently participating Edinburgh-based kiltmaking firms. Also, the director of the kiltmaking school in the Scottish Highlands also gave permission to interview students and instructors, and indicated that they will provide assistance in assembling a sufficient number of participants.

The Iowa State University IRB Committee instructed the principle investigator that no additional IRB permissions or revisions would be needed, as long as the questions used in the dissertation stage of the study were within the same scope as the pilot study.

Data Collection

Interview descriptions and lengths. The principle investigator conducted semi-structured, open-ended interviews that utilized an interview schedule (Appendix G). The interview questions were based on the pilot study questions; however, the principle investigator found that there were too many questions during the pilot study process, thus making it unrealistic to ask every question. The original interview schedule over-emphasized follow-up questions that the principle investigator did not find necessary to ask. The principle investigator also found that manufacturing-centric questions seemed to be less important to participants in terms of explaining their experiences as kiltmakers. Therefore, the original interview schedule was refined to focus only on those questions that pertained to the objectives of the study, inquiry flowed from a “grand tour” question of “What are your experiences as a kiltmaker?” (Seidman, 2013, p. 87) to more specific questions based on the interactions that the principle investigator had with the participants. This approach allowed the principle investigator to adhere to a phenomenological approach that centered on participants’ lived experiences (Rossman & Rallis, 2012).

Because the principle investigator interviewed kiltmakers in the field as they worked, the length of the interviews needed to be considered, so as not to be disruptive to the participants’ workplaces. Both Rossman & Rallis (2012) and Seidman (2013) note that the principle investigator must be cognizant of respecting the environment when in the field. Therefore, the principle investigator allotted a 30- to 45-minute timeframe for each interview.

Pseudonyms. Seidman’s (2013) recommends that participants be allowed to pick the assumed name that will be used to identify them. This was the first interview question that the participant was asked after signing the informed consent form. During data analysis and

reporting, all participants were called by their pseudonyms, in order to protect individuals' confidentiality, and in line with IRB requirements.

Major points of the interview schedule. Guba (1981) notes that researchers should accommodate for “instrumental shifts” (p. 86), or revisions to the interview schedule, based on revelations that the researcher discovers in the course of conducting the study, and that this enhances the “dependability” (p. 86) of a study. Development of Phase II interview questions was informed by a combination of the Phase I data and the interviewer's experiences during Phase I research. Specific questions regarding kilt content and construction were deleted from the Phase II interview schedule, as initial data indicated that indigenous knowledge transfer was a pivotal experience to kiltmakers, as opposed to sewing the kilt. Questions asked of participants focused on three main areas. First, participants were asked for demographic details including gender, age, education level, and years of experience in kiltmaking. Second, participants were asked about their experiences learning and practicing kiltmaking, including what sort of training was involved, where it took place, who provided instruction, and how each participant incorporates their training into career practice. Third, participants were asked to provide their understanding of gender and economic issues, such as the status of kiltmaking industry, governmental involvement in the industry, the official kiltmaker Certification Program, marketing the kiltmaking industry, and how gender factors into kiltmakers' opportunities.

Data Analysis

Coding and theme development process. Interview recordings were transcribed by professional transcriptionists, and the principle investigator compared taped interviews to the transcriptions to ensure accuracy. The principle investigator engaged in “horizontilization”

(Creswell, 2007, p. 61, Moutsakas, 2004, p. 95)—underlining important comments from participants that have the potential to convey a comprehension of participants’ experiences with the phenomenon under study. The principle investigator then developed “clusters of meaning” from these comments into thematic groups. Once themes were developed, these themes were used to write both “textural” and “structural descriptions” (Creswell, 2007, p. 61); these are summaries of individuals’ understanding of the phenomenon, accompanied by a narrative of how the situation or location impacted participants’ experiences.

Steps for Accuracy and Dependability

Inter-rater reliability. Miles & Huberman (1994) advise calculation of inter-rater agreement as a measure of *reliability*. This is defined as a process of comparing codes⁷ developed by a primary coder with those of a second coder. This does not necessarily mean that coders are assigning codes to the exact same text segments, but that they would assign “the same or a similar code” when analyzing the same data. To meet this objective, all transcripts were coded by the principle investigator and second coder (who was the dissertation advisor). Every fourth transcript from Phase II was chosen, and the principle investigator and second coder coded each transcript individually, calculating the inter-rater agreement after each one. This calculation followed Miles & Huberman’s (1994) recommendation of “number of agreements divided by the number of agreements plus disagreements” (p. 64). Initial results fell below 70%⁸ (Miles & Huberman, 1994); therefore, the principle investigator and second coder negotiated codes and re-coded each transcript

⁷ “Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study.” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56)

⁸ Miles & Huberman (1994) note that initial coding agreements will frequently not exceed 70%.

individually until an 80% threshold was reached⁹. The exact inter-rater agreement was 80.22%. Afterwards, the principle investigator utilized codes from the sampled transcripts to develop a code list that was used to both re-code the Phase I transcripts and code the remainder of the Phase II transcripts. Throughout process, there was an ongoing discussion between the principle investigator and second coder regarding codes, and the coding list was modified in an iterative manner during the entire coding stage (Creswell, 2013).

Triangulation. Rossman & Rallis (2012) state that collecting and analyzing various forms of data can lead to a much greater understanding of a phenomenon under study. Creswell (2013, p. 201) also notes that collecting and comparing various forms of data into “convergence” can lead to greater study validity, as differing forms of data bolster each other’s findings. The use of two or more “data sources” used in combination to corroborate “data and interpretations” (Guba, 1981, p. 85) is an effective way to build research “credibility” (p. 84). In the course of this dissertation, the research team engaged in such activities, as Phase II interviews and observations were collected, analyzed, and compared with the Phase I interview, video, and National Museum of Scotland artifacts.

Rich, thick¹⁰ description. The principle investigator developed the phenomenological structural and textural descriptions, as to provide a detailed description (Creswell, 2013) of the various sites, participants, and phenomena encountered while conducting the study. This was achieved through the provision of pictures, maps, and

⁹ Creswell (2013, p. 203) states that agreement between the primary and second coder’s assigned codes should be at 80%.

¹⁰ The goal of the researcher is to provide a rich, thick description that consists of “detailed stories about a small number of cases,” through “close, intimate relationships with research participants.” (Esterburg, 2002, p. 50)

accompanying write-ups that put the reader into the setting being researched. These efforts will also allow the reader to judge “transferability” (Guba, 1981, p. 86) for themselves; the reader will be able to discern if findings may “be transferred to other settings because of shared characteristics” (p. 209).

Reflexivity. Esterberg (2002) states “Who we are shapes the kinds of theories we create and the kinds of explanations we offer” (p. 12). Therefore, researchers must strive to comprehend how their attitudes and opinions direct their areas of inquiry and method selection. The principle investigator also kept a diary of events and observations that he used to create a section of this study to disclose epistemological assumptions that guided his inquiry and that resulted in a presentation of findings with increased empathy to kiltmakers. According to Guba (1981), this is necessary to establish “confirmability” (p. 87) of research.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

As Chapter Three presented methodological procedures for a phenomenological inquiry of the experiences of kiltmakers in the Edinburgh area of Scotland, this chapter will provide the results of the study by viewing emerging themes that evolved from the research questions:

- What is the experience of kiltmaking in the Edinburgh and Keith regions of Scotland?
 - a) What are kiltmakers' experiences while learning and having a career in kiltmaking?
 - b) What are the experiences of teachers?
 - c) What are the experiences of administrators?
 - d) What are the differences between learners' and teachers' experiences?
- 2. How do kiltmakers learn, and then master kiltmaking?
 - a) What differentiates a non-expert learner from an expert (master) kiltmaker?
 - b) What comprises the learning process for kiltmakers?
 - c) What is unique about the Scottish kiltmaking practice, in comparison to other apparel and tailoring professions?
- 3. What are the salient design and production processes utilized in Scottish kiltmaking?
- 4. How are Scottish kiltmakers' practices impacted or informed by societal, and gender norms and/or, political and economic policies?
 - a) What are the gender experiences of female Scottish kiltmakers and how are these experiences similar or different than their male counterparts?
 - b) What understanding do Scottish kiltmakers have of the United Kingdom and Scottish governments' relationship to the Scottish kiltmaking industry?

- c) What are Scottish kiltmakers' views of the Scottish kiltmaking industry in the Scottish economy?
 - d) What are kiltmakers' understanding of the current kiltmaking Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) certification program in the United Kingdom?
 - e) What are Scottish kiltmakers' knowledge regarding Certification Mark and Geographic Indication protections?
 - ii. How does knowledge lead to attitudes towards, and beliefs about these types of protections?
5. How do the unique aspects of kiltmakers' knowledge dovetail into EU Green Paper expectations on establishment of Geographic Indication protection?

This chapter will utilize participants' responses to answer the above research questions, and to substantiate inferences. Chapter Five will then attempt to make connections between emergent themes.

Summary of Artifact Analysis

Based on analysis of artifacts (N=16) at the National Museum of Scotland in Phase I of the research, the principle investigator observed that all pre-1900 kilts were box pleated to the stripe, and contained less pleats (8-13 pleats) than post-1900 kilts (18-30 pleats), which were pleated to the sett. This would be in line with Laird's (2016) assertion that kilts consisted of less fabric (approximately five yards) in the mid-nineteenth century and were pleated to the stripe, and that yardage amounts grew as knife pleating to the sett became more popular through time. The method of closure seemed to also differ on pre-1900 kilt, in that the kiltmaker utilized buttons, instead of straps. This may also be reflective of the fact that kiltmakers of the time used whatever trims were available at the moment. There was;

however, consistency of the construction of the garments. All of the kilts, regardless of year or fabric, were a pleated man's garment and canvassed, although pre-1900 kilts seemed to be fabricated from a lighter weight wool than post-1900 kilts.

Kiltmakers', Teachers', and Administrators' Experiences

Kiltmakers' Experiences

Analysis of the interview data indicated that the over-arching theme of kiltmakers' experiences emerged into three major themes: *tradition*, *opportunities*, and *career*.

Kiltmakers' responses to their experiences revolved around the significance they feel that kiltmaking holds in Scottish culture, and around entering into, acclimating to, and building a career in kiltmaking practice.

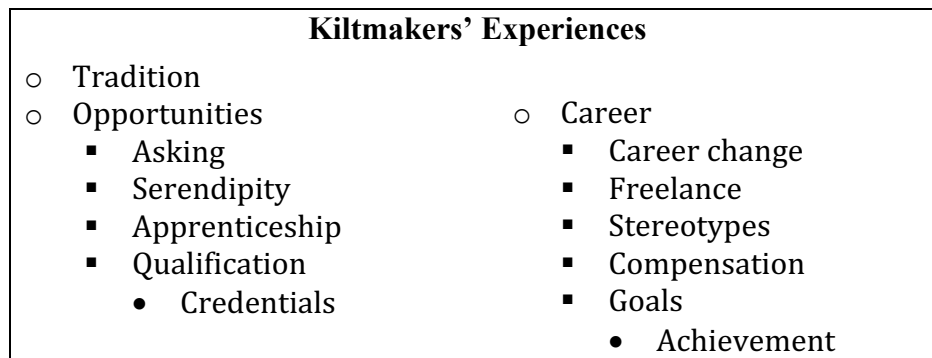


Figure 24. Kiltmakers' Experiences: Over-arching theme, major themes, sub-themes, and micro-themes.

Tradition

Tradition refers to the significance that kiltmakers assign to kilt and kiltmaking knowledge in Scottish culture. Kiltmaking represents a component of Scottish culture to kiltmakers, and the continuation of the body of indigenous kiltmaking knowledge is viewed as an integral to the maintenance of Scottish identity. Jessica spoke about the kilt as a fixture in Scottish culture and the kiltmaker's role in the continuation of tradition:

Well it, it's a prominent role as it's the national dress of Scotland. It's...without the kilt-makers, it would be more...no kilts. (laughs) And because it is heritage, it's, um, it's, it's always...we've always worn kilts.

Anna voiced her happiness about learning the kiltmaking practice, and noted “yeah it is a big part of, uh, Scottish culture, massive part of Scottish culture.” The importance that kiltmakers place upon the kilt as a part of being Scottish prompts their commitment to the kiltmaking practice as a method of carrying on traditions.

Opportunities

The major theme *opportunities*, related to participants' reflections on possibilities of—and barriers to—becoming involved in the kiltmaking practice, how they were introduced to the possibility of a career as a professional kiltmaker, and the method in which they were indoctrinated into kiltmaking practice. The opportunity theme included sub-themes of *asking*, *serendipity*, *apprenticeship*, and *qualification*. The *qualification* theme included the micro-theme of *credentials* that relate to participants' expectations after passing the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) in kiltmaking.

As she stated her enthusiasm to be a kiltmaking practitioner, Anna stated concern about barriers that exist to those who might have potential interest in entering the kiltmaking practice as “they just don't have the opportunity to be interested because there isn't so much advertising about it or, or places to learn.” Jessica echoed Anna's concerns of lack of available outlets to train kiltmakers and added that demand to train outstrips availability of classes. She proposed that social media may be a prime method of communicating opportunities to potential trainees:

...but I think what Firm 3 is doing in Edinburgh because the only place to learn was at Firm 2 and they'd moved out of town, so I think what they're doing and then really advertising that they're doing it because they've...they could have booked their classes two or three times over by what's being said on our Facebook pages that they

could, you know, that they don't have enough spaces to fill the need of some people just want to learn for the sake of learning it.

Asking. Those currently learning and practicing kiltmakers noted both active and passive methods by which they became involved in kiltmaking. The first method that emerged from participants' responses of becoming involved is categorized under the sub-theme of *asking*. Jessica noted that she took the initiative to get into kiltmaking when she "went to [Firm #2] in Edinburgh on the High Street to apply for a job and got a job to make kilts." Betty noted that canvassing established firms is an effective approach in gaining kiltmaking training, as she said "basically, you have to get in touch with a reputable company like [Firm #2]." Mary's employer asked her to learn kiltmaking when she was a salesperson:

Robert and I used to sell kilts, and it was just really quiet one winter, and she just said, "Do you want to learn?" I went, "Aye, all right then." And that's...so, she just taught me from start to finish.

Still, some kiltmakers asked for training in places other than firms. Jessica related that she asked for training while in college, only to be told that it was not something that the institution offered: "I did ask them one day and she said, 'No, you have to figure it out yourself,' and I'm like, 'Ugh, seriously?'"

Serendipity. Other kiltmakers described their involvement in kiltmaking in terms of the sub-theme of *serendipity*, evolving out of chance encounters with others that sparked their interest. Morgan described her conversation with a kiltmaking firm's owner at a craft fair that evolved into her now-career:

I had a conversation with Robert's wife. She was there with her stall and I said, "I'd love to learn how to make a kilt," and she told me to keep my eye on Facebook. Um, so, seen it on Facebook and jumped straight on it, to apply.

Polly discovered kiltmaking through a conversation that she had with a friend who was aware of her personal interests. “Um, a friend told me about the course, I didn’t know about it, and she knew my interest in hand sewing. So, I thought, ‘Okay, I’ll give it a go’.”

Apprenticeship. Participants noted that opportunities to train and practice in the kiltmaking profession may manifest through the sub-theme of *apprenticeship*; where an established firm agrees to hire the person as a trainee and track them into the kiltmaking profession. Charlotte recalls that she started at “Firm 2, who owned a kilt shop in the High Street, took me on, and the head kiltmaker there, Mrs. Davidson, she taught me over a five year period.” After Jessica asked for training at her institution, she eventually landed an *apprenticeship* at a firm, as she noted: “I got trained at [Firm 2] by Terry.”

Qualification. Still other kiltmakers noted the opportunity to train through the sub-theme of *qualification*, under the Scottish Qualification Board’s official Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) course. Anna stated that she was training at a “kilt academy, which is the professional qualification which I’m completing at the moment.” Elsa noted that she had learned kiltmaking through an approved Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) course: “I learned it here and this kilt school, and um, Bryan was the tutor.”

Credentials. The micro-theme of *credentials* evolved while participants spoke about their expectations of *certification*. Mary indicated that she thought that obtaining the certification would lead to increased wages for kiltmakers due to their skill level. “By doing this SVQ, we’re hoping that if they’ve got an SVQ, the standard is there, we can ... Retailers will have to pay.” While speaking about her *credentials*, Elizabeth drew a parallel between the certificate and the expertise that it represents, “I mean I think, I think it’s um, it’s good to get that qualification and, and just uh, it’s good to have that level of training.”

Career

The major theme of *career* emerged from participants' descriptions of their experiences in the kiltmaking profession, and refers to individuals' choice of kiltmaking as a profession, kiltmakers' status in society, and human resources issues, such as compensation and professional development. Sub-themes emerged within *career* having to do with *career change*, *freelance*, *stereotypes*, *compensation*, and *goals*. A micro-theme of *achievement* emerged as participants specifically spoke about their personal *goals* with respect to the Scottish Vocational Qualification course.

Career change. The sub-theme of *career change* developed from participants' explanations of consciously choosing kiltmaking as a career. Responses of kiltmakers ranged from *career change* as a way to stay interested in their employment, to an expressed calling or desire to perpetuate the trade. Elizabeth described her conscious choice to switch into kiltmaking as a career, because she thought it was more interesting: "I think it was, uh, I was just kind of bored with what I was doing and I saw an ad for it and I thought well that might be interested. So, I think that was just a change actually." Arlene noted that her choice to change careers was driven by her alarm that kiltmaking might die out as a profession:

Um, I'd actually read something in the newspaper, sayin' that it was a dyin' art. I was a university at the time, which I wasn't enjoying, and I dropped out, and came here. That was that. Yep. Dropped out of Uni, and came here.

Freelance. Another sub-theme of *freelance* evolved as kiltmakers described the manner in which they maintained a career in kiltmaking. Participants explained that as "outworkers," or freelancers, they have more flexibility in terms of the amount of work that they take on, and looser connections to the firms for which they produce work. Kiltmakers also noted that "outworker" status is the primary mode of employment in the industry. Terry

stated that she only visits her employer's store when she needs to pick up and drop off orders:

...No, I don't really come up at all. I've never...I don't work in the shop. I just come up, get the cloth, the ticket and all the scrap that I need...take some things and go home. And just sit at home. So if I come up, it might be a couple of times a week...

Betty explained that freelance status means that kiltmakers need to work for multiple companies to supplement their income, while the burden is on them to arrange for benefits, "there are girls that work in the house and for several companies and they'll be doing five orders and you know they're paying their own taxes, insurance on the house and stuff like that." Charlotte noted that her career in kiltmaking gives her the ability to manage her own workload, "I can do it when I want, as I want, how many I want."

Stereotypes. *Stereotypes* of kiltmakers emerged as a sub-theme of *career* when participants described how others view their profession. Kiltmakers noted that ageism has been prevalent in the public's perception of kiltmakers. Terry recalled an earlier time in her career:

We used to work at the high street at (traditional kiltmaker's), before we went up to the castle, so we used to the pub...so they used be like, "so what's you doing?" We're all kiltmakers, and we're all in our 20s and 30s...or some in their later 30's. Betty is in her 50's now, so she would have been in her 40s. They used to say "I thought kiltmakers were really old!"

Even though Cookie is an administrator, not a kiltmaker, she noted that ageism does exist, but the facts do not bear out the perception:

I know that one site says that most of them are over 60 while we've just had uh, uh, a kilt-maker who just had a baby, so unless there's something very unusual I think she's not 60. Um, uh, we have so- all across the board, uh, I'm trying to think of what the youngest one has been, thirties.

Compensation. Another sub-theme of *compensation* emerged under the *career* theme, and refers to challenges that kiltmakers experience in being paid equitably for the

work that they perform and the specialized knowledge that they possess. Elizabeth indicated that kiltmaking is a specialized trade, and those who practice it should be paid: “I mean it, it’s a, it’s a skill so it should be, um, it should be, uh, better paid you know.” Bryan stated that kiltmakers receive little in terms of the proportion of overall retail price, when kiltmaker compensation should represent a much greater proportion of the price:

...because you go, “Oh,” you know, four, five hundred pounds, and you’re thinking, well half of that is material, and the rest is my labor. You know? And I learned this trait. You can’t do it, yet I’m getting less than minimum wage for making it...

Goals. *Goals* was the last sub-theme that emerged from the *career* major theme, as kiltmakers expressed their desire to develop themselves in their profession. As a kiltmaking student, Arlene expressed her desire to build her skills over time, in order to master the kiltmaking craft:

...I mean, you look back, at maybe, last year or the year before, how far the students have come. Like, myself, personally, as well. It’s just...you learn so much, all the time. And if the masters have been doin’ it longer than us, then, we can get to that stage at some point, too...

Polly spoke about the body of knowledge and expertise that veteran kiltmakers have built up over time, and stated her *goals* of becoming like them, “I just think it’s fascinating to see somebody with that knowledge and they can show the end product and that’s what it should look like and it’s something to aim for.”

Achievement. The micro-theme of personal *achievement* evolved as being specific to kiltmakers in the Scottish Vocational Qualification program, and refers to students’ feelings about finishing the class and receiving the certificate. Elsa spoke about her feelings of *achievement* when customers come to her home to get measured for a kilt:

...and it’s nice that you’ve taken the time to learn this new skill, and you get some sense of achievement at the end of it. You know, I know it’s only a bit of paper, but that bit of paper is framed and in my wee sewing room, so that anybody who comes

to the house to get measured for anything, it's there, to show that, yeah, I've got the qualification...

Arlene spoke of the qualification in terms of motivation and as a culminating experience, "I think it's, it's nice to have somethin' that you work towards. I mean, I' a qualification in any field ... I think it's nice to have somethin' to go for at the end," while Polly noted the qualification as the entire reason for entering the qualification course, "I mean, that's why I'm interested in doing the course is because I want a qualification at the end of it."

Teachers' Experiences

Teachers' Experiences emerged as an over-arching theme from interviews with kiltmaking teachers, comprised of major themes *heritage*, *open door*, *passion in educating*, and *verification*.

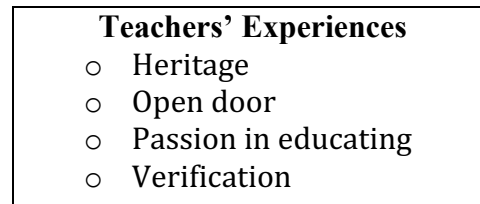


Figure 25. Teachers' Experiences: Over-arching theme and major themes.

Heritage. In the first emergent major theme of *heritage*, kiltmaking teachers noted that their teaching mission was driven by their observed need to pass on kiltmaking knowledge, in order to perpetuate the practice. Mary noted the perpetual importance of the kilt in Scottish culture over the years and her interest in helping to preserve the body of kiltmaking knowledge:

...um...historically...I mean, the past 150 years, kilts stayed the same, it's been made the same way, and I would like to carry that tradition on. Um, there is...needs to be, because there is a good chance it would die off if we don't carry it on...

Bryan commented that part of her drive for teaching kiltmaking is due to the fact that the kilt is unique in terms of its representation of Scottish national dress:

I think it's really important, actually, I think it's...and I think it's fun. I think it's, like, you know how people have like a national dress, like, you know, some of them can be, you know, like...you know, yeah, exactly, you know, I think we're really lucky it's just a kilt. (laugh)

Open door. Although themes regarding specific instructional methods emerged from students, rather than instructors, a major theme of *open door* developed when kiltmaking teachers described working with students in a flexible manner during the course of—and beyond—students' initial training. Robert spoke about the importance of students being able to come in while they are training, so that they are able to learn in real-time:

...uh, but because it's an open house, an open door situation we have, um, some students that come in, uh, because they have problems or they're, they're not sure how to do it. So, um, uh, they can come back in any time. So, say I've been waiting a week before coming back to say, "Oh, I've got a problem here, I'm not sure how to do it. Um, how, how can we do it?" Uh, then they can just pop in any time, um...Uh, and just we, we, we can spend five, ten minutes [working out the problem]...

Bryan noted that students regularly return to her for clarification and guidance after being certified:

...they come back here, a lot of the girls just come back to mark their kilt, just to double check that is that...is that what you would do, or whatever, you know? They can pop in at any point in time, and I'm there just to support them, for sure, there's a support network there for them...

Passion in educating. *Passion in educating* emerged as a major theme when teachers spoke about love of their job, and refers to both the satisfaction that teachers experience during the process of teaching students, as well as the commitment that they have to teaching. Bryan expressed *passion* for her job when she spoke about her present and past students' involvement at the school, "I think everybody enjoys it, they come back, anyway, so I must be doing something right. And I just...I just love...I love it." Robert spoke about the joy that he derives from doing his job, "The benefit for me is because I'm passionate about what I do, um, the job I do is a joy to me as opposed to a chore."

Instructors explained that this feeling emerges from their time with the students in the studio environment. Bryan noted that she appreciates the interaction that occurs when diverse groups of students come together to learn creative practice:

I'm one of the luckiest people, I think I've got such a lucky job, yeah, definitely, I love coming in here and doing this, for sure, and, like, all these people, as well, they are absolutely ace. You know, and it's...lot lots of people from all walks of life, and we all come together, and we're all creative together, and we are all making these beautiful garments, and yeah, it's great, I love it.

Bryan went on to express her *passion* crystallizes when students have finished the course:

...the end, when they've all finished their kilts, and that proud moment when they're skipping up the-the aisle, and they've got this swaying, and they're just so...they're just for themselves, and I'm just, like, that's what it's about, definitely, for sure...(laughs)

Cookie agreed that the instructor's satisfaction is derived from students' success when she stated:

...um, and uh, we, we it's just, just absolutely lovely to see uh, kilt-makers on their first kilt and when they're finished uh, to see the pride in the face when they have actually completed something that is so absolutely special...

Verification. A last major theme of *verification* emerged from teachers specifically involved in the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ), as they noted accountability was a major part of their job as an instructor. *Verification* refers to the kiltmaking instructor's critical responsibility of assessing and compiling information regarding the student's progress in the course, along with their accountability of teaching skills. Bryan spoke about the specific items that she must compile in order to provide proof of a student's progress to the Scottish Qualification Authority:

You have got to have evidence of six kilts, you've got to have paperwork, you've got to have photographs, you've got to have the kilts to the people wearing the kilts, there's so much evidence that you have to produce for each kilt before you can be qualified. Or...

Mary stated that there are several levels of assessment that occur on a consistent basis, both on the teacher and student level:

I'm the assessor. So, I'm helping them [the students] through. Teaching them and helping them through. We have an internal verifier, who isn't actually a kiltmaker, because there isn't any verifiers who are kiltmakers, but she's in the textile industry, so she'll come in and make sure I'm teaching correctly- Then, we'll have an external verifier who will come in and be sort of the same thing. Make sure Robert's running the whole thing correctly, and...so, we are being assessed each way, so it's mainly my teaching that will be assessed, and proof that they're all doing their work.

Administrators' Experiences

Administrators are those who are in charge of firms and institutions that administer the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) in kiltmaking. Major themes of *tradition*, *industry forces*, *lack of respect*, *standards*, and *business model* emerged from the data with respect to the over-arching theme of administrators' experiences. These themes related to characteristics of the kiltmaking business.

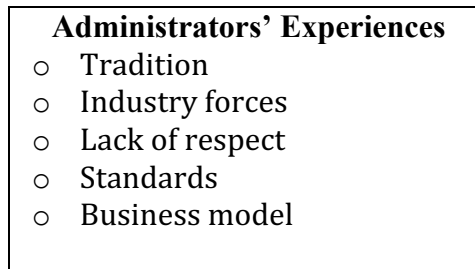


Figure 26. Administrators' Experiences: Over-arching theme and major themes.

Tradition

The first major theme to emerge under administrator experiences was *tradition*, which refers to the importance of the kilt in the scheme of history and symbols that comprise Scottish identity. Administrators' responses related to the kilt in Scottish history and culture. Robert noted that there is an overall lack of appreciation of the role that the kilt has played in Scottish history:

The Scottish regiments, when they went in the First World War, went into battle with kilts. And they were in the trenches with kilts. Um, we get quite, quite a few people who've come in who's granddad is, is, was in the First World War, and they want to get their kilts revamped, uh, because they want to get married in the particular kilt. And it, we tend to forget the history of what we have got. Uh, and it's something that we should be shouting about, because the history we have through this is much better than most other nations, if you know what I mean. Um, uh, and what, what's sadly lacking is, is the, the history of what's gone before.

Cookie spoke about the kilt in terms of a set of icons that are widely recognized as representing Scotland, and noted that these symbols are important in terms of marketing and promotions for Scottish products and tourism, "...it's a very, very valuable part of Scotland I mean it's uh, um, it's like heather, whiskey, and it's very much what we promote uh, as so this is Scotland."

Industry Forces

Industry forces evolved as another major theme through administrators' responses, and refers to a progression of negative events that have occurred in the Scottish apparel industry over time. Robert commented that his business partnership dissolved due to the stress of the Recession, "Um, um, for six years with it in partnership, um, and the partnership went sour in 2008, and when the big crash came, um, things were a bit tight." He went onto note that over time, the number of workshops producing kilts in a traditional manner has decreased:

...the industry has changed over the years, where there was more places where people actually meet in, uh, a formal setting, in, in a, in a workshop. But the number of workshops that are out there now are getting less and less...

Cookie spoke about unemployment that resulted from businesses within the Scottish textile complex closing:

...uh, well in eh, what had happened in [the Scottish Highlands] was um, 1991 uh, possibly early 1990s you know what I mean. Um, the mills start to close down and was a lot of mill workers who actually um...were going to be unemployed...

Lack of Respect

Another major theme of *lack of respect* was expressed by administrators while speaking about the perception of kiltmakers in popular culture. Cookie noted that the public's perception of cheaply made goods as being equivalent in quality to traditionally made kilts affects kiltmakers' perceptions of their skill, "I really resent cheap imports it is not a kilt, which is made up to resemble a kilt. Um, it completely um, demoralizes the kilt-maker who is uh, uh, pride of what he or she is doing." Robert stated that pressure to manufacture cheaper product has resulted in firms' *lack of respect* for kiltmakers, and that he is trying to combat this through his administration of the Scottish Vocational Qualification:

Well, the, the down side with what, what, what's happened with the kilt making is that, that the kiltmaker's always been chucked away in the back. Uh, and what we are trying to do, particularly with SQV thing is we, we're trying to get that change, so people's perception is that, that no, there is kiltmakers. They are real people, actually do stuff. Uh, and they're not all 70.

Standards

Standards is another major theme of importance to administrators, in that administrators stress the critical nature of quality *standards* to students, and feel that the Scottish Vocational Qualification is a step in the right direction to establish clear *standards* in the industry. Cookie remarked about the standards that she and Bryan have established in the workroom:

...so, uh, a quite, quite firm about it we, we have tightened a lot of the things such as the you know the work environment, no coffee cups on tops of tables when you're, you're working you know, if you're having lunch make sure your stuffs...

She went on to state that even though kiltmaking students are held to a high standard in the course, there is not much that can be done about their standards once they leave:

...but, we also have a disclaimer in we teach to the highest standard. That, to, to a high standard, not the highest but it you see, in, in the very, very last statement the

high standard. However, what to do when they leave here we have no say on whether they make a good kilt or not and we make that disclaimer...

Robert spoke about the lack of consistent standards across the kiltmaking industry, and how the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) by the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) is a right step to establish wider-reaching standards:

Now, in, in the industry, uh, the standard, um, has always been variable. Um, uh, and we, we've, we've kind of, we're hopefully we are coming in a, a higher point. So, the, the course that we are doing is, is an SQA level three, um, course. Now, level three is basically the, the SQA set standards as to, um, what, what's, what a course should be.

Business model

The last major theme that emerged from administrators' responses related to the *business model* that they utilize to be able to offer the Scottish Vocational Qualification. *Business model* refers to how administrators satisfy the need to generate income to fund their efforts to host the Scottish Vocational Qualification. Robert outlined a business strategy that balances revenue with kiltmaker training by using his retail operation to fund the school:

...um, uh, the benefit, what, what we're doing is, I'm a retailer at the end, at one side. It's I've got two heads. I've got retail at one side, and I've got the kilt academy on the other side. Uh, and the two marry up perfectly for me...

On the other hand, Cookie described the need to run her school as a business that is dependent on tuition revenue, as funding from other sources has dried up:

...we got European funding for most of the, the, the lands, the time, the kilt school and they got European funding but to take it to that next level which was to include textiles as well. So, that was funding for 2 years and then uh, in 2010 we became totally self-funding. And, so we've turned it right into business, um, we now have a very successful kilt-making school...

Learning and Mastering Kiltmaking

The *learning process* emerged as an over-arching theme from participants' responses, and refers to the interaction between a student and teacher, which results in transfer and

continuation of the chain of kiltmaking knowledge. It is enhanced by the skills that kiltmakers bring into the training setting; however, learners develop a distinct skillset through guidance and interacting with experienced kiltmakers during the learning process. Two major themes of *base skills* and *scaffolding* emerged with respect to the *learning process*. *Base skills* refers to previous sewing experience that learners carry with them into the learning process. A sub-theme of *learning curve* emerged from the *base skills* theme. Here, participants noted differences in amount of time taken to learn and acclimate to kiltmaking, based upon their amount of previous sewing knowledge. Participants noted overall similarities in the learning process in terms of *scaffolding*, or building skills through increasing levels of task difficulty that were the same in both apprenticeships and certification types of training (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008).

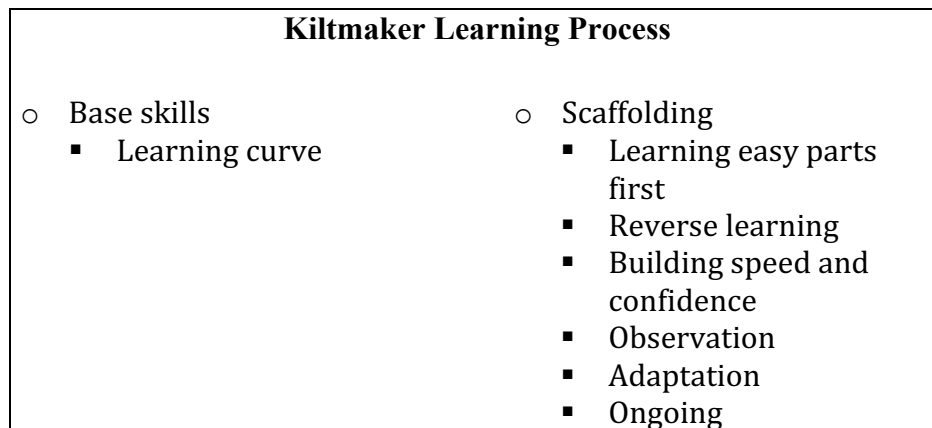


Figure 27. Kiltmaker learning process: Over-arching theme, major themes, and sub-themes themes.

Themes regarding the *learning process* revolved around the interaction that occurs between the learner-kiltmaker under the tutelage and supervision of an experienced kiltmaker who shepherds them through the process. Mary recalled a one-on-one relationship between her and her teacher: “Um, when I learned kilt making, it was just another kiltmaker teaching me. So, she just taught me from start to finish.” Bryan pointed out that there is a core of

kiltmaking knowledge that is passed on and built upon throughout the generations through individualized instruction, which results in an evolution what new kiltmakers learn:

I've been taught how to make kilts like so a lot of kiltmakers before me have got together and found issues and sorted these issues out, and I think I was taught by a really good kiltmaker, and the way I was taught is the way I make kilts, I don't cut corners or anything, right?

Base skills

The major theme of *base skills* is defined as variances in the set of knowledge that students bring to the learning environment that impacts the learning process. Participants' *base skills* ranged from no sewing experience at all to previous sewing experience at the college level. Jessica stated that she had a degree in Textiles from a well-known Scottish University: "I could sew and I could patch and plan from being at university. Um, I'd made other garments from design to finish. Um, so I could ... I knew how to split sizes and adjust patterns," while Zoe recalls her skill level when entering kiltmaking training: "I was totally inexperienced as a sewer. Only just having made a few clothes when I was a teenager and that sort of thing, for myself."

Learning curve. The sub-theme of *learning curve* emerged from *base skills*, as participants stated that *base skills* directly impact the time it takes to learn. When she recalled learning kiltmaking, Jessica noted that her previous experience and formal education in a textiles college helped her to learn quickly:

According to the lady that taught me, I was very quick (laughs) at learning kilt making. I was one of the quickest people she'd ever had. She'd ever trained in kilt-making. And I think that's because, so doing kilts was...I, I picked it up so much easier than the other people. Than if you were a student or going in from scratch learning, than unless you used to sew at home, then you were learning from scratch.

As a teacher, Bryan spoke about *learning curve* differences between students that are dependent upon *base skills*:

...if you're a sewer and you've got a bit of knowledge behind you, at kilt six you kind of know what you're doing. By then, we've got complete non-sewers who come in, so I have to work really hard with them, but maybe it's kilt seven, kilt eight... They're like, "oh, I get it," so they probably have to do a little bit more work than the ones that are already sewers, which makes sense, really...

Scaffolding

The *Scaffolding* major theme emerged from kiltmakers' descriptions of the process of learning kiltmaking. Sub-themes emerged regarding *learning easy parts first, reverse learning, building speed and confidence, observation, adaptation*, and *ongoing* indicated a progression of understanding and mastery of the kiltmaking process, as a learner becomes a more experienced practitioner.

Scaffolding refers to the process of a learner assuming progressively difficult tasks over the process of learning; each task is learned individually, and builds upon the learner's overall skill set (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008). As a teacher in the Scottish Vocational Qualification course, Bryan noted that students go through a process of assuming more difficult tasks with decreasing supervision over time:

Well, initially, initially they do a sample, so the first step is to get their stitches that are on the pleats nice because that is like the biggest thing on the kilt, if your pleats are not nice then your kilt's not going to be good. So, yeah, so it's working... 'cause the, the rule's got stretch in it. So it's working with the rule and getting your stitches as small and as hidden, so that's the first step, is your stitches. The sample and the stitches, definitely. And then thereafter, because they're training on like at least six kilts, so thereafter I'm talking them through the first kilt. So, then the second kilt I will kind of maybe back off a little bit, but they're... I'm obviously there the whole time um, you know, and it's just sort of a repetition thing. Once they're done it six or seven times, they kind of know what they're doing but there's lots of different components in kilt making that they have to learn.

As an apprentice, Lisa stated that there is *Scaffolding* progression that apprentices follow in the workshop, where "Everybody's got to keep moving up, and you've got another layer..."

while as Betty's teacher, Lisa verified this by stating "We all get to move seat up one in the apprenticeship, and we all move up one again, and another apprentice comes in."

Learning easy parts first. The first sub-theme of *learning easy parts first* emerged within the *Scaffolding* theme. Here participants described tasks that learners in both apprenticeships and certification are initially assigned. Tom noted that these tasks might not be sewing-related, but related to the operation of the workshop: "There are lots of girls that start off making coffee and sweeping floors. You just start off with child skills. Like I started off with child skills." As a student in a certification program, Anna also stated that early-stage learning content may not involve sewing: "the beginnings we had some history classes, we learned how to measure, um, kind of like basic stuff about, um, yeah, where the kilts came from, about few things about tartan." Terry recalled that many learners, including herself, started by replacing linings: "To do alterations on kilts to see how they were made without having... 'cause you could take the lining off and see inside of a kilt... see how it would look..." Betty spoke about sewing sample pieces in her apprenticeship: "we'd get a sample—just a scrap of material, and we'd have to pleat up, so that we could sew and match the lines to lines, just so all the pleats matched."

Reverse learning. *Reverse learning* was the second sub-theme that emerged under the *scaffolding* theme, and refers to kiltmaking students being given finished product to dissect, in order to see how the entire garment is fabricated. Terry stated that initially her teacher had her perform small, easy alterations on kilts that involved taking the garment slightly apart. This helped her to learn how kilts were made, without performing more difficult tasks, such as altering a waistband:

...I'd take it into bits and put it back together. It was a good way to learn the structure of a kilt without having to do the difficult part. To do alterations on kilts to

see how they were made without having...cause you could take the lining off and see inside of a kilt...see how it would look... So once you learned how to take the kilt to bits and put it back together, it was easier to learn that bit (the waistband). So kinda backwards (laughs)...

Jessica also commented on performing learning by doing alterations as an apprentice. She noted that all of difficult operations were already complete, and it allowed her to see proper construction:

The apprentices always got the alterations to do, so it's like because the pleats were done, it's ... it was a full kilt, so you didn't have to plan it, you didn't have to sew the pleats. And the canvas and stuff was on, so all you had to was strip and if it was an apron job to make it bigger or smaller, you'd just strip the aprons and then put it back together. So it was a good way how to learn how to, to, to...about a kilt was to take it to bits and put it back together again.

Building speed and confidence. Kiltmakers' responses led to the emergence of the next sub-theme of *building speed and confidence*. Once a student kiltmaker has become proficient at the basics, they must continue to practice; tasks become more routine and easy to perform. Betty commented that it takes time to get past each stage:

Yeah, the first kilt you make probably takes you about 4 or 5 days...(all laugh)...because you've got to go so slow, and you've got to get it so right...but once you've got your full knowledge...that's what the 2 year learnerships all about...your apprenticeship, but it can take a whole week, but your learnership is where you build your speed and your confidence. And then after 5 years, you should be able to make a kilt in a day.

Mary spoke about students' self-doubts while they are in the process of *building speed and confidence*, and noted that reinforcement from an instructor is important.

It's to do with confidence, um, and finding with a lot of the students, they're very, very hard on themselves, even though they're only on their second kilts. And, the slightest thing will have them, kind of...And I keep, I keep trying to say to them, "You're doing great." Because, most of them, their stitching is fabulous.

Observation. The fourth sub-theme of *observation* of a more experienced kiltmaker was common throughout participants' responses who had learned through both

apprenticeship and certification. *Observation* was expressed as a way to achieve clarification on specific techniques, and to discover new approaches to problem solving from others who have amassed a large body of kiltmaking knowledge. Terry reminisced about learning specific pieces of the kiltmaking process from other more experienced individuals through observation:

It's amazing what you pick up just by watching other people. You pick it up from them, so you just pick up in pieces. Yeah, it's just to sitting to watch. So there's always wee fiddly bits that you pick up by watching.

Jessica recalled instances where observation allowed her to tap into the knowledge of more experienced kiltmaking professionals during her apprenticeship:

...so and because I was trained in the workshop at Firm 2, I was sitting next to an experienced kilt-maker. (laughs) And you pick that stuff up. 'Oh, that's how she puts her canvas on. I might try putting my canvas on like that. Oh, that's how she sews that? Oh, I'm going to sew that. I'm going to try that...'

Adaptation. The fifth sub-theme of *adaption* emerged from the data while kiltmakers spoke about becoming proficient at kiltmaking to the point of finally being able to refine one's own technique, although kiltmakers varied in their opinions of straying from the exact ways that they were taught. Terry commented on using other kiltmakers' techniques as a base to develop her own approach, "I think it's just watching different people, then you develop your own way of doing it. There's not one way to do it...like variations on doing it [kilt making]...as long as you end up with a kilt." Mary differed in her opinion, and posited that kiltmakers' decisions to stray from what they've been taught has led to a decline in quality:

...kiltmakers have been trying to make it easier, or making it faster, so they're skipping steps. We're actually wanting to bring it back to where it should be, which you can't really adapt from there at all...

Ongoing. The last sub-theme, *ongoing*, emerged from kiltmakers speaking about their long-term experience at honing their craft. Most agreed that one never stops learning

new techniques and approaches. Kiltmakers stated that every kilt project introduces new problems that kiltmakers can add to their repertoire of expertise, and that they use this information as a repository. When Elizabeth was asked if there was a point that a kiltmaker knows everything there is to know about their job, she replied, “Hmm, I don’t, I don’t really, I think it’s just an on-going process. You know I can’t, I can’t pinpoint one thing. I think it’s, I think it’s just learning. I mean I’m still learning things yet.” Arlene agreed with Elizabeth, and noted that every new kilt project comes with its own challenges, “So, you’re learnin’ something new, probably each time you make a kilt, as well. How to, um, maybe deal with different problems that you didn’t have with the one before.”

Differentiating Learners versus Experts

The over-arching theme of *learners versus experts* evolved when kiltmakers were asked about the differentiation between learners and masters of kiltmaking. The major theme of *expertise* refers to the ability of a kiltmaker to have an almost automatic approach to kiltmaking, where the kiltmaker immediately knows how to tackle each step. Sub-themes that emerged under *expertise* related to *problem solving*, *experience*, and *perpetual learning*. Micro-themes under *problem solving* related to experienced kiltmakers’ *body of knowledge* and *efficiency*.

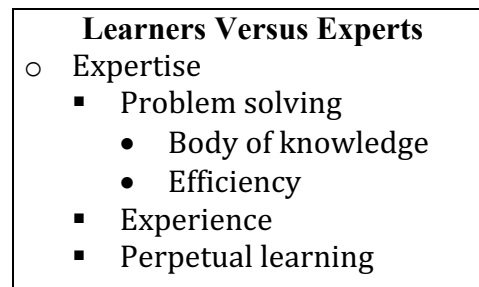


Figure 28. Learners versus experts: Over-arching theme, major themes, sub-themes, and micro-themes.

Expertise

Kiltmakers noted that senior colleagues' *expertise* allows them to solve problems effortlessly. Elsa spoke about Bryan's seemingly effortless process of kiltmaking that appeared to be magical, "Um, oh, goodness. What differentiates...the knowledge, the experience, and...I actually believe Bryan has magic hands. She seems to put her hands on the tartan and it does what she wants it to do." Terry described her teacher in the following terms: "She just, it's just automatic..."

Problem Solving. The first sub-theme to emerge from participants' responses of *expertise* related to master kiltmakers' *problem solving* abilities. Kiltmakers agreed that those who would be considered master-level kiltmakers have the ability to solve problems much quicker. Anna commented that the more experienced kiltmakers in which she works have the ability to work around problems at a much faster pace:

...it comes with experience and practice, so I think that's that's what it is that you know when you're...when I young kiltmaker...you're always going to be making some mistakes and kind of trying to correct yourself when I established kiltmaker probably know how to go around it and just kind of make it perfect really fast...

Robert agreed that more experienced kiltmakers have the ability to work problems out rapidly, "So, what you tend to find is that the, the kiltmakers who are quite prolific in kilt making, um, or have been prolific in kilt making tend to pick things up a lot quicker."

Body of knowledge. Experienced kiltmakers' *body of knowledge* emerged as a micro-theme under *problem solving* when participants remarked that senior kiltmakers are able to solve problems quickly due to the vast amount of knowledge that they have built up over time. Experienced kiltmakers are able to access this information, since they have seen a multitude of scenarios. Robert noted that "the masters are doing it are quicker at doing it because they have a, a, a bigger knowledge of how a kilt should be set up to start with." Polly

attributed more experienced kiltmakers' problem solving ability to "the intricate knowledge that they know themselves that they can pass on." As an experienced kiltmaker, that some would consider a master, Betty noted that her knowledge of various body shapes and fabrics allows her to solve problems with ease. She remarked, "if you have this knowledge, of how the body shape works, and how to manipulate the material, and the body, then you can alter that no problem at all—you can fix that."

Efficiency. Participants also commented on how an experienced kiltmaker's *efficiency* is greater. *Efficiency* refers to the master kiltmaker's ability to achieve a balance between speed and quality. Robert noted:

...the benefit of a master is that they have years of experience in setting the kilts up that they can actually do it a lot quicker, and more effectant, effectively, while still maintaining, uh, the quality of workmanship that they have done...

Anna concurred with Robert in stating that expert kiltmakers are able to achieve both speed and quality, "Well I think definitely quality of work is a big one and the speed of of of [sic] well the process of making the-the speed."

Experience. The next sub-theme to emerge under *expertise* is *experience* and refers literally to the amount of time expert kiltmakers have been actively practicing kiltmaking. There was a difference in participant responses as to what constitutes a master kiltmaker. When questioned about the amount of time that it would take to become an expert, Terry noted that her teacher has had a lengthy career that elevated her to master status, "Cause it's 31 years that Terry's been doing it, since she was 16." Alternatively, as an experienced kiltmaker and a teacher, Bryan was doubtful that there is any clear level of definition of what constitutes a master kiltmaker:

I've been taught how to make kilts like so a lot of kiltmakers before me have got together and found issues and sorted these issues out, and I think I was taught by a

really good kiltmaker, and the way I was taught is the way I make kilts. But then you've got other people who make them in a different way, so really, how can you define who's going to be a master or who's not going to be a master? Because there is so many different ways. So the theme might be like, "Oh, I've made hundreds of kilts, so I'm a master," but to me, they're not, because I can make...but then somebody might be looking at my kilts going "well, to me she's not," because I can do...do you know...so how can you put a level on it, really?

Perpetual learning. The last sub-theme of *perpetual learning* emerged when participants spoke about mastery. Experienced kiltmakers agreed that one can never learn everything there is to know about kiltmaking, and that one's entire career consists of a process of new discoveries and knowledge. When she defined herself as a master kiltmaker, Elizabeth was asked what the most important thing she had learned to become a master. She responded, "Hmm, I don't, I don't really, I think it's just an on-going process. You know I can't, I can't pinpoint one thing. I think it's, I think it's just learning. I mean I'm still learning things yet." As an experienced kiltmaker, Jessica noted that a master could not possibly claim to know everything there is to know in the field, simply due to the number of possible permutations—especially with respect to fabrications, "I think kilt-making it's, it is a continual learning process because there's like thirty or three ... There's loads of tartans. Is it... Is it three thousand? Over three thousand different tartans."

Apprenticeship Experiences

Apprenticeship Experiences emerged as an over-arching theme from participants' responses regarding their training as apprentice kiltmakers, and is defined as kiltmaker training that occurs within a sponsor firm that is not associated with the Scottish Vocational Qualification. Major themes that emerged under *apprenticeship experiences* included *chain of knowledge*, *trial by fire*, and *knowledge control*. A sub-theme of *self-correction* emerged

under the *trial by fire* theme, when participants explained the need to rip out incorrect work while sewing customer orders as trainees.

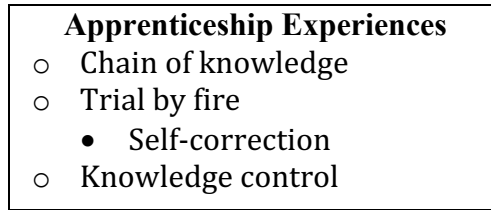


Figure 29. Apprenticeship experiences: Over-arching theme, major themes, and sub-themes.

Betty remembers beginning her *apprenticeship experiences* at Firm 2 with apprehension:

It was quite scary when I was an apprentice, she [talking about a freelance kiltmaker sitting in the room] was sitting at a table with a big like Mohegan [laughs] like one of those [makes a gesture to her hair to illustrate a Mohawk haircut]. I was scared...there's punk rockers!

Terry noted that she began as an apprentice shortly after graduating college, "I've got an Honors Degree in Clothing Manufacture. So that's why it was probably quicker for me to pick up and went straight as an apprentice." She then went on to contrast her training with the Scottish Vocational Qualification training:

I didn't do the formal training in the apprenticeship, which you would do in a 3-year qualification. It takes 5 years to do it. 3 year learnership, 2 year trainership...but 'cause I'd been sewing, I just got on with it. And I've never done the qualification.

Chain of Knowledge

Kiltmakers who trained as apprentices commented on the *chain of knowledge* that had occurred previous to their training, which is defined as previous generations that had trained their trainer. The unique aspect of *apprenticeship* is that knowledge is perpetuated within a firm, and the student becomes the trainer. Terry recalled the line of trainers within Firm 2:

...there was a really old kiltmaker and she trained and then Betty has taken over as head and she's doing it. Yeah, and [old kiltmaker] was...god knows how old she is... I'm not sure. If she is, she'll be 100-something...

Betty then recalled that she learned from [master kiltmaker], and that [master kiltmaker] “learned from [owner of Firm 2’s] father...,” then went on to state that as apprentices improved, they were moved to more complex tasks, and a new apprentice was brought in, “We all get to move seat up one in the apprenticeship, and we all move up one again, and another apprentice comes in.”

Trial by Fire

The second major theme to emerge from the *apprenticeship* theme was *trial by fire*. As kiltmaking apprentices have not yet acclimated to kiltmaking, they are given tasks to justify the cost of training. These tasks usually involve random kilt alterations, and the trainee is given little guidance. Elizabeth noted that she “went straight into making the kilts.” Jessica recalls little coordination of these types of jobs during her training:

...yeah, we just did...made whatever kilt was next in the pile. If it was a ladies kilt, a kid’s kilt, a boy’s kilt. Which I think was good when I worked at, at Firm 2 in the workshop for the, for a big shop that there was...There was always kilts to do, but there was always alterations to do as well. People always came in needed kilts fixed, or taken in, let out, so, um, one way to learn how to make a kilt was to take it to bits...

Self-correction. Since kiltmaking firms that host apprentices engage in *trial by fire*, and mandate trainees to work on actual customer orders, student kiltmakers are required to engage in the emergent sub-theme of *self-correction*. This refers to apprentices’ discovery that they’ve done something incorrect, and are told by the head kiltmaker to try again. Betty remembered how [master kiltmaker] used to ask her to rip out stitches on work:

If you’ve got one little thread—one little thread out and it was slight of step, [old kiltmaker] used to make me unpick it. I’d say “One thread, you’re not gonna see that!” I was forever unpicking. But I think that’s how we really got so good at it.

Jessica recalls making a female dancer's kilt and learning from the realization that she had made the kilt incorrectly. She also differentiated a female dancer's kilt from a traditional men's kilt:

I only ever made one dancer's kilt, and I made it like a ladies kilt because it said a ladies dancer kilt, and I just thought, "It's a ladies kilt." (laughter) And I made it completely wrong. (laughter) The dancer's kilts are...they're shaped like a ladies', but they're made like a gent's. You've got to add the extra canvas, the extra structure because they're wearing them for a competition. They're going to be spinning around a lot. They're going to be jumping around, so the kilts are moving and then they've got to be structured and it's because it's part of their ... I'm sure, I think they get marked on their appearance as well as their dancing. It's got to be perfect, and it's got to stay where it's put, and not swing round when the dancers moving so when they've finished the dance, the pleats are at the front instead of the back. (laughter) So I, I don't think I ever made a ladies' dancer's kilt (laughter) after that!

Knowledge Control

The last emergent major theme under *apprenticeship experiences* was *knowledge control*, and refers to kilt firm owners' compartmentalization of tasks assigned to in-house kiltmakers, in an attempt to relegate how much knowledge employees acquire. When used, this approach is an attempt to prevent kiltmakers who are trained by the firm to form their own enterprises. As a head kiltmaker, Betty admitted that this strategy was used in her firm:

...so then some of the girls might just sew up certain parts, cause [owner] didn't want the girls to know how to [make the whole kilt] cause then you could go away and make a kilt and do it for anybody...

Jessica recalled that in-house kiltmakers were given the kilt after the initial planning stage had been completed:

...it was kilts that were already pre-planned because planning is quite a difficult stage to learn, so if you can make a kilt from planning, if you can get that under your belt, every kilt is made the same after it's planned. So you...Tom used to plan kilts or one of the other ladies used to plan the kilts and then we would work from there...

Certification Experiences

Certification experiences emerged as an over-arching theme from participants' responses regarding their training in the official Scottish Vocational Qualifications (SVQ) program, and is defined as kiltmaker training that occurs within a Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) approved school or firm that is associated with the Scottish Vocational Qualification. Major themes that emerged under the *certification experiences* related to *selection, assessment, course requirements, flexibility, mentorship, and benchmark*. A sub-theme emerged under the *mentorship* minor theme relating to *help*, and refers to assistance that is provided to student kiltmakers as they progress through the course.



Figure 30. Certification experiences: Over-arching theme, major themes, and sub-themes.

As an expert kiltmaker who was involved in the development of the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) for kiltmaking, Betty spoke about how the course came about:

Yeah, well, the qualification came about when the Board of Education asked every...kilt-maker in Edinburgh and Lothian and that to put forward a project um to see how their standards of work can be, and Firm 2 was one of the—whole of the—well wasn't it Britain, so they won the right to do that, and over the next 6 months to a year it was roughly, we would meet with the Board of Education and we went through all the standards like health & safety, right down to customers' buttons—making them up—we went through office sales and the whole procedure as in one qualification. So that's—it's up and running now... Yeah, you have to be able to go into a shop and measure a customer us, find out what the customer wants, advise him of the best route to take, and then tell him how long it will take. And then you have to go to the office side of it, do the office side of it, then you have to go through the

whole kilt-making section, then there's a whole health & safety process through that, then there's a pressing section, the office section, and the qualification goes right from A to Z. It goes over the whole span.

Robert confirmed: (a) his firm is officially offering the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) course, (b) that the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) of Level Three implies that certain standards are being adhered to and verified, and (c) that it is a mid-level difficulty course in the scheme of all courses the SQA offers. He noted:

...so, the, the course that we are doing is, is an SQA level three, um, course. Now, level three is basically the, the SQA set standards as to, um, what, what's, what a course should be. Um, and level three is, is a kind of moderate quality course. But, everything, and everything, because everything, and particularly 'cause we are, this is our first year at doing SQA course, um, and the SQA are gonna, um, verify every single student that goes through. So, everything is marked off by the SQA...

Cookie noted that there is an intense amount of documentation that must be completed for the course, and that supplementary materials such as manuals on diverse subjects are created through partnerships between the school and the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA):

...there are reams of paperwork that we do already for SQA. It's quite intense of a, I just finished an 84-page quality assurance manual to cover all aspects of health and safety to do uh, um, uh, work environments, safety at work, all of that sort of thing is covered within that course. And we don't do machine we only do hand sewn...

Selection

Selection emerged as a major theme under the *certification* theme when kiltmakers spoke about the process of picking students to fill seats in the Scottish Vocational Qualification course. Robert noted that there is a *selection* process that occurs at his firm that offers the course:

...we have said that we, we have picked, uh, there was 35 students that came to the open days. Yeah, and we've picked 19 of them, because 19 of them, we were gonna stick to 20, right about 20 mark for the students...

Although she is not enrolled in the course, Jessica noted that it was common knowledge in the kiltmaking community that the *selection* process for Robert's course was competitive, due to the limited number of seats available:

...but I think what Firm 3 is doing in Edinburgh because the only place to learn was at Firm 2 and they'd moved out of town, so I think what they're doing and then really advertising that they're doing it because they've...they could have booked their classes two or three times over by what's being said on our Facebook pages that they could, you know, that they don't have enough spaces to fill the need of some people...

Assessment

Assessment emerged as the second major theme under *certification*, and refers to various points in the Scottish Vocational Qualification class where students' knowledge is tested to determine their skill level. Robert noted that students in his course are tested upon entry to establish a base line, "we have done, um, a sort of, uh, a test on the students when they came in to start with," while Elsa noted that there is a test at the end of the course, in which "we had to sit like it was like a new test on my last day here, sitting like it was an exam kind of thing." These assessments combine with the documentary proof of the kilts made during the program to establish students' level of knowledge.

Course Requirements

Participants also addressed the minor theme of *course requirements* while speaking about the overall course. *Course requirements* refers to the specific activities that students must engage in while in the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) course, and subject matter that must be covered while taking the course in order to pass and satisfy the Scottish Vocational Authority (SQA). As a course instructor who learned in an apprenticeship, Mary compared the current *course requirements* with her own training:

...um, now, you have to follow an actual schedule. Um, the SVQ, the SQA, has to have proof that everybody's doing everything, so there's a lot more paperwork. Whereas I never had any, any form of paperwork whatsoever when I was doing my kilt. Now, the lassies have to do health and safety, they have to, you know, have everything on top of actually making a kilt...

She then commented that students must make a total of six kilts during the course, but stated that the guideline for quality is set at a lower bar than her standards, "Because you have to do six kilts, but it doesn't state, um, if they have to be good kilts or not. So, we, we want them to come out and be better than what the SVQ actually states." As a student in the course, Anna noted that general *course requirements* were outlined at the beginning:

...eh, yes, it has been explained to us at the beginning. Um, we were told we be gonna be making six kilts in traditional ways. So like yeah strictly very traditional, with high waisted, big amount of pleats, uh, no hem just to use selvage uh as the hem so um that's the yeah that's the traditional way of doing it...

As a teacher, Bryan noted that there is a six-kilt requirement that students have to produce more in order to qualify, "So it's six...minimum of six kilts, because if you're a sewer and you've got a bit of knowledge behind you, at kilt six you kind of know what you're doing."

Flexibility

Flexibility emerged as another major theme under *certification*, and refers to the ability of the training firm or school to adapt policies and course cadence to students' abilities and progress. Robert commented that experienced kiltmakers who have not taken the course, but would like the certification could test out by demonstrating their proficiency.

However, the expectations of the course would remain the same:

...I thought we've attracted, um, kiltmakers from other, um, retailers in, in, in [*sic*] Edinburgh. Um, our goal is that we actually get existing kiltmakers who want to take the standard, as well. That they, they, they've been doing it for years, but they, they don't have to go through the whole course. 'Cause, obviously, they can just come in and do a couple of modules on the, on the course to take...to take it up to the level that they need to be. So, as long as they can demonstrate that they...uh, and people who have got certain skills, they can come and, uh, like existing kilt, kiltmakers...as

long as they can show they've got the first six modules. So, um, and that verification, it will be the same. Um, and hopefully, if we get existing kiltmakers in, as well, at least they'll have to go through the verification process with SQA, as well...

Anna stated that the course she is enrolled in is very flexible, and if students need a bit more help, the course may be extended to ensure that they have attained what is needed for certification:

...and so yeah it's it's [*sic*] quite flexible. There is no well we were all kind of the-the course is scheduled for sixteen weeks. However, they are very flexible with us because they do understand that not everyone is fast in sewing or not everyone's got that time to put into it. So if someone is not doing let's say as well as their expecting them to then their fine with them to continue the course after the sixteen weeks...

Bryan concurred with Anna in stating:

...by then, we've got complete non-sewers who come in, so I have to work really hard with them, but maybe it's kilt seven, kilt eight...They're like, "oh, I get it," so they probably have to do a little bit more work than the ones that are already sewers, which makes sense, really...

Mentorship

The next major theme of *mentorship* emerged from *certification* students as they spoke about their teachers, and refers to teachers' ability to encourage or critique students as needed in order ensure their success in the course. Elsa noted that Bryan is always willing to share her knowledge and encouragement, and will also let students know when they need to try again, "Bryan's willing to teach everything and to praise you when you've done something right, but equally she'll, you know, say that's not right, take it back again." As a teacher, Mary noted that *mentorship* allows students to gain a realistic picture of how they are doing in the course:

It's to do with confidence, um, and finding with a lot of the students, they're very, very hard on themselves, even though they're only on their second kilts. And, the slightest thing will have them, kind of...and I keep, I keep [*sic*] trying to say to them, "You're doing great." Because, most of them, their stitching is fabulous. They know

how to set up, and I wouldn't expect that. I expected them to take longer, and they're all very hard on themselves.

Bryan noted that *mentorship* can involve leading a brainstorming session where everyone in the class has a chance for input:

...and I mean, sometimes I say to them, "Listen all the time," because I might use some terminology for one person but different for other person, because you just kind of think how people tick. But also, if another student who is farther on comes up and goes, "well, I think of it like this," so we all kind of work together, it's not just me teaching, it's like, we all kind of work together, and I even say to somebody, "well, how would you explain it? Because how I explain it isn't working." So then we...you know, well maybe we all just go around and..."well, do that, do that," "ah, I get it," and it's just the wording, maybe.

Help. The sub-theme that emerged from *mentorship* related to various *help* that is available to students upon request and how instructors help certification students to problem solve. Bryan noted that *help* usually manifests in terms of requests from students for guidance on specific issues that they find challenging, such as pleading:

...[If a student] is just about finished, and that one there, the way that she had chosen to plead it, I kind of...I was like, well, it looks a bit, you know...so we can make it simpler. So, you know, they are open for me to correct them and stuff. But, like, they come back here, a lot of the girls just come back to mark their kilt, just to double check that is that...is that what you would do, or whatever, you know? So, yeah...

Robert noted that students can come in at any time to ask questions—even if class is not in session, as it is better for them to get rapid answers:

...it's an open house, an open door situation we have, um, some students that come in, uh, because they have problems or they're, they're not sure how to do it. So, um, uh, they can come back in any time. So, say I've been waiting a week before coming back to say, "Oh, I've got a problem here, I'm not sure how to do it. Um, how, how can we do it?" Uh, then they can just pop in any time, um...Uh, and just we, we, we [*sic*] can spend five, ten minutes...

Benchmark

The last major theme under *certification* relates to *benchmark*, which refers to the quality of student that the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) is striving turning out.

Mary made it clear that she does not merely put students through the motions of certification—success in the course has much to do with aiming for excellence, “So it’s not a case of you follow this process, you’re a kiltmaker. No. You follow this process to a specific standard, then you’re a good kiltmaker.” However, Robert noted that there are slight variations in the quality of kiltmakers coming out of the program, due to human differences, “the quality of what that’s coming out of the kiltmakers that we are go, coming through at the moment, and I stress at the moment, because each batch will be, uh, different.”

Kiltmaking Versus Tailoring

When asked their thoughts of similarities or differences between *kiltmaking versus tailoring*, two major themes of *specific skills* and *specific garments* evolved from the interview data. Several sub-themes emerged under *specific skills* that related to *patternmaking*, *mathematics*, and *hand versus machine*.

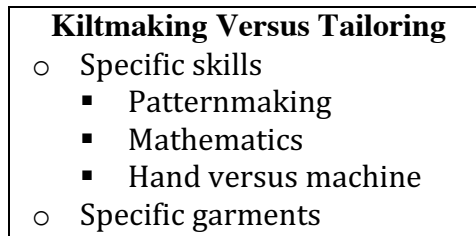


Figure 31. Kiltmaking versus tailoring: Over-arching theme, major themes, and sub-themes.

Specific Skills

Participants responded adamantly when asked about similarities and differences between kiltmaking and tailoring. Betty replied briskly when asked if her job as a kiltmaker is similar to a tailor’s job, and stated that the two involve *specific skills*:

...everybody has this big thing...oooh, you’re a seamstress...no, I’m not a seamstress! It took me five years just to learn the kilt. But they seem to think that you can do skirts and jackets and everything else...it’s totally different. It’s like tailors...like (refers to another person in the room) can do everything. He’s a tailor.

So, it's a totally different job. Just everybody presumes...oh, you can sew. No, I can't do dresses and skirts...

Zoe stated that her knowledge of kiltmaking is very different than that of a tailor:

...well I don't have a great deal knowledge of dressmaking to be honest. Um, I'm specifically kiltmaking, so. I think it's, it's a particular skill. Um, but I don't know anything about making, tailoring or anything like that. I've never actually done that sort of thing...

Mary commented that tailors are probably more versatile than kiltmakers, who specialize in one garment:

...I mean, I wouldn't call myself a seamstress of anything, I'm a kiltmaker, because I can't make other garments, whereas tailors can actually, probably turn their hand to anything, to be honest with you. So, um, ours is a specific trade, so, I mean, I would think tailoring would be a lot harder than kilt making, to be honest with you...

Patternmaking. A sub-theme of *patternmaking* emerged from participants' comments about *specific skills* required in tailoring versus kiltmaking, and is defined as the lack of *patternmaking* in the kiltmaking process. Since Jessica went to college for apparel production, she had experience with patternmaking, and so she contrasted pattern grading in most apparel products with specs in kiltmaking:

...um, we were some of the later on classes we had at college was for like a shop, designed for that shop to do, and do all the cost things and everything. The patterns and that for that show but was a size 12, size 14, size 16 and it was, you know, where this kilt-making is the opposite...it's that that person comes in and gets measured and that's his measurements. And you can't make all the other kilts...

She then went on to describe the beginnings of the kiltmaking process as being close to graphic design, as key points and lines are planned and marked out on the fabric in chalk.

The kiltmaker then sculpts the fabric into the kilt without cutting it:

...cause it's one piece of cloth you're using, so there's no need to [motions like draping & cutting]. Well you draw on the cloth, but it's not cutting bits out and sewing them back together. Just one big section, and then you just fold it up. It's all tools and drawing...one of these [lifts up an L-Square]. That's for your plain fabrics to draw the lines on, to make sure your hem is straight, and then you draw the lines.

So plain cloth is more drawing. I think it's more like taking drawing or graphic design...you draw and then you measure and then you plan out. So you've got to draw all your lines on...they're spaced out. So on a six-yard kilt, you would draw every six inches and that line is each pleat, and then you've got to draw lines that way [motions vertical] as well...

Bryan noted that the kilt is a single, continuous piece of fabric, "It's one garment, yeah."

Tom made a point of noting that tailoring involves pattern making, and that kiltmaking was a different process: "Now those two are very different things D, that's when you're cutting a pattern, like a jacket or a suit. They are very specialized."

Mathematics. The sub-theme of *mathematics* also emerged from participants' responses of kiltmaking versus tailoring skills. Betty noted that there is a specific method that kiltmakers utilize in developing specifications from customer measurements, which is derived from splitting measurements:

...you've got to divide the customer's measurements in half, then half again, because your pleats should be exactly half, and your front aprons should be exactly half. Being a 40 hip, then it would be 20 inches there [points to kilt], then 20 inches at the back. And if you had a 36 inch waist, it would be 18 at the front, and 18 at the back...

Betty concurred, "Gents is half of the measurements in the front and half of the measurements in the back." Arlene commented that kiltmaking more math-oriented than tailoring, as there are many mathematical calculations that need to be worked out in the beginning stages of planning a kilt, and each set of measurements is unique:

...that it's more scientific and mathematical than you'd, that you'd realize. There's a lot of calculations to work out. Um, calculations, things like that, as long as you get your figures right at the beginnin', it makes things so much easier when you do the process of the kilt makin'. Each one has a...complete different calculations that you work out. So, everyone is...each one is completely individual...

Hand versus machine. The last sub-theme of *hand versus machine* emerged under *specific skills* and refers to the tradition of hand sewing kilts, versus machining them. Anna

stated that sewing a kilt by hand differentiates it from other tailored garments that are sewn by machine:

...eh, well...the, well kilts are hand-sewn they they [sic] should be hand-sewn. Not all of them are, but they should be traditionally, they should be hand-sewn. So I think that's the first massive difference between you know a dress that's sewn by machine and a kilt that's made by hand. The effort that goes into it is bigger obviously like you know you know you work just with your hands you don't really have a machine at all and so yeah I guess I guess that's a big thing...

Elsa noted that tailored garments tend to be made on a machine, since there are pattern pieces to put together:

...you know, from, if I make something from a pattern it tends to be done on a sewing machine. So you've got a sewing machine, you've got the overlock, and you've got all these different things, but if it's, um, if it's a kilt, well, the sewing machine doesn't come into it except for one part...

Specific Garments

The major theme of *specific garments* emerged from participants' responses to questions about differences between tailoring and kiltmaking, and relates to garments that are a product of tailoring, as opposed to the garment defined as the kilt.

As a former machine sewer and dress maker, Bryan commented on how the kilt is really a separate category of garment, exclusive from tailored garments:

It's kind of out there on its own, really, isn't it? Because dress making, you can ... dress making is trousers, jackets, whatever, you know, tailing's trousers, jackets, but in a different form because the two are just...I got trained by a dress maker and a tailor, so I've kind of touched on everything. But kiltmaking's on it's own, really. It's like sewing, but a kilt's on its own...because a kilt is a kilt at the end of the day. You know, the structure and the basic...the basics of it all is there, you can do whatever you want to afterwards, but yeah, it's on its own, really I think. Whereas tailoring's jackets, trousers, waistcoats, da-da-da-da, whereas kilt making is kilt making.

Robert noted that there are certain types of garments that are categorized into the tailored garment category:

Well, tailors, uh, uh, people, uh, see tailors as being a tailor garment, which tends to be a, a jacket or, um, uh, um trousers possible, tailored. They, they, they [*sic*] automatically think more of, of jackets and, and, uh, waistcoats, and bits and pieces.

Salient Design and Production Processes

The over-arching theme of *salient design and production processes* is comprised of two major themes of *planning* and *sewing* emerged during interviews with participants, and refers to the planning and construction phases of kiltmaking. Sub-themes of *expertise*, *pattern*, *fit*, and *trial and error* emerged under the *planning* theme. (Please see Appendix F for an extensive list of kiltmaking stages observed while videotaping a kiltmaker).

Salient Design and Production Processes

- Planning
 - Expertise
 - Pattern
 - Fit
 - Trial and error
- Sewing

Figure 32. Salient design and production processes: Over-arching theme, major themes, and sub-themes.

Planning

The first major theme of *planning* emerged while participants spoke about the process of kiltmaking, and is defined as the initial, and most important, stage of the kiltmaking process. Here, the kiltmaker uses customer measurements to draft guidelines on a piece of fabric, while taking fit and pattern into account. This process may be repeated and tweaked multiple times, until an acceptable solution is found. Bryan summed up the *planning* phase of kiltmaking:

Each one's [kilt's]...each one's separate. You get the bare tartan in front of you, and you look at it, and you do your calculations and then you start your...your mark...you start like on a little bit, and you mark out how you want it to be and it all just comes together in the end, really. Sometimes kilts have got so many lines on them it takes

you a good while to figure out the best method to make it the right size and have the right shape.

Robert described planning as, “the setting up of the kilt is to ensure you get the number, correct number of pleats in the back of the kilt.”

Expertise. The sub-theme of *expertise* emerged under the *planning* theme, and refers to the difficulty level of planning a kilt. Jessica stated that “planning is quite a difficult stage to learn, so if you can make a kilt from planning, if you can get that under your belt, every kilt is made the same after it’s planned.” Arlene concurred, “that [planning] can be pretty mind-boggling, I’d say. And then, once you’ve got that, it’s all quite a step-by-step process that you follow for each kilt.”

Pattern. Another sub-theme of *pattern* emerged under the *planning* theme, and refers to the special consideration that kiltmakers give to the tartan sett during the planning phase. The kiltmaker must plan the correct number of pleats, while also honoring the customer’s request that the kilt be pleated to the stripe or sett. Terry’s interview was conducted while she was being videotaped making a kilt. She noted the following as she was beginning to plan out the pleats of the kilt:

We’re starting from the center of the cloth...that is where my pin was—right in the center [points to pin in cloth]. And then you just come back to find the center. So you could pick that one [points to part of the pattern], or pick the blue. It just goes on top...so...the next one would be the green [points to how the tartan pattern is lining up and laying out in the pleats]. So you pick the next green back. So there are different ways, depending on the size of the sett, like depending on how the setts are, you could plan it backwards, so you would go that way instead [lays out a few pleats matching the warp & weft pattern intersections]. You could pick up the pleats a bit, makes it a bit shallower, but you get more pleats.

Robert noted that kiltmakers must take the *pattern* into account in the *planning* stage, as it requires the kiltmaker to be aware how pattern, fit, pleats, and aesthetic work together:

...because, they, they continually get, um, uh, a new tartan that they have not, not dealt with before, and they have to work it out quickly as to how, uh, uh, [*sic*] how they can get the number, correct number of pleats, and the correct sizing into the kilt...

Fit. The sub-theme of *fit* emerged from *planning* and refers to the kiltmaker's awareness of how to shape the garment to accommodate the customer's shape. Bryan noted that customers' bodies vary, so the kilt fit varies, she remarked that kiltmakers "have to learn a bit different, body shapes, because everybody has got a different body shape." Zoe stated that she can tell a quality kilt when she sees it:

...I think you can, you can spot a kilt that's been made in a certain place. Um, whether it's been made for higher purposes or whether it's been made to fit. Especially when um, somebody's walking along and you, you can see a fitted one. It just, it just moves beautiful and fits properly around the waist and the seat...

Morgan pointed out how measurements used in planning are key to a good fitting kilt with shaping, "The measurements are taken and, and we, um, shape from the waist to the fell."

Trial and error. The last sub-theme of *trial and error* emerged from participants' remarks on *planning*, and refers multiple ways to plan out a single kilt, the kiltmaker's testing out of various methods, and adjustments that are made to the plan during production. Terry noted that there are a number of ways to plan a kilt, and adjustments may be made while the kiltmaker is fabricating the kilt:

You could plan it backwards, forwards, change centers, change centers backwards, through stripe, or you've got to adjust certain pleats, because you don't want it too loose, because you've got certain stripes...like a white stripe, it's very obvious white, if you want it to disappear up the pleat you've got to...so you've got to adjust pleats and things.

Charlotte agreed that there are a number of approaches that a kiltmaker can take to planning:

If you get a big sett on a kilt, there's different ways, you maybe have a, some day it's got a big size, so you have to fit the pleats to the person's measurements, like, so there's different ways of planning kilts. There could be two, three, four, five different

ways of planning one kilt, and you've got your work at the sizes, and that comes in at the plan, and the amount of pleats.

Sewing

The *sewing* major theme emerged while kiltmakers were describing production activities, and refer to aspects of kiltmaking that occur after the initial planning phase.

Participants noted that it is important to have knowledge of types and uses of different stitches during the fabrication phase of kiltmaking. Robert stated that hidden stitches are better aesthetically and lead to more durability:

...so, we try using invisible stitching so people don't see the, the stitches in the back of the kilt. Um, and that we tend to find that that's a stronger stitch anyway, so it tends to, to last longer, looks better, uh, but the fact it lasts longer is a, is a massive benefit...

Bryan commented that she teaches students that stitches are very important in producing a quality kilt:

The first step is to get their stitches that are on the pleats nice because that is like the biggest thing on the kilt, if your pleats are not nice then your kilt's not going to be good. It's working with the rule and getting your stitches as small and as hidden.

Polly stated that kiltmakers use different stitches, "to do certain things like lifting fabric or holding fabric together, but leaving room for movement." and "The size of needle, um, makes a difference...the small the needle, the smaller the stitches." Participants noted that the most important type of stitch in the kilt is called *steeking*, which refers to a line of stitching that is placed on the back of the pleats horizontally after they have been sewn. This line of stitching is invisible from the outside of the kilt, but gives it extra support. As she was videotaped making the kilt, Terry noted, "The most important element is *steeking* in a kilt. It holds a kilt together. There's a bit in the kilt called *steeking*, and that holds a kilt together, but it's the most important part of the kilt." Betty agreed, "*Steeking* is one of the major

support structures in the kilt. If that's not steeked properly, you're kilt's on, and you're wearing it, and the side goes, and you're pleats get washed, and just come right away from ya!"

Impact of Gender, Societal, Political, and Economic Issues on Kiltmakers

All the kiltmaker, participants, were asked about potential gender issues that exist within kiltmaking practice, and female kiltmakers were specifically asked how gender issues might impact their practice. Half of the female kiltmakers interviewed noted that they did not perceive any gender issues that impacted them. Zoe noted that several men have come through the qualification program, and have been proficient kiltmakers. When asked about gender issues at the school, she replied:

Not here. Um, I think because I've see two, two or three men come through this school making kilts. Just last week there was a chap here, he was learning how to make, he made a kilt um, in a 12, on a 12-day course. And there's a guy that's when I first started, he, he was qualifying as a kiltmaker. He made, he's made several. I don't think, I don't think there's any such...

While in the same program, Arlene had the same response during her interview:

No. Absolutely not. I don't think so. Totally equal. We've had, we've had gents on the course before, um, he didn't stick it out, but that's got nothing to do with it. But you know, I don't, I don't think there's any difference, at all.

Although participants' initial responses to questions on gender issues stated that they were not experiencing any gender-related phenomena, distinct over-arching theme of *women's work* emerged from the data during analysis. Major themes under *women's work* related to *income inequality*, and *work/life balance*.

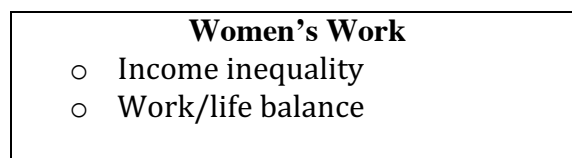


Figure 33. Gender: Over-arching theme, themes, and sub-themes

Women's Work

The *women's work* over-arching theme refers to perceptions that kiltmaking is a women's profession, and the issues that may be caused by these perceptions. Mary noted that there was a shift from kiltmaking as a man's job, to kiltmaking as a women's job, "So, it used to be a mainly military thing, so the majority of kiltmakers used to be male. And, it's only been the past 50, 60 years that more women have been coming through and making kilts. I mean, nowadays, everyone expects kiltmakers to be female." Morgan described *women's work* of kiltmaking in a male-oriented perspective, "I just think that, probably, from a male perspective, you maybe think its women's work, I feel like, sewing, because it's all hand-made." Meanwhile Jessica recalled a distinct division in women's and men's roles in the kiltmaking industry from her years as a kiltmaker:

If you take kilt-making as a whole as from customer back to customer, then, fair enough the majority of the women were doing the sewing, but most of the other people in the company doing the buying and the selling are men.

Income inequality. The major theme of *income inequality* emerged from the *women's work* theme while participants described how female kiltmakers perceive themselves in the workplace. Robert explained that a woman that has worked for him for quite some time never asked for, or expected, a pay raise:

...um, and it was, it took me this year to give her a pay raise without her asking, and say, "Well, actually, I'm keeping you in line with the rest of my kiltmakers." And she's like, "Well, why would you do that?"

Elizabeth noted that *income inequality* exists due to a vicious cycle of low pay scales due to women's work, therefore, men are not attracted to the profession:

...um, I don't, I think they, they probably look, look [sic] to, you know from the old fashioned point of view, I think it was, you know, ladies had this, the sewing skills and that's probably what, what drew them. And I think, I think, it was the money, you know the turn off and the money factor as well because it wasn't highly paid and to

fashion. I mean it, it's a, it's a skill so it should be, um, it should be, uh, better paid you know. And I think that's maybe what doesn't attract, uh, men to the kiltmaking industry...

Charlotte replied, "The only difference is, women get paid less than men."

Work/life balance. *Work/life balance* was another major theme that emerged from the *women's work* theme, and refers to how female kiltmakers perceive their *work/life balance*. Female participants noted that their career as a kiltmaker allowed them to achieve a better balance between work and their personal life. Bryan noted that she can work at any time she wants, which allows her to fulfill her child care commitments:

This is perfect for me, because I can...I've got a young...I've got an 11 year old at home, so this is perfect for me because I can take care...and I work at home. I can be sitting at 10 o'clock at night sewing, because I've had other things to do during the day. But that's all right by me, I'll just sit and do, so, you know, it's real flexible. You know you've got to get that kilt out on that date, so you kind of work around it, no, it's real flexible, I think, actually, yeah.

Arlene also noted that child care is a major concern of hers, and that her job as a kiltmaker allows her to maintain a career and take care of her five-month old baby:

...um, well, it's a bit difficult just now, 'cuz the wee one's only about five months old. But, um, no, it's nice to be able to work from home, because, I can, I can make a kilt when you've got a baby. It's a good opportunity to, to have a profession, and have a family life at the same time...

Charlotte also stated that she feels the ability to work in her home has given her the ability to maintain *work/life balance*:

...um, it's good because I always felt I was quite lucky to be having a family. I could work in the house, sewing kilts, and now that my family's grown up now, I prefer to work in the house...

Societal Stereotypes

Societal stereotypes was another over-arching theme that emerged from the data in terms of impacts on the kiltmaking profession from society, and include how kilts are perceived in

popular culture. The major themes of *cottage industry* and *professional respect* emerged under the societal *stereotypes* theme.



Figure 34. Societal stereotypes: Overarching theme and major themes.

The *societal stereotypes* theme emerged from the data as participants spoke about views of kiltmakers in Scottish society. When asked about perceptions in Scottish popular culture, participants noted that kilts have been viewed as traditional and old-fashioned, although perceptions have been changing. Bryan noted that kilts were traditionally associated with formal, uptight events, but that standards have been changing:

I think it's great, and it used to be quite...quite structured, and you wore this jacket at this event and, you know, this bow tie, or this tie at this event, and its kind of got really modern, and people kind of have really good fun with it now. You know, when you see all the guys just wearing them with jumpers and boots and...and, but it still looks absolutely fantastic.

Jessica stated that Firm 1 has been pivotal in changing perceptions of kilts, and that has resulted in greater demand from the younger generation. The basic kilt remains the same, with a modern twist:

[Firm 1's] making them more fashion forward. Um, that they're still relevant, that they're still...he can show you pictures from black and white photos to photos now and the guys are wearing the same outfits. That he's still relevant, but he's making them more fashionable and guys who are getting a new outfit for a wedding and I've got the same kilt out of the cupboard, but they're like, "No, uh, I want a new outfit too.

Robert made a special note that there are segments of society that have swung too far into thinking of the kilt as something to wear only for fashion or play:

...um, so that it won't be seen, hopefully, the kilt making, in years to come, won't be seen as just a, a drinking kilt, or a rugby kilt, or a football kilt. Um, it will be seen as

a, a [sic] garment that, that people will be proud to have, because it can be handed down through generations...

Cottage Industry. The *cottage industry* major theme refers to *stereotypes* in popular culture that kiltmakers who work out of their home are less dedicated and reliable. Robert stated that retailers have delegated less customer orders to those who work out of their home, since home kiltmakers are viewed as less reliable:

...um, uh, because kiltmakers work from home, and they therefore have problems, um, uh, family commitments and all kinds of stuff, or they don't feel well. Um, uh, and health issues, and bits and pieces. So, it, it can cause people to, to say, "Right, well..." Retailers to say, "Well, we can't rely on them to get that done, so, we'll move to machine made kilts..."

Mary remarked that retailers perceive kiltmakers as *cottage industry* producers that are engaged in the activity as a hobby, and this has led to retailers taking advantage of kiltmakers. She also stated that this perception issue has become a barrier to young people entering the market:

For the amount of work that goes into a kilt, someone's getting paid pennies basically, because they're [retailers are] thinking it's just a wee hobby. And retailers have, for years, have taken advantage of that. So, to come into...a young person to come into kilt making, there's no money in it, kind of thing.

Professional Respect. A major theme of *professional respect* emerged from the data when participants spoke about their experiences in practice, and refers to the difference between how the kiltmaking profession is perceived in society, versus how kiltmakers view their profession.

Kiltmakers noted that although they produce the product, their expertise is largely unrecognized in terms of *professional respect*. Robert commented that kiltmakers have traditionally been kept out of the spotlight:

What's happened with the kilt making is that, that [sic] the kiltmaker's always been chucked away in the back. Um, there's never been, uh, "Here's the kiltmaker." Uh,

it's been, uh, she'll just do it at home, and that's it. And they've never been in the face of the public.

In contrast, kiltmakers noted that they view their profession as a specialized job. Elsa

remarked that she views kiltmaking as a craft:

I think the folk that come into kiltmaking, and if they succeed in it, are kind of patient and, and hopefully, they'll go out, and that when they're all done, you know, carry that on, and, and show folk that it's a worthwhile craft. I think it's a craft.

Elizabeth commented that she feels that kiltmakers have a skill and should be recognized for it:

I do, yeah. I think it's uh, it's an essential skill, like we do with any, you know any sort of an apprentice like engineering or electrician or you know, it's a skill, it's a skill, it's a life skill.

Government

Government was an over-arching theme that emerged from participants' responses when discussing how the political and economic climate in Scotland impacts their practice.

Kiltmakers felt especially impacted by the Scottish *government's* lack of economic support. Robert noted that his efforts to develop better kiltmaking training within his certification course were thwarted by cancellation of funding:

...we were lead to believe that we would get funding for it. Um, as it turns out, though, we've no funding for it at all. So, um, uh, the historic course that they were, were talking about, uh, the course that was possibly gonna be, um, not going forward, um, uh, has not been extended...

Kiltmakers also expressed frustration with the level of financial incentives available from the government. When asked about financial incentives available to kiltmakers, Terry responded:

It's a [expletive] nightmare! There is a thing where they will match the wage you pay in an apprenticeship, and there is kinda tax breaks, but it's not great. That's probably why I never went through the certification, 'cause it wasn't worth the money.

She also expressed her feelings about how the government's economic policies will force her to work past retirement age, "I still got a long time of work to go ahead of me. Pensions will be crap when I get to pension level....so I'll still be working. I'll be hobbling in to get kilts!"

Kiltmakers' Industry Views

Practicing professionals' responses led to an over-arching theme of *kiltmakers' industry views* with number of emergent major themes that related to the Scottish kiltmaking industry, including *downturn*, *heritage trade*, *demand*, *mass production*, and *bespoke*. These themes refer to the status of the kiltmaking business and kiltmaking customers.

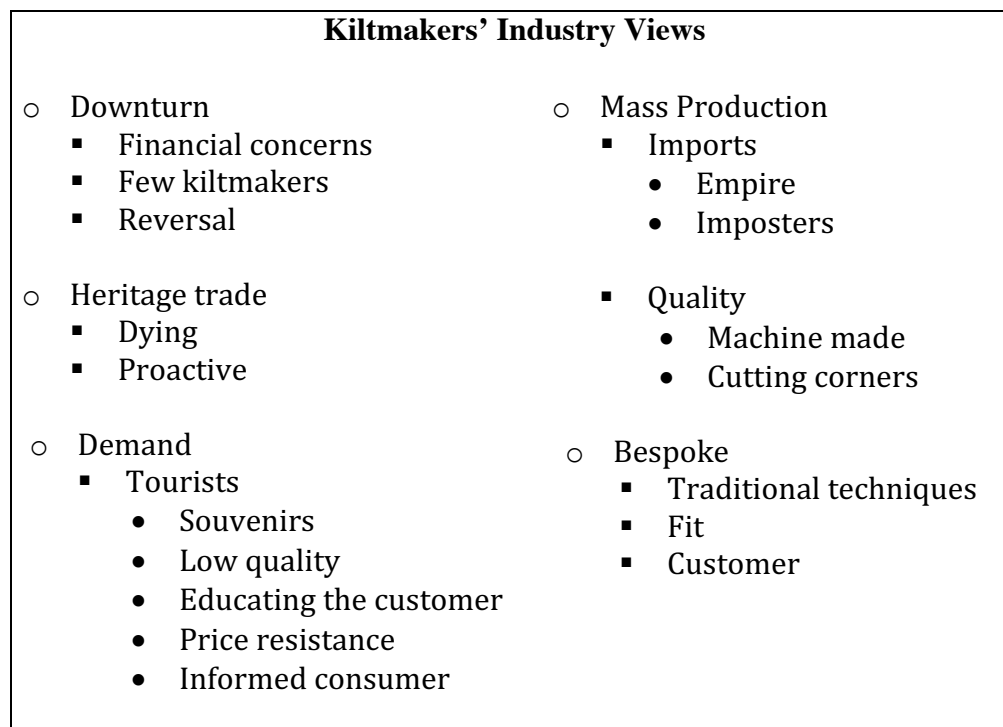


Figure 35. Kiltmakers' industry views: Over-arching theme, major themes, sub-themes, and micro-themes.

Downturn

A major theme of *downturn* emerged from the interview data, and refers to kiltmakers' perceptions of where the Scottish kiltmaking business was and what has led up to

the present status of the industry. Sub-themes under the *downturn* theme emerged as *financial concerns*, *few kiltmakers*, and *reversal*. Just as administrators', kiltmakers' response data led to the emergence of a theme of *downturn*, which refers to effects of the 2008 Recession. Betty recalled the dramatic change in business when the Recession occurred:

...I mean, there used to be, how many kilts did there used to be—5, 800...kilts at a time, piled to the ceiling...honestly. There was that much work going on, and it seemed to take a downturn actually when Firm 1 started...

She then recalled that lack of income forced her employer to move out of a space in the city:

My bosses and I were looking at it at the time, but things just went from bad to worse, and everything dive-bombed, and then money got tight, we hardly get enough work to cover us, it's probably preferable we're out in the country now, which is nice for us actually.

Charlotte noted that there had been a period of time when customers were not coming in, since discretionary spending was curtailed, but she noted that now customers are coming back, "If people haven't got money in their pockets, they're not spending, so the last few years, it's just been, there hasn't been a lot of work there, but it's picking up. It's picking up."

Financial concerns. The sub-theme of *financial concerns* emerged under *downturn* and relates to kiltmakers' perceptions of issues that kilt businesses face. As an experienced kiltmaker who runs a workshop, Betty noted that many times small firms cannot afford to train apprentices:

...because a smaller company, although reputable, they were smaller—they couldn't afford to train somebody, it costs a lot of money, because I'm not sitting sewing a kilt...I'm sitting showing somebody else what to do. But now-there's just no point in training them now, because it costs a lot of money...

Terry trained under Betty in her apprenticeship, and agrees that owners of firms are under financial pressure, and training takes more experienced kiltmakers away from producing product, and firms had less orders coming in:

...and it think it's the money-wise as well. He didn't want his money spent to teach... 'cause taking on people depended on the work...that there was work...you needed more staff...

Few kiltmakers. The next sub-theme of *few kiltmakers* emerged under *downturn* when kiltmakers stated that there are not many qualified kiltmakers remaining in the industry. Elizabeth voiced her concern for recruitment to train new, young kiltmakers, “They need to get a lot, you know a lot more people. A lot, a lot more young people to keep the tradition going.” Robert also noted that there is a shortage of qualified kiltmakers in the market, due to the lack of training, “because there’s nobody really teaching kilt making any more on a, sort of, bigger scale uh, means that the number of kiltmakers that are out there, that are coming through, there’s not many of them.”

Reversal. However, the next sub-theme of *reversal* emerged under the *downturn* theme, and refers to signs of recovery in the kiltmaking business. Participants noted that a portion of this reversal is due to updated kilt styles that are inspired by popular movies and televisions series, such as *Braveheart* and *Outlander*. Robert noted that the movie *Braveheart* contributed to a change in perceptions of the kilt:

...that's changed, as well. Over the period of time when, um, 15 years ago, uh, you could not get somebody young to wear a kilt. Uh, because it was seen as, as an old man's garment. Uh, the way it was portrayed in the, the Scot, Scotland in particular, was, uh, the sort of Anderson Brothers, uh, Hogmanay Live, uh, in their kilts and matching blue jackets, and blue socks, and stuff like that. So, that's kind of changed, because, um, the introduction, um, *Braveheart* made a huge difference. Uh, the film, *Braveheart*. Made a massive difference, uh, to the industry, because it then became, sort of, quite cool to be seen in a kilt. Um, um, uh, Firm 1, made a difference, uh, on that side of things, as well. Uh, and just over the period people have, are more happy to wear kilts. Uh, different venues. So, um, uh, 21st birthdays, uh, uh, rugby matches,

football matches. Um, where there's no, if, if there's a chance to wear your kilt, people will chuck it on and, and go and have a good time. Uh, uh, and that, that's been transported through the world, as well. So, the image of, of, sort of, the old staid, um, type of kilt, uh, has changed whereas people now wear it, uh, with different boots, and all kinds of stuff. And it's become, uh, much more acceptable, and more, um, easy to, to tweak to, to what people want to wear a kilt for...

Jessica notes that newer, more fashionable takes on kilts have had a positive effect on sales:

...so, um, they had I think about from, from when I started work to when I moved to Firm 1 there was a big decline in kilts, but working at Firm 1 it's going back up again because of the kilts he does, I think because he's, um, he's moving into the future with Firm 1 kilts...

She also noted that part of this uptick in sales due to fashion is because of the popularity of fabrics that kilts are being made from lately:

The cloths that the mills produce are always changing or like, um, we do a lot of Harris Tweed, and they're produced, and they're keeping up with the fashion with the colors change. They've got to produce different tweeds. Um, then because Harris Tweed is so popular as well, there's been...Uh, it's just hugely popular that other people are going to Harris tweed to get tweeds made. So I think and Harris Tweed's, you know, because they're trademarked as Harris tweed, you know, that's I guess the name a bit, you know, bolsters it, or gets it a bit more, eh, whatever the word is. (laughs)

Elizabeth also concurred that the injection of fashion into kilt styles is helping the industry out:

Oh, well I think there's a, there's a huge revitalization in the kiltmaking industry. And someone like uh, Firm 1 who does you know, lot, lot you know he's doing, doing [sic] something a wee bit different as uh, I think it's, it's the right way to go really. Well, yeah, to a degree fashion. I mean it's, it's a, it's slightly, uh, it's just not being stuck in that rut, you know, it's taking things forward.

Robert noted that his shop has experienced growth “over the last three years in particular,” and that he has expanded his locations:

...uh, and this year we, we're kind of, uh, although we're only one month into the year we're, we're on growth again. Um, so, now we've got two shops. So, we have the shop here, and we have another shop on [another High Street], um, which runs our hire department...

Heritage Trade

The next major theme of *heritage trade* also emerged from participants' responses, and refers to the status of kiltmaking as a business that also contributes to Scottish culture. Sub-themes of *dying* and *proactive* emerged under *heritage trade*. *Dying* relates to kiltmakers' understanding that there is a potential that kilts and kiltmaking could cease to exist, while *proactive* refers to efforts being made to save kiltmaking as a *heritage trade*.

Kiltmakers felt that kilts are important to the Scottish economy, but are also integral to perpetuating Scottish culture, and are therefore classified as a *heritage trade*. Mary noted that several years ago, she was invited to a meeting regarding the Scottish Vocational Qualification, as there was worry that it might be cancelled. She went on to point out that kiltmaking exists as a business, but that it is so important, that the Scottish Government would never cancel the certification:

...and, the thing with the SVQ, the meeting we were invited to a couple of years ago was to try and save it, because it was a heritage trade. But the government wouldn't do anything to actually help it, but they'll never get rid of the SVQ because they call it a heritage trade...

Jessica referred to the importance of the kiltmaker's role in perpetuating Scotland's National Dress, "It's a prominent role as it's the national dress of Scotland. Without the kilt-makers, it would be more...no kilts. And because it is heritage, it's, um, it's, it's [sic] always...We've always worn kilts."

Dying. A sub-theme of *dying* emerged under *heritage trade*, and relates to kiltmakers' understanding that the kiltmaking craft is going away, and could die out altogether. Betty voiced thoughts of hopelessness that the kilt is slowly fading away as a part of Scottish culture, "Well now, it's our national culture isn't it? I mean, I'm really kind of devastated that it's dying, because, um, I'm quite passionate about the kilt. I love it. But, em,

there's nothing we can do." Elizabeth noted that additional efforts are required to encourage interest in kilts and kiltmaking, "They're very important to Scottish culture. I mean, it's, it's dying every day and they need to get a lot, you know a lot more people."

Proactive. *The proactive* sub-theme emerged under *heritage trade*, and refers to efforts being made to save kiltmaking. Anna commented on the importance of the certification effort to save the craft, "So if you want to like we're doing a kiltmakers-cause it's a kind of like a dying skill at the moment and it's trying to be brought, uh, brought back to life." As a teacher, Mary stated that her efforts in the certification program are key to keeping the trade alive, "um, we need to do something, basically, because it will die out otherwise. So I think we are quite important."

Demand

The major theme of *demand* emerged from participants' responses as they spoke about their understanding of the Scottish kilt industry, and refers to kiltmakers' perceptions of who the Scottish kilt customer is and what customers' expectations are. A sub-theme emerged from the *demand* theme related to *tourists*. Micro-themes that emerged under the *tourists* theme were *souvenirs, low quality, educating the customer, price resistance, and informed consumer*.

Participants spoke about *demand* while speaking about forces affecting the Scottish kiltmaking industry, and noted that there are different sub-markets within the business. While responding to questions about his perceptions of the industry, Robert said that there has been an increased *demand* for kilts, but the industry has had a difficult time keeping up. However, the firms that have been able to meet *demand* view their product as different from Robert's traditional, hand-made product:

...so, they, we've, we've kind of almost been in a, in a catch-22 situation where the, the increase in demand for the kilts has caused increase of the machine made kilt, because there's no way that the existing amount of kiltmakers can cope with the work that, that's going through. Um, uh, the kiltmakers, the, the people who, who, [sic] uh, buy the kilts, and, um, perceive it as a, as a, as a different market...

Bryan also commented that demand had led to a stratification in the kilt market, and that, "they've got their place as a touristy, gimmicky thing. You could buy like a really good designer t-shirt, or you can buy a really cheap one Pound t-shirt off the market, everything's kind of got it's...it's place." Mary acknowledged that the market has different segments, but that in her opinion, not all levels sell authentic product, "I've always said, um, yes there is a market for it, but don't call it a kilt."

Tourists. *Tourists* was a sub-theme that emerged from the *demand* theme, and relates to types of customers who patronize Scottish businesses that sell kilts. Betty said at her kiltmaking firm, they "rely on the tourists, for 90 percent of it [revenues]." Mary's estimation of how much tourist customers contribute to her firm's sales was much more conservative, "I mean, tourism wise, it does, and a lot. We have a lot of home customers as well, so I think it does actually help." Arlene was optimistic when speaking about the tourist industry and her ability to generate business in her home town in the Hebrides:

I'm in the lucky position that I live in Isle of Skye, in the West Coast of the islands, which has got a huge tourist industry, huge. So, I'd like to think I was lucky enough that I could make a profession over there.

Souvenirs. *Souvenirs* emerged as a micro-theme under the *tourists* theme, and relates to types of firms that sell kilts to the tourist customer. Robert made an analogy to American tourist shops, "I was in America, uh, last year, went to, to, [sic] um, uh, New York, and you've got New York, their hoodies and stuff like that. So, it, it, [sic] it's the same culture,

uh, just, they don't have kilts." Jessica stated that tourists always go to souvenir shops wherever they visit:

If you went to any other country, you, you like them shops. You know when I went to New York, we were in these shops buying the rubbish. People come on a holiday and they want to take away trinkets. They don't want to take...they're not going to spend their holiday money on expensive items the, the when you go on, on, [sic] you know, on holiday, you want to buy that stuff. So you do need the, the [sic] shops.

Low quality. *Low quality* also emerged as a micro-theme under the *tourists* theme, and refers to the quality of products being sold by shops who cater to tourists. Terry referred to merchandise that tourist shops, that are also known as "tartan tats," sell:

If you go to the Royal Mile, you'll see all those tartan tats...they're just not high quality. They've got to learn how to make one, but it's just not right.

Lisa said that she is actually embarrassed when she witnesses people in public wearing cheap quality kilts from tourist stores, "I hate when another pipe band has kilts on from the shops that we're talking about and they're not proper, and you just want to go 'no!' It's embarrassing!" As a kiltmaker, Betty recalled the horror of seeing the level of quality of kilts made for tourists:

...the supermarket were selling them as well. They were diabolical...to look at one...it was killing me. To have to go look at it...shocking...there was no weight to it, it was jaggy, you know, really cheap, horrible, jaggy material. That's how they're made..they're highly flammable, they're jaggy, they're not made well, they're gonna fall apart...

Educating the customer. Another micro-theme of *educating the customer* emerged from the *tourists* sub-themetheme, and refers to *tourists'* lack of understanding of the kilt, and efforts to educate customers on the kilt. Robert noted that many customers do not understand the intricacies of kiltmaking, and that his firm makes it a point to educate them:

...uh, and people don't appreciate how much time and effort goes into, to making a kilt. So, when people come and, and, and [sic] come into the shop, we, we [sic] don't have a sales technique. We just give them information. So, um, uh, so they, if they

come in here, they can actually get to see the kiltmaker, and that will hopefully raise the profile of the kiltmaker themselves. So, it, it, [sic] it's kind of, it's trying to educate people when they come in as to what they're actually getting for their money. Um, which, then makes it, not an easy sale, but it makes it a, a much more attractive proposition, because people see how much work's in it...

Betty expressed her frustration with customers who do not seek out information before buying a kilt:

You know for your average drunken guy walking up and down the Royal Mile in a kilt and a tartan tammy [hat], with ginger hair sticking out the back, you know, it's as good as you're gonna do, but you know, I just wish they had more knowledge about the kilt before they bought it, but I mean how can you do that? I don't know.

Lisa suggested that it would be a good idea to have tour guides offer up suggestions to tourists as to which firms produced better kilts:

...a lot of tour guides will wear them, cause we have a lot of the tour guides on the Royal Mile as well, see. It would be good if that would be what you're talking about...if you could get people explain that you can get proper [kilts]...instead of going to the other places...

Robert stated that this is already being done, "Tour guides get, tell people not to come to the Royal Mile 'cause it's a tat mile."

Price resistance. Participants also spoke about tourists' *price resistance*, which emerged as micro-theme under *tourists*. Robert noted that consumers weigh price against the number of times they will wear a garment like a kilt:

...and that's, that's always been a point, because it's always kept the price points down. Uh, because people are not really willing to pay a lot of money for a kilt, because it's not a garment they are gonna wear that often. So, the, what we're trying to fight is, is that, that there's a natural progression as to how much people will actually pay for a kilt without actually, then you start losing business because people are saying, "That's too expensive."

Bryan agreed that tourists seeking deals in the market keeps the price of kilts down, "So you kind of think, well, I think they should be more. I think they...but then you can't, because people won't charge more, so people are like...everyone likes a bargain." However, Charlotte

has noticed an uptick in the number of customers with money to spend, “There’s people with money back in their pockets because it’s seen as a luxury outfit to have. They’re so expensive.”

Informed consumer. The micro-theme of *informed consumer* emerged under the minor theme of *tourists*, as participants spoke about changes that are occurring in the market, including an increasing number of savvy luxury customers and customers seeking out information. Robert stated that he has noticed more tourist customers coming into his shop that scrutinize the merchandise he has to offer:

...nowadays it’s slightly different, because people will, um, well, look much more at quality before they, they [sic] buy. So, it, it’s kind of, it’s turned around quite a bit, whereas people, um, typically overseas people, um, they come in and they, they ask, “Where, where is this stuff made?” Um, and we never used to get that. Uh, people just used to assume that it was made in Scotland if they were buying a Scottish product...

Mary commented that tourists come over and engage in information gathering as part of their tourist activity. When asked if tourists are interested in seeing the process, she replied, “Yourselves come over, and that’s what you want to see.”

Mass production

The next major theme to emerge from participants’ responses was *mass production*, and refers to the relatively current trend of using machines to produce kilts, in order to make profit goals. Two sub-themes of *imports* and *quality* emerged from the *mass production* theme. Two micro-themes of *empire* and *imposters* emerged under the *imports* minor theme. Robert commented that the kiltmaking industry has shifted to machine methods in order to turn a profit, but the resulting product is not the same as a hand-made garment:

...well, the, the, the [sic] industry, at the moment, is, is default onto machine made kilts. So, there’s a couple of companies in Glasgow who make 450 kilts a week. Um, so, it’s, it’s [sic] just a numbers game for them, um, and they don’t, they don’t, [sic]

well, they do care about the quality. But it's, it's a machine made garment, so it's like a completely different thing to bespoke garment...

Betty noted that traditional kiltmaking techniques that are still used today pre-date machines and mass production; it was mass production and practicality that supplanted kilts as everyday wear:

...I mean in the olden days they had to wear a kilt, they had no choice, but as tailoring came in, the 20th Century...it's just...it's practical to wear trousers, as is the kilt is freezing half the time...

Imports. *Imports* emerged as a sub-theme under the *mass production* theme, and relates to Scottish companies that source kilts overseas. Kiltmakers stated that they view *imports* as the primary threat to the Scottish kiltmaking industry. Betty stated that she has been aware of imports coming into Scotland from countries such as India, China, and Pakistan:

...well, like I say they get imported from India, China...and I even heard they were even coming from Pakistan again, but I mean, if they're coming over, they're sending them over, and they're making them for peanuts...

Mary stated that imports that are produced for a much cheaper wholesale impact the entire market, since customers cannot perceive the difference, "You've got the imports all coming in, you've got people seeing something for £20 a kilt, and you've got people who don't understand, 'Well, how come yours are 300?'"

Empire. A micro-theme of *empire* emerged under the *imports sub-theme*, and refers to participants' accounts of a single family that dominates the Scottish import market for kilts. Robert spoke about a family that "have 65 shops in the Royal Mile [in Edinburgh] sell and import stuff, um, uh, selling, um, uh, supposedly eight yard kilts." Betty spoke about the same family, and recalled when the Recession hit, they began to buy out other businesses in the area:

...they [the importers] were taking over, so at that point, there was another big turn down and suddenly we weren't getting as many orders. And then they were starting to buy out—what coat company was buying the other kilt companies? The Sikhs... what were they called?...

Although she is a new kiltmaker, Anna is also aware of the importer's *empire*:

...so it's really important that our people have maintained making them, you know, making them right rather than the kind of, like Royal Mile Edinburgh shops that are owned well by people who don't really know anything about it and they're probably made somewhere, you know, far, really far away. Um, it's usually Indian families. There's a really big number of them and I don't know this for sure but this is what I've heard. Um, there's a big chain of them in Edinburgh, which are all, all owned by one, like, Indian family. So, so it's like monopolized by by [*sic*] this like really rich you know powerful family who managed to make their business on Scottish souvenirs and very cheap kilts that cost about 20 pounds and their made in—they're not even kilts really, but they kind of look like it...

Imposters. Another micro-theme of *imposters* emerged under the *imports sub*-theme, and refers to kiltmakers' feelings about imported kilts. Kiltmakers do not feel that kilts produced by foreign sources real kilts, as they do not have anything in common with a Scottish-made kilt. Cookie expressed a visceral reaction when the topic of imports was brought up in the interview, "I really resent cheap imports...it is not a kilt, it is a piece of [expletive] cloth. Which is made up to resemble a kilt." Charlotte explained, "Yeah. They're not the real thing. They're all machines, and they're just not the real deal, and the quality's just terrible. Just is disgusting, and they're allowed to call them kilts, and they're not kilts. They're skirts!" Terry notes the differences between imported kilts and Scottish kilts:

...like cheaper kilts are getting passed off as kilts, and they have pleats not done right, not sewn right, all that stuff. It's like all these garments are not planned right, they only have three yards of fabric, they're made out of different cloth, they're not weaved in Scotland...

Quality. *Quality* emerged as a sub-theme under *mass production*, and refers to the decline of *quality* resulting from economic pressures on kiltmaking businesses. Two micro-themes of *machine made* and *cutting corners* emerged under the *quality* sub-theme. Robert

noted that *quality* has declined as a result of work being produced outside of workshops by freelance kiltmakers who are not under supervision:

...um, so, uh, and with that, um, the, the, the lack of, um, quality control on the kilts that come in, um, has maybe deteriorated a wee bit over the, over the period. Because they don't have somebody in a workroom, a workroom foreman that says, "No, that's, that's not correct. You need to go and re-do that again..."

Robert then went on to explain that kiltmaking firms are under pressure to produce orders for customers in a timely manner, which may have a negative result in quality:

...uh, people just accept, uh, because the pressures of business mean that you have to get the stuff through in time, and that's, that's what caused the, the, the, [sic] sort of slightly decline in kilt making...

Machine made. *Machine made* emerged as a micro-theme under the *quality* sub-theme, and refers to techniques that firms use to cope with the pressure to produce.

Respondents indicated that these techniques have an adverse effect in terms of kilt quality.

Terry pointed out that factories that use automatic pleating machines do not match setts; matching the repeat is only something that a human kiltmaker can accomplish:

...yeah, and with machine kilts...the machine that makes the kilts...some of the factories that does the pleating part that pleats it all up, so they must just pick up, 'cause you know some of the cheaper kilts the tartans don't match? That's the machine has just picked up every six or four inches—that's why it doesn't match...but that's why they don't match is because the machine is just set to every six inches, because they can't tell the difference between...the machine can't tell, and they've got so many different patterns that they just pick up...

According to Morgan, an element of quality of fit is lost when kilts are mass-produced on machines:

...machine-made kilts, I think, big factories that, that do production lines, um...they're not, they're not quality garments, and I don't mean the cloth, because they probably use the same cloth as we do, um, but they're not made to fit the person correctly, because they're made on a production line, they're made to, like, if you're gonna show up and buy and extra-large or an large or a medium-sized shirt, I think, they're kinda more made to fit everybody, whereas the hand-making fits the person...

Betty countered in her interview, stating that quality does not necessarily suffer, just because a kilt is machine-made, as long as there is attention to detail:

...I mean even machine kilts, I mean, Firm 1 does a really good machine kilt. We do make a machine kilt. We're not saying that machine kilts are bad, but machine kilts can still have loads of structure in them...and made properly, and to the pattern, and to the [tartan] sett, and to the perfect line sort of thing. They can be done perfectly, whereas you can still get the tweed kilts on The Royal Mile, for around tweed—find proper tweed stuff, but they're just machined up and straight up and down, with no shaping or anything in it...

Cutting corners. *Cutting corners* emerged as a micro-theme from the *quality* sub-theme, and refers to firms and kiltmakers modifying the traditional kiltmaking process, thus decreasing labor and materials costs. Mary stated that cutting out steps in the kiltmaking process is a way to speed up the process, “kiltmakers have been trying to make it easier, or making it faster, so they're skipping steps.”

Bryan said that she frequently alters kilts that have been produced by kiltmakers who cut corners:

...I mean, I alter so many kilts and I can see what's in the inside, so I know people say, “oh, I only take like 15 hours to make a kilt,” and I'm like, “yep, I know why,” because mine is going to be a better kilt, because I know how many stitches are in mine, do you know what I mean?...

Elsa also stated that she works on kilt alterations and witnesses the work of other kiltmakers who omit steps, “I've got two in the house just now that I'm altering for somebody, and I'm, I'm quite saddened by what I see, to be honest.”

Bespoke

The next major theme of *bespoke* emerged from the data as participants discussed the Scottish kiltmaking industry, and refers to producing kilts in an individualized, made-to-order manner, and utilizing hand-made, traditional kiltmaking techniques. Two sub-themes emerged from responses under the *bespoke* theme relating to *traditional techniques*, *fit*, and

customer. Jessica defined *bespoke* kilts as made-to-measure, “So it’s made to measure, you know, you’re making for that person, so it’s like there’s, you know, a difference.” Bryan also stated that, “it’s built...a kilt is made to your requirements.”

Traditional techniques. The first sub-theme of *traditional techniques* emerged when kiltmakers spoke about the characteristics that define a genuine Scottish kilt, and refers to the traditional kilt being hand-sewn, eight yards of fabric, and with a two-inch rise above the hip. Mary explained these characteristics succinctly, “The kilt will always be your eight yards, hand sewn, made to fit your shape.” Other participants made similar points. Cookie agreed that there is an average fabric yardage requirement, “Traditional kilts uh, on average have eight to nine meters in it,” while Anna stated that, “the, well kilts are hand-sewn they they should be hand-sewn. Not all of them are, but they should be traditionally, they should be hand-sewn.” Terry agreed with the yardage requirement, but also commented that the kilt should rise two inches above the hip, “a traditional hand-sewn kilt is eight-yards with a two-inch rise.” In contrast, Elizabeth remembers when she first started out doing machine-made kilts, and noted that they were not traditional kilts, “What I was doing, I wasn’t doing traditional kilts. I mean I do, um, I did it the, the machine kilts with the hand sewn finish.” Terry contrasted traditional kilts with modern, fashion-oriented kilts by noting that mainly the rise is different, “We’ve done some more fun, casual kilts without the rise.”

Fit. *Fit* emerged as a sub-theme under the *bespoke* theme as participants described key aspects that the kiltmaker must take into consideration as they are planning and making a kilt. Bryan stated that since everyone’s body is different, and the kilt must fit exactly, each kilt has its own unique profile:

...you learn...you learn through, like, body shapes and things, if we’re just particularly talking about kilt making, like, you know, because, like, there, there’s

depth of canvases and things that we have that may not suit every body shape, so each kilt has got its own little story, because each customer is a different shape. So that's like...and we do fitting halfway point and check that we're on the right direction. So you might be going, like, "hmm, that canvas is a little bit long for that gentleman's body," so therefore you can adapt little things on your kilt to make a better kilt for each person, so it's like an individual kilt each time you do it, it's got its own little trials and own little journeys...

Terry spoke about a kilt that she is currently working on for a customer who is less curvy, and noted that the kilt is designed to fit tightly:

...when you're straight up and down, it kinda holds the kilt. Cause one of the ones I'm working on...he's a bit straight up and down...like an inch difference between his waist and his seat, so buttons for braces. A traditional kilt's like a corset for a man. It's supposed to be really tight. Some people are like "it's too tight." (laughs)...

Customer. *Customer* was the last sub-theme to emerge under the *bespoke* theme, and refers to the interaction that occurs with customers who buy bespoke kilts. As one of the experienced kiltmakers who helped to set up the Scottish Vocational Qualification, Betty notes that kiltmakers must have the ability to consult with customers, "you have to be able to go into a shop and measure a customer, find out what the customer wants, advise him of the best route to take, and then tell him how long it will take." Jessica noted that for kiltmakers, it's all about the customer and tradition, "For the customer, that kilt was made for that one customer, uh, it's got to fit him perfectly. Perfect because it's...it is made for, for them. So it's like what they did in the old days."

Kiltmakers' Understanding of the Scottish Vocational Qualification

From the over-arching theme of *understanding the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ)*, a major theme of *standards* emerged from participants' responses. *Standards* refers to kiltmakers' understanding of how the qualification will impact *standards* in the Scottish kiltmaking industry. Sub-themes included *setting standards, increasing standards, varying standards, funding, and promotion*.

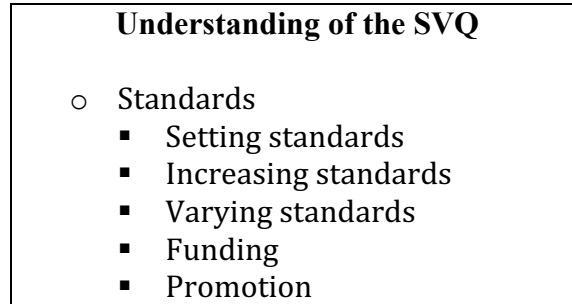


Figure 36. Understanding of the SVQ: Over-arching theme, major-theme, and sub-themes.

Standards

Standards emerged as an important major theme, referring to kiltmakers' feelings of how the Scottish Vocational Qualification will impact *standards* in the industry. Mary noted that industry *standards* have decreased, and she hopes that her participation as a teacher in the Scottish Vocational Qualification will help to reverse the trend, "Uh, the reason we wanted to do this is because the last 20 years, um, standards have dropped. We're actually wanting to bring it back to where it should be, which you can't really adapt from there at all." Robert said that by starting a course in the Scottish Vocational Qualification, he is trying to establish a recognized *standard* for kiltmaking, "Um, so, what, what we're trying to do is, is trying to get a standard for kilt making, um, and I recognize standard for kilt making."

Setting Standards. A sub-theme of *setting standards* emerged under the *standards* theme, and refers to the Scottish Vocational Qualification as a source of standards for kiltmakers. Elsa said that the course helps students to understand standards for kiltmaking, and contrasted her experience in the Scottish Vocational Qualification with others who may be learned incorrectly, "I suppose there are old standards to kiltmakers, and if you've not been taught the right way in the first place, that'll continue. And, but if you've been taught the correct way, then, hopefully you'll continue that yourself." Robert noted that the Scottish

Qualifications Authority is authorized to set standards as to what a quality course to teach kiltmakers should be:

...we've perceived that as being through the SQA, um, who are the only, uh, Scottish, uh, qualification body that is in a position to do an independently, um, um [sic] level of kilt making. So, the, the course that we are doing is, is an SQA level three, um, course. Now, level three is basically the, the SQA set standards as to, um, what, what's, what a course should be...

Increasing Standards. *Increasing standards* was the next sub-theme to emerge under *standards*, and refers to the efforts of Scottish Vocational Qualification teachers and administrators to push both students and the Scottish Qualification Authority to adopt higher standards for the course. Robert noted that since he hosts a newly established course, he needs to prove himself before he can lobby for a higher course level from the Scottish Qualifications Authority:

...um, but, um, they won't give us a higher standard at the moment, because we have to prove ourselves that we can actually do the level three before we can then say, "Well, actually, we want to take it to level five," which is a higher standard, So, um, so, we were coming, coming at standards, as with standard grade, we're coming at level three, uh, and we want to be, uh, higher, or Masters, Master's [sic] degree...

Mary stated that although the course requirements state that students must make six kilts, she tries to push students to higher standards:

We deliberately try to make it to a higher standard. So, we've tried to go a wee bit higher than what the SVQ states we have to do. Because you have to do six kilts, but it doesn't state, um, if they have to be good kilts or not. So, we, we [sic] want them to come out and be better than what the SVQ actually states.

Varying Standards. Another sub-theme under *standards* was *varying standards*, and refers to variances in kiltmakers' work in the course and beyond. Cookie recalled discussions that she has had with graduates of the course, and reminds them that *varying standards* are unacceptable,

...but, we also have a disclaimer in we teach to the highest standard. That, to, to a high standard, not the highest but it you see, in, in the very, very last statement the high standard. However, what to do when they leave here we have no say on whether they make a good kilt or not, and we make that disclaimer. Because I mean, one of the girls will say “Oh, but it doesn’t matter when I left here.” I beg your pardon...I said, “just remember when you put your kilt that’s our name as well as yours...”

Robert admitted that there is variability in the work that students produce:

...the quality of what that’s coming out of the kiltmakers that we are go, coming through at the moment, and I stress at the moment, because each batch will be, uh, different...you’re gonna get some kiltmakers that, that stitching is slightly better...

Funding. The sub-theme of *funding* emerged from participants’ responses as they spoke about the Scottish Vocational Qualification, and refers to the Scottish government’s funding of the course in kiltmaking. Robert commented on a meeting that he had with officials to ask for funds to support the course:

We have, we go through Skills Development Scotland who, uh, roll out, um, the, the money for, for [sic] the, for these kind of courses. Not interested, uh, in, in what we’re doing. Uh, we keep on getting told, um, that we’re, we cannot guarantee employment at the end of it. Um, uh, and that annoys me, because there’s a demand. I wouldn’t be doing it if there wasn’t a demand.

Elizabeth stated that she thinks the Scottish Government could allocate more money towards promoting the program, “That’s, that’s quite a tricky one. But I, you know I think they could promote things more and just, um, and it’s all due to finances I suppose.” Bryan recalled that her qualification was government funded, but since then, financial assistance for students has been discontinued, “When I did it, it was government funded. So I had to show up here a minimum of like 16 hours, and because it was government funded I actually got the course for nothing,” then she continued:

I was really fortunate that I got it government funded, em, so I do kind of feel for these guys, but they are passionate about it, so it’s fine, you know, but um...so maybe they could do something, because it is like our...it’s our thing, the kiltmaking.

Cookie commented that students often have to leave the course for extended periods, then return when they have enough money to pay for a class:

...it's dependent on their money at the time, how much money they've got free, if they've got uh a month where money is tight, they might miss that month but come back on. So we ask of a minimum of two days per month because we're running a business...

Promotion. The last sub-theme to emerge from kiltmakers' understanding of the Scottish Vocational Qualification course was *promotion*, and refers to the use of marketing to promote interest in the course. Jessica noted that there may be more interest in the Scottish Vocational Qualification, due to marketing efforts by firms that offer the course:

I think the qualification is becoming more popular because it's always been there. I think it's just with this, uh, workshop in Edinburgh, it's probably more popular that people haven't really thought about it or heard about doing a qualification to do kilt-making, but now it's publicized, because I didn't really know that you could get qualified when I started.

Anna spoke about the power of social media to create interest in the course, and also its ability to promote graduated kiltmakers:

I think it's like with, with the growth of it, with more, you know, kind of fresh, really enthusiastic kiltmakers coming the industry should get stronger and, and I think it's gonna big part of improving it as well cause it's even like word of mouth or social media now, that's you know, like all the ladies I study with they, you know they advertise themselves by just posting pictures and stuff so people already get like, "Oh well that's interesting she's in a kilt, she's making kilts. Maybe I would like a kilt." Suddenly there's like just more interest in it just by the fact that more people that actually do it.

Understanding of Certification Mark and Protected Geographic Indication

Participants' responses about *Certification Mark and Protected Geographic*

Indication led to the emergence of two major themes relating to *government* and *protection*.

A sub-theme relating to *government* emerged as *apathy*, while sub-themes emerged under

the *protection* theme relating to *country of origin, copyright, certification mark, and protected geographic indication*.

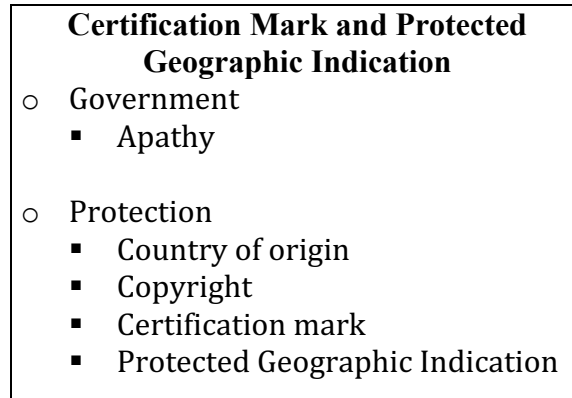


Figure 37. Understanding of Certification Mark and Protected Geographic Indication: Over-arching theme, major themes and sub-themes.

Government

Government emerged as participants addressed their perception of the Scottish Government's stance on efforts to curtail imports of kilts from overseas sources, along with discussions about creating a registered standard for Scottish-made kilts. Participants differed in their reflections on the need for government to be involved in the Scottish kiltmaking industry. Anna noted that she feels there is a need for more government support for kiltmakers and kiltmaking:

I think the Government could do a lot more to support kilt making. Um, SVQ opened because they felt that, well, the people that run it, the woman who started it, they felt that there isn't anywhere to train as a kiltmaker anywhere in this area anyway there's a school up north. Um, but they got very little support from Government so so they kind of had to be like self-funded, and they had to find their own, um, how would you say, um, people and to put money towards it.

In contrast, Arlene noted that the government should stay out of the kiltmaking industry, "I think just let the government, and we'll just carry on with the kilt makin's. I don't want the government I' involved. Gee whiz." Six of the 17 kiltmakers interviewed, three of which

were students, noted that they did not know enough about *government* efforts to have an opinion. Polly stated, “I’ve only heard, you know, the recent, um, kilt school in Edinburgh starting out but apart from that I don’t know much about that, because I’m only new into it myself.” Elsa noted that *government* issues have not come to mind for her, “Well, I have to say I hadn’t even considered this.”

Apathy. Apathy emerged as a sub-theme under the *government* theme, and relates to interactions that those trying to increase government involvement in the kiltmaking industry have had with Scottish Government officials. Cookie noted that high-ranking officials were approached with ideas for government action with respect to kiltmaking, and did not indicate interest, “Alex Salmond, its first minister was asked to take it that it was acknowledged as the same idea as um, uh, Cornish pastry and he wasn’t interested.” Mary also commented on Firm 1’s efforts to get the government involved, and stated that efforts have been bogged down by bureaucracy:

...I’m really disappointed in them. We...I mean, it was Firm 1 actually who started the petition years ago, to try and get the kilts, you know, standardized. You know, it has to be eight yards, it has to be hand sewn, it has to be made in Scotland. You know, like you’ve got all kind of like Cornish pasties, things like that. And, he got this petition going down to the Scottish parliament, would they even entertain it? Went to the UK parliament, which apparently hurt the Scottish tourist industry, which we didn’t quite get, and then I think he then stuck it to the European parliament and nothing ever came of it...

Protection

The *protection* theme emerged while participants spoke about the impact that imports have had on the kiltmaking industry, and their feelings on establishing kiltmaking standards, leading to certification mark or geographic indication protection. Robert stated that he is attempting to accomplish the task of certification mark through his involvement in Scottish Vocational Qualification:

Um, with the SQA we're, we're trying to get a, a [sic] standard that people will recognize...um, uh, through the, the Scottish Tartan, or the STLA, which is Scottish Tartans and Leather Association. They, they got, um, funding for 280,000 pounds, uh, over three years to actually do something with the industry, and all they, they've come up with is, is, is [sic] a potential mark for the, for the tartan. Um, and it, it [sic] doesn't mean anything...

On the other hand, Zoe stated that she does not see why a kilt made properly anywhere should be differentiated from a Scottish kilt:

...um, I don't see why, I don't see why they would want to restrict something like kiltmaking to one area of the country. If there are people in England that want to do kilts, then why not? I don't, I don't see the problem. Don't restrict it. (laughter) Anybody wants to learn to make a kilt, then they should be able to...

Country of origin. A sub-theme of *country of origin* emerged through participants' responses on *protection* of the Scottish kiltmaking industry, and refers to the value that is created by a product's place of manufacture. Jessica commented that a large company in Edinburgh that imports is beginning to make more kilts in Scotland, since they realize that it has become an issue in popular culture, "I think they're listening to what other people have said basically. Yeah. Kilts should be made in Scotland. So I think they're, they're, they're [sic] listening to that and, um, yeah now the kilts are made up at Castle Hill." Arlene noted that customers derive part of the value of a product from the country of manufacture:

Yeah, I could, I could [sic] imagine that's a real good thing, because if you want to buy a product, I wouldn't expect somebody in China to order the kilt from Germany. They'd want, they'd want to get it from the country they originated from.

Copyright. The sub-theme of *copyright* emerged from participants' descriptions of other types of *protection* used throughout the world, and refers to definition of a unique status for comparable products to Scottish kilts. Charlotte noted that fashion designers have used *copyright* laws to protect their interests:

...ban the imports. It's like counterfeit. That's what it's like. Counterfeit. I mean, if somebody had, um, if I had a design, and somebody come in for abroad, saying they

had clothes that were genuine, there'd be something done about that, but they're nothing about the kilts...

Polly said that she believes that protection of unique products is important:

...I think it's so important that when you can make a claim to something that is yours and can't be abused elsewhere using your name, your title, whatever it is, I think that's very important. Um, the source of it is protected...

Betty made an analogy to international brands that protect their names:

...it's like Gucci and Armani, you know, they've got their status, they've got their quality, but there's gonna be cheap copies...the Gucci and Armani handbags and jewelry and stuff, but at least they're illegal. And even though you can buy em, you know they're illegal, and you know you've not got the real thing. So why can't we be like Gucci and Armani? Why can't we have this title, this status to say "this is the real one...that's not real." They shouldn't be able to sell, unless they have the certificate of authenticity with a kilt...that's how I feel...

Certification mark. Another sub-theme of *certification mark* emerged from participants' responses when they discussed their ideas of how *protection* could potentially be established for the Scottish kiltmaking industry. Robert commented that he feels the Scottish Vocational Qualification is an avenue to establish an official standard for kiltmaking:

...um, with the SQA we're, we're trying to get a, a [sic] standard that people will recognize. Um, so, what, what we're trying to do is, is [sic] trying to get a standard for kilt making, um, and I recognize standard for kilt making, and we've perceived that as being through the SQA...

Cookie posited that establishment of a *certification mark* would be impossible, due to inherent differences in kiltmakers' styles:

There's been discussions about marks, cape marks well you, I mean, that do you have a specific mark for kilt-making. However, that's a very difficult one because not everybody does the kilts the same style that. Uh, we have looked at national investigate and having an actual label, like if they have done the kilts here, they can put the label in to see that they've done that. Because I know there has been lots of moves from the Scottish tax authority, from other kilt-makers who want a cape mark on it, you know a proper whatever they name is. But I can't see you can do it. I can't see that.

Protected Geographic Indication. *Protected Geographic Indication* was the last sub-theme to emerge under the *protection* theme, as kiltmakers discussed their feelings on potential effects of protected geographic indication for Scottish kiltmaking. Anna stated that she thought that this method of *protection* would be beneficial:

...um, I think it would be a deal actually, I really believe that it would be a really good thing, like I think, like whisky let's say. I mean whiskey from Scotland is meant to be the proper Malt-Whisky rather than you know, whiskey from Japan, let's say. So yes I do think that original product from here should always be better quality and there should be, yes, I could, well I do believe that it would maybe bring more attention to it and also uh, just kind of maybe establish it may be a bit more, and worldwide as a unique product, maybe yeah I guess that that kind of ties in with economy questions you had asked me earlier on the could possibly you know uh be yeah be like a market for our area. Yeah, like something that people seek after just hear rather than somewhere else I guess?...

However, she thought that such protection would be unrealistic:

...um, yes, well I think there will be a difficult thing to, uh, resolve, but I think it would kind of establish what is the quality product and what is not a quality product because then maybe we will start treating their product as, yeah, again as I said earlier as a souvenir rather than as an actually original garment that carries the history and the tradition and value, you know. Like maybe that would be the case. Because the difference between them is is you know explainable really. Their massive, just they're really different. Like extremely extremely different...

Cookie stated that protected geographic indication status does not alleviate other forces that are detrimental to a particular industry, and used Harris Tweed as an example:

...just because its got um, a mark of Harris Tweed in it...and it's got it's spring ticket and it's got a ticket, ticket, [sic] um, doesn't make it anymore buy-able because I mean they are struggling big time at the present moment to, to keep their mills open because they, they the cost of wool has gone up. The raw wool has gone up...

She then questioned the validity of geographic indications, "If you take um, a cow and feed it in Scotland for a week, you can say it's Scottish beef. You know."

European Union Green Paper on Geographic Indication Protection

The European Union (EU) commissioned Green Paper (2014) is of use in the present study, as it stipulates that Geographic Indication Protection (GI) may be established based solely upon indigenous knowledge characteristics, instead of upon the source of components. A comparison of the main findings of the Green Paper may be compared against the themes that emerged from the interview data in this study, to judge whether an argument could be made for establishment of GI protection on Scottish kilts. Therefore, Table 4 compares GI language with kiltmaker interview findings and thematic areas.

Table 4. A comparison of GI language to kiltmaker interview findings

Thematic Area(s)	GI Language	Kiltmaker Interview Findings
<i>Country of Origin</i> <i>Imports</i> <i>Traditional Techniques</i> <i>Standards</i>	“Geographical indications (GIs) are indications that identify goods as originating in a country, region or locality where a particular quality, reputation or other characteristic of the product is essentially attributable to its geographical origin” (EU Green Paper, 2014, p. 4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scottish kilts originate in Scotland • Physical quality defined as standards for fabric yardage and hand-stitching that have been defined by Scottish kiltmakers.
<i>Chain of Knowledge</i> <i>Heritage Trade</i> <i>Traditional Techniques</i> <i>Scaffolding</i> <i>Body of Knowledge</i>	Utilize “traditional knowledge and production methods, which are often rooted in the cultural and social heritage of a particular geographical location” (EU Green Paper, 2014, p. 4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kiltmaking knowledge has been built upon and transmitted through multiple generations of Scottish kiltmakers within Scotland. • Kiltmaking knowledge is defined by Scottish kiltmakers as “traditional ways,”

Table 4. (Continued)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • and is differentiated from other methods used to produce non-Scottish kilts. • Scottish kilts are defined by kiltmakers as Scottish “National Dress.”
<p><i>Imports</i> <i>Imposters</i> <i>Quality</i> <i>Standards</i></p>	<p>GI’s exist to ensure that inauthentic products may not be passed off as genuine, and are mainly meant to allow small-to-medium sized firms to claim exclusivity and better market their products</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Currently, firms that import non-Scottish-made kilts use Scottish Heritage to market their products. (See Figure 14) • Firms that sell Scottish-made products market themselves at genuine Scottish product. (See Figure 15) • Participant firms that produce Scottish kilts were observed to consist of a maximum of 12 people. • Many producers of kilts are freelance “outworkers.”
<p><i>Chain of Knowledge</i> <i>Body of Knowledge</i> <i>Traditional Techniques</i></p>	<p>GIs are also meant to maintain and perpetuate traditional knowledge that has been amassed over an extended period of time.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scottish kiltmakers’ responses and literature indicated a clear body of traditional knowledge that has existed since 1720-1730.
<p><i>Imports</i></p>	<p>“Honymynous GIs” (EU Green Paper, 2014, p. 15) are generic, and are not eligible to be protected, as they can refer to goods</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants and literature indicated that kilts are manufactured in many countries—some by individuals

Table 4: (Continued)

	manufactured in different countries.	who learned in Scotland and practice the same traditional methods.
<i>Traditional Techniques</i> <i>Body of Knowledge</i> <i>Chain of Knowledge</i> <i>Apprenticeship</i> <i>Certification</i> <i>Expertise</i> <i>Bespoke</i> <i>Scaffolding</i>	<p>A specific ‘causal link’ between the product’s quality, reputation or other characteristics and their designed geographical origin is required, as those qualities depend on the natural conditions of the place of production and/or the ways human societies work with them (i.e. know-how developed by the people in this area /particular skills developed over the years by local experts). (EU Green Paper, 2014, p. 16)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although Scottish kiltmakers utilize traditional methods that have been developed over many generations within the Scottish borders, there exist non-Scots throughout the world that utilize the same know-how and goods produced in Scotland to manufacture kilts.

Traditional techniques of constructing the current incarnation of the kilt originated in Scotland, and are the result of a *body of knowledge* that has been amassed over a long period of time. The *standards* and *expertise* that is exhibited by professional Scottish kiltmakers is the result of a process of *scaffolding* that starts during *apprenticeship* or *certification*, and the resulting *bespoke* product retains certain *quality* characteristics that are reflective of the *body of knowledge*. The knowledge that kiltmakers have amassed as a group over the years occurred within the Scottish cultural boundary (Barth, 1969), and the only influences from outside the boundary have manifested as students who come from other countries to learn. These students usually do not remain in Scotland, and transport their knowledge back to their

home culture. Therefore, Scotland could be considered the *country of origin* for this particular body of kiltmaking knowledge, as it began and has been perpetuated inside the Scottish cultural boundary (Barth, 1969). *Imposter import* products that are manufactured overseas with *mass production* methods do not utilize the same *traditional techniques* as Scottish kiltmakers, since workers in those factories are not participants in the Scottish kiltmaking of the *body of knowledge*. Therefore, the *heritage trade* of kiltmaking is unique to Scotland, in that it is the product of an intact exchange and develop of indigenous knowledge.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND MODEL

The analysis of interview data with kiltmakers, teachers, learners, and administrators and subsequent selective coding process led to connections between themes and experiences that can be categorized as internal or external, while culture represents an interface where kiltmakers both participate in—and are impacted by—external forces.

Theoretical Implications

A number of theoretical frameworks were considered, in an attempt to situate kiltmakers' experiences within the larger set of scholarly concepts. The study results illustrated the applicability of *Social Capital Theory*, *Cultural Transmission Theory*, *Scaffolding Theory*, *Feminist Theory*, as well as theories grounded in culture relating to *fashion cycles*, *movement of meaning*, and *sources of meaning*.

Social Capital Theory

In his work entitled *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*, Coleman (1988) builds on previous concepts of human and physical capital that were generated by sociologists and economists. Sociologists posit that individuals take action due to pressures put on them within the social context, while economists believe that individuals take action only with their own benefit in mind. Coleman (1988) argues that Social Capital occurs through synergies created by three types of capital: (a) human (aptitude and talents), (b) physical (equipment and money), and (c) social (development of a network of connections). DeCarolis & Saporito (2006) further this concept by noting that individuals' decisions to develop and engage in a system of Social Capital is relegated by a personal assessment of the likelihood that they will be successful at the endeavor. Therefore, the concept of Social Capital is useful in understanding how kiltmakers experience industry and government, how

they experience one another, and their assessment of the possibility of protections being placed on Scottish kilts.

One of Coleman's (1988) major points in the explanation of Social Capital is the requirement of a closed network of individuals who have the power to impose sanctions upon individual actors, and who also contribute to the norms of the network (Figure 38). For example, if actors a, b, and c are all part of the community coordinating their efforts, they can monitor each other and impose sanctions if needed, as noted in image b of Figure 38. This greater cooperation between actors in the community leads to maintenance of behavioral standards and ultimately benefits the entire group.

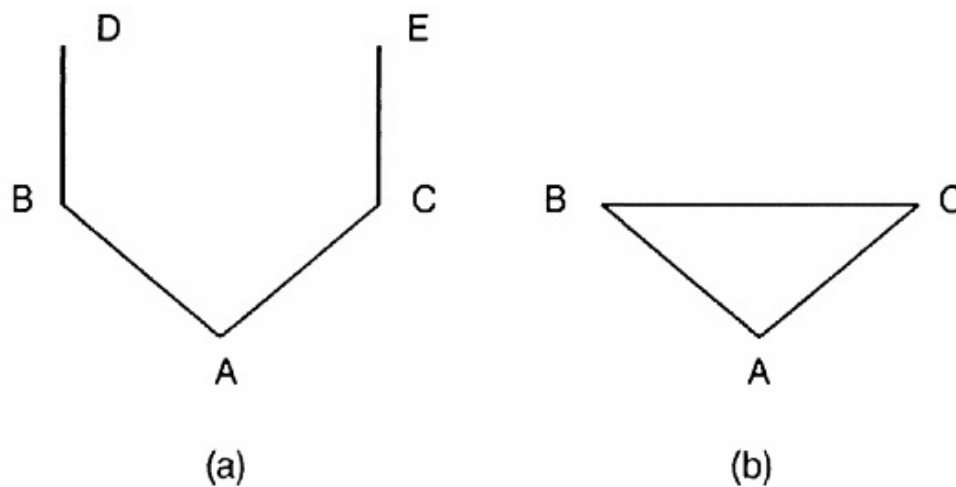


FIG. 1.—Network without (a) and with (b) closure

Figure 38: Coleman's (1988) illustration of open versus closed networks. Reprinted.

The very nature of the kiltmaking business runs counter to this requirement of a closed network, in that it is primarily based upon “outworkers” who have a loose connection to the firms for which they produce. As Betty stated, kiltmakers can work for multiple companies: “there are girls that work in the house and for several companies and they’ll be doing five orders and you know they’re paying their own taxes, insurance on the house and stuff like that.” Kiltmakers may work in-house on a part-time basis; however, most

participants indicated that workers regularly pick up work to bring home, and then return to the firm once the work is completed, as Terry noted:

...I don't work in the shop. I just come up, get the cloth, the ticket and all the scrap that I need...take some things and go home. And just sit at home. So if I come up, it might be a couple of times a week...

In addition, kiltmaking learning has traditionally occurred within firms where the individual kiltmaker has no tangible interest or control over the business, and where owners engage in knowledge control, in order to forestall kiltmakers' abilities to defect and engage in entrepreneurial activities. Therefore, the development of Social Capital is precluded due to the very structure of the kiltmaking business; this structure purposefully compartmentalizes kiltmakers' knowledge and fractures their connections as a pre-emptive protectionist strategy instituted by firms. Through the very organization of the industry, kiltmakers have never thought of themselves as a community, and rather see themselves as independent contractors. Further, it is through this structure that industry-wide standards have never been established, as each kiltmaker is free from any sanctions being imposed by the greater community. Robert described this succinctly: "...they don't have somebody in a workroom, a workroom foreman that says, 'No, that's, that's not correct. You need to go and re-do that again...'"

DeCarolis & Saporito's (2006) thoughts on pre-cognition of success have great applicability in kiltmakers' potential to develop Social Capital, as a number of participants noted feelings of lack of bargaining power—both with firms and the Scottish Government. The participant, Robert's statement that he had to approach his kiltmaker to offer a raise, and that the kiltmaker was taken off-guard by this overture, indicates kiltmakers' pre-cognitions of failure at negotiations:

...um, and it was, it took me this year to give her a pay raise without her asking, and say, “Well, actually, I’m keeping you in line with the rest of my kiltmakers.” And she’s like, “Well, why would you do that?”...

Furthermore, kiltmakers’ general feelings and experiences of being let down by the Scottish Government’s apathy and lack of support for kiltmakers adds to this same mindset of failure. Combined, the very structure of the kiltmaking business and kiltmakers’ experiences of powerlessness deny the development of a Social Capital system.

Cultural Transmission Theory (CT)

The genesis of Cultural Transmission Theory (CT) arose through an analogy that was created between genetic transmission, plus the transmission and modification of cultural information units called memes¹¹ (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007). A progression of the Theory noted that individuals sharing memes would share the same worldview, due to relative homogeneity of their shared cultural experiences. Therefore, the method of exchange of memes (content) would be variably modified within the environment (worldview). The elements of CT are of great interest, as until recently, transmission of kiltmaking knowledge has occurred in an informal manner and without much documentation. Uniqueness and exclusivity of the source of indigenous knowledge is a major consideration and obligatory requirement in establishment of the recently proposed Protected Geographic Indication protection.

As kiltmakers who learned in an apprenticeship discussed their training, they were able to trace the line of trainers back multiple generations, and the data indicated that all of

¹¹ Memes are defined by Webster’s Dictionary as “a cultural unit (an idea or value or pattern of behavior) that is passed from one generation to another by nongenetic means (as by imitation); ‘memes are the cultural counterpart of genes’” (Merriam-Webster, 2016).

the kiltmakers that learned in a traditional apprenticeship were trained by Scottish nationals in Scotland, as Terry noted:

...there was a really old kiltmaker and she trained and then Betty has taken over as head and she's doing it. Yeah, and [old kiltmaker] was...god knows how old she is... I'm not sure. If she is, she'll be 100-something...

Since apprenticeship occurs within a firm, since apprenticeship has been the primary method of kiltmaker, there is an indication that the worldview of kiltmakers has been shared by from this group at least as far back as the nineteenth century.

Until the recent establishment of the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) course, kiltmakers indicated that methods of apprenticeship training included learning the construction of a kilt by performing small tasks, including taking a kilt apart and putting it back together, as Terry noted, "...I'd take it into bits and put it back together. It was a good way to learn the structure of a kilt without having to do the difficult part." In addition, participants noted that much learning occurred by watching more experienced kiltmakers and asking questions as needed, or approaching more experienced kiltmakers to assist in problem-solving when a roadblock occurred, as Terry later stated, "It's amazing what you pick up just by watching other people. You pick it up from them, so you just pick up in pieces." It can be posited then, that each small task that kiltmakers perform represents a meme, and that as CT outlines, memes are transferred by a regular exchange of oral and observational inputs and outputs between kiltmakers. Kiltmaking information is then diffused on a continuous basis between generations of more and less experienced kiltmakers in a relatively stable environment, which ensures continuity of information. The continuity of the group is ensured, considering that information transfer occurs in small groups. Much as CT stipulates, kiltmakers also noted that the information that is received is modified; however,

most times kiltmakers still consider the opinions of the group, in terms of modification of procedures, as Bryan noted:

...so we all kind of work together, it's not just me teaching, it's like, we all kind of work together, and I even say to somebody, "well, how would you explain it? Because how I explain it isn't working." So then we...you know, well maybe we all just go around and..."well, do that, do that," "ah, I get it"...

Therefore, CT is reflected through the gradual diffusion of kiltmaking knowledge memes from generation to generation in a mostly homogenous environment, thus resulting in stable continuation of kiltmaking cultural tradition.

Scaffolding Theory

In indigenous knowledge traditions, artisans learn from more experienced individuals by gradually building up skills—a process that is elucidated in Scaffolding Theory. This concept is an extremely important one to consider, as many emergent themes in the present study regarding indigenous knowledge transmission are explainable through this theory. Tehrani and Reade (2008) also note that Scaffolding involves the learner taking on more complex tasks over an extended time frame, until they become savant at the entire process of manufacturing the handicraft. During this time, the teacher will provide input to the learner, and the learner will also observe the teacher as they work, as Bryan stated:

...[If a student] is just about finished, and that one there, the way that she had chosen to pleat it, I kind of ... I was like, well, it looks a bit, you know ... so we can make it simpler. So, you know, they are open for me to correct them and stuff...

Finally, the learner may tweak the process to his or her own style, as Terry commented, “you develop your own way of doing it.”

In their analysis of generational learning habits entitled *Indigenous communication and indigenous knowledge*, Mundy and Compton (1991) differentiate between indigenous

knowledge that is developed within a community, and exogenous knowledge that is created by external sources. Simultaneously, the authors note that each type of knowledge can be communicated either through either exogenous means, which are agents from external sources that communicate the information, or indigenous channels, where members of the community share information (Figure 39).

	Exogenous Knowledge	Indigenous Knowledge
Exogenous Communication	Technology Transfer	Indigenous-knowledge-based development
Indigenous Communication	Diffusion; co-opting of folk media	Cultural continuity and change

Figure 39: Mundy and Compton's (1991) matrix of indigenous communication. Reprinted.

Mundy and Compton (1991) go on to enumerate specific communication vehicles that facilitate indigenous communication, and note “deliberate instruction” (p. 3) and “direct observation” (p. 4) as two of the primary methods. The authors also posit that indigenous communication means may have more validity to indigenous community members, due to “opinion leadership” and “interpersonal networks” (p. 4). In the emergent theme of *Scaffolding*, both apprenticeship and certification participants discussed how they learned kiltmaking in pieces—*learning the easy parts first*, such as stitching and alterations, as Betty commented on her own experiences as an apprentice, “we’d get a sample—just a scrap of material, and we’d have to pleat up, so that we could sew and match the lines to lines, just so all the pleats matched.” Participants explained that the smaller tasks that were originally assigned to them by teachers allowed them to understand kilt construction and foundational concepts of kiltmaking.

As learners progress through their apprenticeship or certification process, they are assigned progressively difficult tasks. Over this time, which can range from sixteen weeks to a number of years, learners are *building speed* and *confidence* in their ability to construct the kilt, however, they must maintain their learning through *observation* and gaining inputs from their teacher. Participants noted that once the learner becomes a competent kiltmaker in their own right, they can adapt processes to suit their own needs, as Terry stated, “I think it’s just watching different people, then you develop your own way of doing it. There’s not one way to do it...like variations on doing it [kiltmaking]...as long as you end up with a kilt.” The majority of participants also noted that kilmakers’ learning is an *ongoing* process that never really ends, as *planning* is the most difficult component of kiltmaking, and involves an infinite number of permutations of *pattern* and *fit*, therefore kilmakers consistently add to their body of knowledge by *trial and error*, as Arlene noted, “...so, you’re learnin’ something new, probably each time you make a kilt, as well. How to, um, maybe deal with different problems that you didn’t have with the one before...”

It is also important to note that as apprenticeship consists of indigenous knowledge and indigenous communication (Mundy & Compton, 1991), the alternative process of learning through the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ), touches on all four quadrants of Mundy and Compton’s (1991) matrix of indigenous communication. *Mentorship* and *help* occur much as they would in a traditional apprenticeship program, as teachers gauge students’ abilities and have *flexibility* in lengthening or shortening the course to students’ needs, as the kiltmaking student Anna stated:

...and so yeah it’s it’s [*sic*] quite flexible. There is no well we were all kind of the-the course is scheduled for sixteen weeks. However, they are very flexible with us because they do understand that not everyone is fast in sewing or not everyone’s got

that time to put into it. So if someone is not doing let's say as well as their expecting them to then their fine with them to continue the course after the sixteen weeks...

Therefore, these themes can be classified as indigenous knowledge and indigenous communication. However, *assessment* and *course requirements* apply exogenous knowledge via pedagogy that was not developed within the traditional Scottish kiltmaking community.

As Mary stated, the Scottish Vocational Authority (SQA) wields much influence:

...um, now, you have to follow an actual schedule. Um, the SVQ, the SQA, has to have proof that everybody's doing everything, so there's a lot more paperwork. Whereas I never had any, any form of paperwork whatsoever when I was doing my kilt. Now, the lassies have to do health and safety, they have to, you know, have everything on top of actually making a kilt...

In addition, participants noted that a good deal of assessment is conducted by Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) personnel who are not kiltmakers. This collaboration between the kiltmaking community and the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) crosses quadrants of Mundy and Compton's (1991) matrix. To Mundy and Compton's (1991) point, though, the course resonates with students, since the primary contact for instruction are expert Scottish kiltmakers, and participants indicated that the collegial aspect of learning kiltmaking is important.

Feminist Theory

In *What's in a Name?*, Hill-Collins (1990, 1996) notes three forces effecting feminism globally, being: (a) economics, which relates to prospects for education, industrial advancement, and human resources guidelines, (b) politics, which refers to women's' voice in government, and (c) family, that connects with resources that give women the ability to fulfill their personal responsibilities, such as accessing health care. While utilizing Black Feminist Theory in *Female Slave Narratives and Appearance Assimilation, Experience, and Escape*, Sanders (2011) notes that in order to comprehend how oppression is dealt with and

overcome, one must consider the foundations of Black Feminist Theory, which are “self-definitions,” “intersecting oppressions of race, class, and gender,” “political activism,” and “awareness of cultural heritage” (p. 270).

Emergent themes centered in gender, stereotypes, economics, politics, and government connect with the intersectional tenets of feminist theories. Analysis of the data indicated that female kiltmakers, who comprised approximately 90% of the sample (n=17), experienced gender-related phenomena, as they noted experiences relating to *women’s work*.

Economics. Female kiltmakers noted that *opportunities* to train as a kiltmaker and enter the kiltmaking profession arose primarily due to either *serendipity* or *asking*. The significance of this is that female kiltmakers were not recruited, but by contrast, had to create their own educational opportunities. Connections were noted between the *stereotypes* of kiltmaking as *women’s work*, and resulting *income inequality*, as participants noted that the perception of kiltmakers as female senior citizens who work at home has led to disrespect in the industry that manifests through kiltmakers’ lack of *professional respect*, and being stripped of bargaining power. In addition, female kiltmakers’ *freelance* status led to experiences of disconnection from the industry, in that there are no human resources standards for kiltmakers, as they are mostly operating as “outworkers,” and are responsible for networking for work and paying their own taxes.

Politics. There was a general consensus amongst participants that there is a general *apathy* within the Scottish government with respect to entertaining policies that could benefit the kiltmaking profession and that kiltmakers have little voice in Scottish politics. Participants were not any less passionate due to this fact, due to their intense cultural awareness and pride, and still expressed their interest in changing the status quo through

smaller efforts, such as participation in the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ). The data also revealed that females have a strong definition of themselves as kiltmakers, and contrasted this role with the male role of front-of-house salesperson, as Jessica noted, "...fair enough the majority of the women were doing the sewing, but most of the other people in the company doing the buying and the selling are men..."

Family. Female kiltmakers noted that their chosen career has positive effects as well, and enables them to have pride in their work, along with maintaining *work/life balance*.

Arlene noted this by stating:

...um, well, it's a bit difficult just now, 'cuz the wee one's only about five months old. But, um, no, it's nice to be able to work from home, because, I can, I can make a kilt when you've got a baby. It's a good opportunity to, to have a profession, and have a family life at the same time...

The ability to maintain this balance speaks directly to Hill-Collins' (1990, 1996) tenant of being able to meet family obligations. However, it is important to note that female kiltmakers' *career* status involves *freelance* classification, and as a result, kiltmakers are required to pay their own insurance.

Theories Grounded in Culture

Fashion cycles. The use of Sproles' (1981) concept of fashion cycles is particularly helpful within this study, as the data indicated that there are long- and short-term cycles at work with respect to kilt styling. Kiltmakers indicated that *heritage* and *tradition* are important elements when they explain their experiences with kilts, as Jessica stated:

Well it, it's a prominent role as it's the national dress of Scotland. It's...without the kilt-makers, it would be more...no kilts. (laughs) And because it is heritage, it's, um, it's, it's always...we've always worn kilts.

Participants explained that the kilt *tradition* has been largely unmodified since the early eighteenth century when the Feiladh Beg (Little Kilt) came appeared. This development

occurred at the same time as great upheaval in the Scottish economy, and was solidified by the efforts of Sir Walter Scott during the period of kilt mania that ensued during King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century. Although the concept of the kilt's *heritage* and *tradition* are less ancient than previously thought (Laird, 2016), one cannot deny the significance of a fashion form that has been stable over a nearly 300-year period.

More recently, kilts have been re-imagined into a more modern form by a small group of kiltmakers. Although these kiltmakers' modifications include reducing the rise by two inches and adding pockets, participants noted that the basic construction of modern kilts is similar to that of kilts that are considered to use *traditional techniques*. Additionally, it was noted that kiltmakers feel that there is a place in the market for these kilts, and that they are not considered *imposter* product, as Robert noted:

...that, that, that's fine. 'Cause, obviously, he's [Firm 1] in a different market, um, from what we are doing, but at the same time he's, um, he's still trying to keep the, the standard up...

This short-term cycle change (Sproles, 1981) could be considered to be driven by *Zeitgeist* (Mackinney-Valentin, 2012), which is a reflection of popular culture. As with the larger fashion industry, the kilt market is subject to changes in fashion trends, and revenues are reflective of the popularity of a product in a short-term fashion cycle. Participants noted the *downturn* of the kilt market, as consumers once thought of the kilt as a stogy garment, but recently noted that there is a general *reversal* of the market, since kilts are being produced in more popular colors and fabrics. This indicates that there are indeed short- and long-term cycles (Sproles, 1981) at work in the Scottish kilt market.

Movement of meaning. Hamilton's (1997) macro-micro continuum and Kaiser et al's (1995) Symbolic Interaction Theory of Fashion are beneficial frameworks to consider

when analyzing kiltmakers' experiences of the kilt in culture. Both concepts note that garments can communicate the values and norms of a particular culture, as meaning is placed on the garment using a particular society's standards, while at the same time, individual members of society may experience minute differences in their perception of a cultural garment. This group of theoretical concepts has particular relevance to the kilt, as the garment has been adopted and incorporated into Scottish culture as the "National Dress of Scotland;" therefore, the kilt's core meaning and form has remained relatively stable over the past 300 years. At the same time, participants noted that individuals may interpret the garment in a slightly different manner through various stylistic differences. As Terry said, "...you develop your own way of doing it."

Participants noted their experiences of identifying the kilt in culture through the themes of *heritage*, *tradition*, and *traditional ways*, as they explained the kilt's role in Scottish culture as being the "National Dress" or as being a symbol of Scotland. Some participants made analogies to other cultures, which revealed that participants understand that there exist certain garments that are exclusive to specific cultures, and identified the Scottish kilt as being unique to their own culture and traditions. Participant, Terry stated that the kilt is like "the Statue of Liberty" is to the United States. The consistency of the responses to the kilt in Scottish culture question would probably indicate that the kilt's overall definition is driven by macro-level societal definitions that have trickled down to the populous.

The data also indicated a link between *tradition*, *heritage*, and *traditional ways* and *government*, as participants stated their feelings that *government* has a responsibility to help perpetuate kiltmaking practice as a *heritage trade* that is important to Scottish culture, while also ensuring that citizens are education in Scottish history. Kiltmakers' expectations are that

financial support and promotion of the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) and kilt traditions should be provided by *government*, and that the kilt's meaning in Scottish culture is being eroded by lack of awareness of *tradition*. Bryan noted that more could be done for kiltmaking students by the government:

...I do kind of feel for these guys [students], but they [students] are passionate about it, so it's fine, you know, but um ... so maybe they [the government] could do something, because it is like our...it's our thing, the kilt making...

Participants noted the absence of Scottish History as a subject taught in primary and secondary institutions, and drew a connection between *societal stereotypes* and the lack of education of Scottish citizens in their own *heritage* and *traditions*.

Sources of meaning. Hamilton's (1997) macro-micro continuum is also useful in interpreting emergent themes with regards to sources of meaning, especially when coupled with McCracken's (1986) "fashion system" concept. Hamilton's (1997) framework notes that although macro-level arbiters exist, such as large firms and designers in the fashion market who have a significant influence on meanings of dress, there are also micro-level negotiations amongst groups and within the self that occur. Therefore, definitions of dress meanings are a dynamic process of both down and up forces that are accomplished with various combinations of negotiations in the macro- and micro-levels (Figure 40).

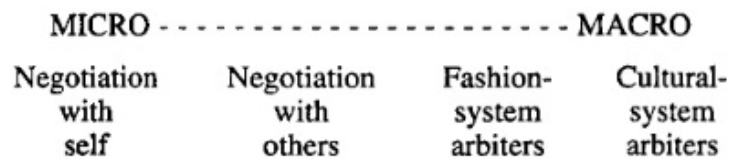


Figure 40. Hamilton's (1997) macro-micro continuum. Reprinted (p. 164).

Conversely, sub-cultural influences from either individuals or small groups on the micro-level can subvert a top-down system and adjust what is culturally acceptable through

bottom-up influence. This is especially true today with the advent of bloggers and social media, which sometimes gives individuals disproportionate power over popular opinion. However, this process has only occurred through the intervention of grass roots arbiters, such as Firm 1, who have been able to re-define the kilt. Jessica noted that Firm 1 has been changing popular opinions about the kilt:

[Firm 1's] making them more fashion forward. Um, that they're still relevant, that they're still...he can show you pictures from black and white photos to photos now and the guys are wearing the same outfits. That he's still relevant, but he's making them more fashionable and guys who are getting a new outfit for a wedding and I've got the same kilt out of the cupboard, but they're like, "No, uh, I want a new outfit too.

Participants indicated that *mass production* of kilts has had a tremendous influence as a source of kilt meaning, as *machine made* kilts being produced in large quantities by *cutting corners* have supplanted *bespoke* kilts in consumers' minds. Kiltmakers cited one very large, foreign-owned company, which they characterized as an *empire* that is very influential in the market, and has had a negative effect on perceptions of *quality* in the market. However, participants also noted that they are attempting to combat these negative effects at the grass-roots level by establishing *standards* and promoting them to customers. Robert noted his approach:

...uh, and people don't appreciate how much time and effort goes into, to making a kilt. So, when people come and, and, and come into the shop, we, we don't have a sales technique. We just give them information. So, um, uh, so they, if they come in here, they can actually get to see the kiltmaker, and that will hopefully raise the profile of the kiltmaker themselves. So, it, it, it's kind of, it's trying to educate people when they come in as to what they're actually getting for their money. Um, which, then makes it, not an easy sale, but it makes it a, a much more attractive proposition, because people see how much work's in it...

On the micro-level, kiltmakers assigned additional requirements to the physical traits of a kilt, in order for it to be considered genuine. Participants labeled products that were not

made in Scotland, or still other products not made with *traditional ways* as *imposters*. Generally, these requirements would be kilt needs to be hand stitched, with six to eight yards of fabric, properly canvassed, and made in Scotland, as Mary noted, “The kilt will always be your eight yards, hand sewn, made to fit your shape.” As the sample (n=17) consisted exclusively of those in the kiltmaking industry, it seems that micro-level negotiations have taken place amongst the kiltmaking community and have resulted in a group definition of what a Scottish kilt truly is. This is also in line with Black et al.’s (2015) observation that consumers attribute a portion of Scottish-made products’ value to country of origin, and with Al-Sulaiti and Baker’s (1998) position of country of origin as a value-added component of culture-specific products.

Proposed Model

Creswell (2007) notes that Phenomenological discussion, or “textural” and “structural description” (p. 61), should reflect the phenomenon participants have experienced and the setting in which the phenomenon was experienced. Therefore, the model below (Figure 41) clarifies links between themes of how those in the Scottish kiltmaking business experience phenomena.

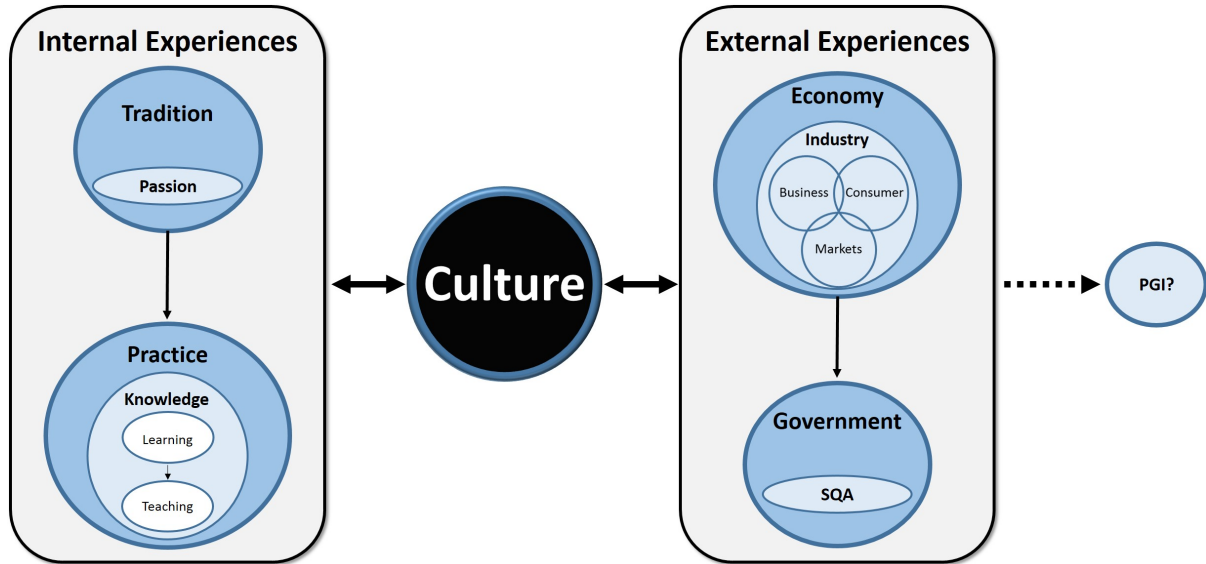


Figure 41. A model of kiltmakers' experiences.

Kiltmakers experience *practice* as an ongoing journey, rather than in a two-dimensional way, and there are variances in relativity to certain experiences. Experiences and activities change as a kiltmaker progresses through their career in practice.

Internal Experiences

The data indicated that kiltmakers that were interviewed have an intense passion for the craft of kiltmaking that stems from their feelings of Scottish ethnic pride, and that this passion of Scottish culture is a driver of kiltmaker practice. The kilt serves impression management purposes through: (a) differentiating Scottish ethnic groups from others, (b) establishing identity through gender and affiliation within the group, and (c) serving as a symbol at certain events that have defined the Scottish national agenda (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). The close association between the kilt and Scottish identity is illustrative of multiple macro and micro forces at work within the Scottish cultural boundary (Barth, 1969; Hamilton, 1997). Viewing the kilt through Hamilton's (1997) macro-micro theory and Kaiser, et al.'s (1995) SI theory, it is apparent that on the micro level, individual members of

the Scottish culture have negotiated the significance the kilt in their personal lives, and new kilt styles that are ambiguous have needed to be resolved and redefined within Scottish culture. These collective negotiations of kilt meaning combine to form a macro perspective for the entire culture; in kiltmakers' case, this macro-level meaning translates into sense of pride that urges kiltmakers pursue opportunities to enter the kiltmaking profession through learning in an apprenticeship or certification course. There is a strong sense of tradition (acting as keepers of the mantle of Scottish National Dress) that solidifies kiltmakers' commitment to practice in every stage of their careers. The model illustrates this through the development of passion within tradition, and the inclination of individuals to become kiltmakers. While practicing, kiltmakers act as arbiters who make real-time decisions about physical aspects of kilt construction that have led to re-definitions of the garment's usage contexts and styling over time on a macro-level. Kiltmakers' re-definition of the kilt also illustrates the power of style arbiters to dictate popular meanings of dress in society, as explained by Blumer's (1969) Collective Selection theory and McCracken's (1986) framework of movement of meaning.

However, a large portion of practice consists of the body of knowledge that is amassed and then transmitted over a kiltmaker's career. One can understand this process of movement from simple to more difficult tasks (then mastery) using Scaffolding theory (Mundy & Compton; Tehrani & Riede, 2008). Initially, knowledge begins the kiltmaker's path towards practice, but once up to speed, the kiltmaker becomes an independent agent with a set of intellectual property all their own, which is added to and modified through experience. Although not clearly demarcated through time, eventually the body of knowledge becomes significant enough that it is shared with others—either directly or indirectly—

through teaching or third-party observation. Since this sharing of information occurs between two people, the experienced kiltmaker is not adding to a formalized body of knowledge; however, shared best practices have the potential to diffuse through the community along the chain of kiltmakers' sharing of knowledge via memes, or kernels of knowledge that are passed from one person to another—a dynamic outlined in Eerkins & Lipo's (2007) Cultural Transmission theory. Positions of teaching and learning have traditionally been based upon amount of experience, and formally assigned to kiltmakers by firms. However, the more recent creation of the kiltmaker qualification is increasing standards for who may be considered qualified to teach. The learner-teacher interface consists of both formal (lecture, demonstration, and assessment) and informal (observation and quick answers to questions) pedagogical activities. As respondents noted that the process of knowledge gathering is ongoing, the data indicated that kiltmakers are constantly learning from one another, and teachers may even learn from students. This process, combined with adaptation of techniques gleaned from other kiltmakers makes for a learning process with much potential for innovation.

External Experiences

The data illustrated that kiltmakers experience the impact of external forces, and feel that they are subject to the trickle down effects, which have been described by theorists in Hamilton's (1997) Macro-Micro theory, Sproles' (1981) Fashion Cycle theory, Blumer's (1969) Collective Selection theory, and McCracken's (1986) theory on movement of meaning. Kiltmakers noted that the status of the Scottish and world economies impacts culture by re-adjusting financial and personal values, and that culture impacts reactions to economic fluctuations. Kiltmakers noted that they relate to three distinct components of the

Scottish kiltmaking industry: (a) business, (b) consumer, and (c) markets; and that the industry not only exists within the entire economy, but is also impacted by cultural values at a given time.

Business. Kiltmakers' relationships to the industry occur through their freelance association with a workplace, and this structure leads to both positive and negative experiences. As described by Coleman (1988), networks of affiliation that would facilitate the development of Social Capital are precluded by kiltmakers' "outworker" status. Individuals indicated they experience feelings of separateness, powerlessness, and low status, while others noted feelings of freedom, flexibility, and work/life balance, which may be reflective of social stigmas of kiltmaking being "women's work." These issues of financial and social inequity have been illustrated by many Feminist theorists (Hill-Collins, 1996; Sanders, 2011). Businesses are viewed as entities unto themselves, that kiltmakers rely upon for work, however these entities are not viewed as kiltmaker advocates.

Consumer. Kiltmakers view consumer priorities and demands as pushing the industry towards cheaper prices and lower quality. At the same time, participants noted that consumer mindset is greatly affected by the status of the economy, in conjunction with the amount of effort that the industry invests into educating the consumer on quality-made products. Kiltmakers view consumer mindset as changeable, but many participants posited that either the industry or government would have to be the originators of any such change.

Markets. The general stratification of product and prices within the kilt market is viewed as a natural and acceptable system that occurs within many types of industries. Participants acknowledged that there is a place for all sorts of product within the industry, but noted that a differentiation should be made between products of differing qualities. There

was a general acknowledgement that the firm-consumer interface varies greatly, depending upon the type of product being sold. However, participants noted unfairness in the market caused by mass merchants who possess more working capital that they use to promote their businesses and that also push smaller businesses into closing up shop.

Kiltmakers experience the Scottish Government separately from the economy and industry, but note the symbiotic relationship between economy, industry, and government. Participants noted that they have experienced the lack of interest and support of the government either first- or second-hand, and that this apathy has manifested through lack of funding and a disinterest in exploring extensions of the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) in kiltmaking—namely establishing an industry standard for kilts as a basis for protection. Again, lack of interest may be perpetuated by latent stigmas of kiltmaking as “women’s work,” which was discovered as a theme across many participants, and that has been outlined by Feminist theorists (Hill-Collins, 1996; Sanders, 2011). Kiltmakers stated that lack of interest gives an unfair advantage in the marketplace to mass merchants, as they are allowed to pass off low-quality, non-Scottish merchandise as authentic. In addition, many participants noted the extensive influence of a single, family-owned ‘tartan tat’ chain as being disproportionate to the rest of the market, and as also potentially influencing government policies.

An additional link between practice and government is experienced by kiltmakers. Several more experienced kiltmakers participated in the construction of the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ), and have made overtures to influence government policy through lobbying efforts. Overall, the Scottish Government is not perceived as being

supportive of the Scottish kiltmaking community, and kiltmakers feel that much more could be achieved via a more cooperative relationship between practitioners and government.

The Cultural Interface

The data led to the conclusion that kiltmakers' experiences can be defined as either internal or external, with the exception of culture. There is a reciprocity between kiltmaking practice, government, and industry, in that learning and practice usually occur in conjunction with firms, and thus business needs and knowledge control tend to impact how kiltmakers learn and practice. It is in the middle of this process that culture acts as an interface between kiltmakers' internal and external experiences, as kiltmakers experience culture as both participants and spectators.

Feelings of tradition and passion flow from a larger cultural awareness, while simultaneously, culture also influences the kiltmaking industry in terms of what is valued by firms and consumers. As kiltmakers help to define the cultural set through practice and evolution of the kiltmaking tradition, they are impacted by forces beyond their control, such as the economy and consumer mindset. For instance, kiltmakers noted that consumers' lack of knowledge and quest for the most inexpensive product is a cultural movement precipitated by economic conditions. On an internal basis, kiltmakers feel empowered to improve consumers' knowledge level by informing them of the virtues of bespoke product, however, externally, kiltmakers feel that consumers' lack of income and frugality is beyond their control.

The differentiation between internal and external experiences lies within kiltmakers' responses of the amount of control that they have over the various themes that emerged from the data. For instance, kiltmakers expressed total control over their decision to enter and

remain in the practice of kiltmaking, while their feelings with regards to government and industry relayed their feelings of being bystanders that merely observe events transpire. Since kiltmakers both participate in—and observe culture, certain themes regarding *societal stereotypes* and *gender* seemed to be neither internal nor external. This combination of individual and collective forces is summed up in Hamilton’s Macro-Micro theory, which is a more inclusive framework from which to consider multiple sources of influence impacting kilts and kiltmakers.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

From its humble origins as the clothing of poor Highlanders, the kilt has grown in fame and influence in both political and cultural spheres. Today, millions of people across the globe recognize the kilt as the personification of Scottish culture, and Scots perceive the garment as their National Dress. The amount of extant literature on the kilt is contrary to its renown, as academic studies on the kilt and kiltmakers are non-existent, and when the kilt is mentioned in academic writings, it is only usually used to represent the usage and influence of Scottish tartan. The purpose of this study was to investigate kiltmakers' experiences while learning and practicing kiltmaking, with the aim of improving industry practices, training, and government policy. Utilizing phenomenological methodology, the study explored: (a) experiences of kiltmakers, and kiltmaking learners, teachers, and administrators, (b) the processes of learning and practicing kiltmaking, (c) industrial, cultural, and governmental forces impacting kiltmaking, (d) gender issues experienced by female kiltmakers, (e) the evolution of the kilt as a cultural symbol, garment, and industry, and (f) the possibility of establishing Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) or Certification Mark protections on Scottish-made kilts. The epoch of this research is that kiltmakers feel unappreciated in society, and are frustrated by a lack of support by industry, consumers, and the government. This chapter will provide an overview of the study, along with implications of results and suggested areas for future research.

Summary

The sample (n=17) for the present study consisted of learners, practicing kiltmakers, kiltmaking teachers, and administrators for the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) in kiltmaking who ranged in ages from 26 to over 60. Approximately 90% of the sample was

comprised of women. Semi-structured interviews were used to gain information on participants' experiences entering, learning, and teaching in the kiltmaking field, salient aspects of kilt design and production, differentiation between expert and learner kiltmakers, impacts on kiltmakers' practice by society, gender norms, politics and economics, along with kiltmakers' understanding how they relate to the government, industry, and Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) program. Participants also provided responses regarding their thoughts on potential protection for the Scottish kiltmaking industry via Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) status. Data were analyzed utilizing phenomenological methodology, where open codes were assigned to data segments, then segments were grouped into emergent themes using axial coding method, and finally, connections were made between themes using selective coding. This resulted in a graphical model of kiltmakers' experiences that assists in understanding the interrelationship of themes.

Kiltmakers relayed a wide variety of their experiences with the phenomena listed above, and they agreed on a number of points: (a) kilts and kiltmakers are an important component of Scottish cultural heritage, (b) the importance of support from government, industry, and educational institutions in order to perpetuate the kiltmaking practice, (c) a desire for the development of well-defined standards for authentic Scottish kilts, (d) learning is accomplished by Scaffolding in both apprenticeship and certification, and kiltmakers engage in life-long learning, and (e) protection for the kiltmaking industry is desirable; however, kiltmakers are not sure how it would be accomplished.

Kiltmakers noted that entry into the kiltmaking profession occurs in various forms including by accident (*serendipity*), or by a concerted effort (*asking*) (see Figure 24).

Participants also noted that individuals practicing kiltmaking are usually retained on a

freelance basis by firms, and that kiltmakers experience issues with job status and compensation as part of their life in practice. However, kiltmakers noted that they do have aspirations and enjoy the sense of accomplishment that the job provides. While teachers' main focus was on their methods of instruction and their joy of educating new kiltmakers (see Figure 25), administrators focused on issues in the kiltmaking industry, and what steps are needed to combat any negative forces (see Figure 26). However, both teachers and administrators expressed their intense sense of awareness and pride in their national heritage as a reason for being engaged in their position.

Participants acknowledged that kiltmakers learn, then adapt their process to suit themselves, and that this is a main issue when contemplating industry-level standards and protections (see Figure 27). Participants agreed that expert kiltmakers are defined by an extensive body of knowledge that they have amassed over a long period of time; which they use as a repository each time they engage in kiltmaking (see Figure 28). However, expert kiltmakers admitted that one may never be considered a "master," as learning occurs over one's entire life in practice.

Kiltmakers who learned through apprenticeship recalled a defined chain of knowledge through actual persons who had taught one another, and described learning as piecemeal, while performing profit-making jobs for firms, such as alterations. Apprenticeship learners also stated that some firms restrict kiltmakers' learning through assignment of specific duties that do not dovetail into one another, thus not allowing employees to gain knowledge of the entire kiltmaking process (see Figure 29). Learners in the Scottish Qualification Authority's (SQA) Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) relayed their learning experience as a more structured, with specific modules of completion and tools for

student assessment (see Figure 30). Also noted was the flexibility of the SVQ, based on student's base skillset and progress through the course.

Respondents characterized the job of kiltmaking as vastly different than that of a tailor (see Figure 31), in that kiltmaking does not involve patternmaking, it is a heavily mathematically oriented process and the garment is mainly hand sewn. As kiltmakers commented on the process of creating the garment, they cited a differentiation between the planning stage and the production stage, and characterized the planning stage as pivotal in ensuring a desirable outcome when making a kilt (see Figure 32). Planning was described as being based on drafting principles, where the kiltmaker uses a customer's measurements and quick calculations to draw guidelines on fabric, then engages in a process of trial to assess the best outcome in terms of aesthetics, fit, drape, and pleating. While participants stressed the uniqueness of each kilt in the planning stage, they noted the production stage as being virtually identical from kilt to kilt.

Gender issues were expressed indirectly during the course of the interviews, and the data revealed that female kiltmakers benefit from the nature of freelance work via work/life balance; however, detrimental gender issues include low status and pay, negative societal stereotypes, and the need to provide one's own insurance and arrange for tax payments (see Figure 33). Respondents also explained their experiences with social stereotypes attached to the kiltmaking trade, and stated that there is an overall lack of respect that is given to those in the kiltmaking practice (see Figure 34).

Although many respondents were pro-government involvement, and indicated that the Scottish Government should do more to support kiltmakers, there were a small number that indicated that the government should stay out of kiltmakers' daily lives (see Figure 35).

Kiltmakers provided the most responses regarding the status of the Scottish kiltmaking industry. As participants described the effects of the early twentieth century economic downturns, they noted additional forces, such as less expensive foreign-made imports, a lack of consumer education, and a focus on profits over quality. Participants stated that these forces have resulted in a Scottish kilt market flooded with cheap, touristy merchandise that reflects badly on kiltmakers and the kiltmaking industry (see Figure 35). Kiltmakers stated that in order to combat these negative effects, there needs to be a general awareness of the need for industry-wide standards for kiltmaking, and cited variability in kiltmakers' output as a challenge (see Figure 36). Last, participants noted a general apathy on the Scottish Government's part in terms of any proposal that involves the kiltmaking industry. Potential efforts cited by kiltmakers included specification of country of origin, copyright on designs, certification mark for kiltmakers, and Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) status for Scottish-made kilts. Nevertheless, most respondents stated a lack of direction for how any of the above could be accomplished (see Figure 37).

Implications

The present study holds implications for the apparel, merchandising, and design field, as it draws upon and links diverse related subjects such as business, sociology, anthropology, design, learning, and governmental policy, and adds to the body of knowledge in each of these areas. This methodical study of kiltmakers' experiences facilitates the exploration of tacit, undocumented encounters and phenomena, in order to gain an understanding of the business and practice of kiltmaking and how to better perpetuate and protect the kiltmaking legacy. In addition, although not evident to female Scottish kiltmakers, the study also brings to light gender inequalities in the Scottish kiltmaking profession. The systematic

investigation of this overlooked area fills a void in academic inquiry, and broadens the scope of cultural garments and indigenous knowledge products as intended research topics. This study extends scholarly research and theories utilized in apparel merchandising studies to a cultural garment that has not been addressed as a separate entity from tartan.

The present study re-defines the kilt and kiltmakers as a unique and attention-worthy subject area within academic inquiry by drawing from diverse theoretical foundations found in both apparel and non-apparel research. This research also produced practical applications relating to design and learning processes and industrial and governmental policies. The kiltmaking profession has entered a new era with the implementation of the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) program, in that a trade that once was learned in a multitude of ways has now adopted pedagogical structure and assessment. Of special importance is the fact that the SVQ course was developed by a pool of kiltmaking experts who provided guidance on content. As the present study includes feedback from learners, it may serve to inform the Scottish Vocational Authority (SQA) in terms of variation of learners' skillset and nuances of teacher-learner interface that may be used to improve the current course offering. In addition, aside from the current SVQ course, and to the principle investigator's knowledge, the Scottish Government has no additional plans to address the Scottish kiltmaking industry or kiltmakers. The kiltmakers', teachers', and administrators' experiences provided in this study may be used as a resource for government officials to better understand the issues faced by kiltmaking firms and individuals to implement efforts that might benefit the constituency and improve the niche market of domestically-made Scottish kilts.

As other small industries such as textiles and accessories, rely on the Scottish kilt industry for revenue, synergies may be discovered between industries that may benefit everyone. To date, the Scottish Government has only tapped into a small portion of the potential of Certification Mark and Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) status for industries such as Harris Tweed, tartan, and whisky. This study has the potential to expand the government's understanding of the scope of the applications of Certification Mark and Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) status into non-agricultural related products, which will result in the perpetuation of valuable components of Scottish culture and heritage.

Future Research

This study investigated kiltmakers' experiences while learning, practicing, and mastering the kiltmaking craft. Through analysis of data generated by interviews with kiltmakers, teachers, and administrators, the study produced a better understanding of how forces at work in the kiltmaking industry impact students and practicing kiltmakers. Even though the study utilized qualitative methodology with a robust sample of participants (n=17), there are limitations in terms of transferability of the results. Further research is required, in order to broaden the results to diverse populations and situations.

As there is scant literature that addresses kilts and kiltmaking, there are a number of additional inquiries that would be helpful in further understanding the forces at work in the Scottish kiltmaking industry, and the present study's findings indicate that future research would fall into categories of: (a) market, (b) consumer, and (c) kiltmaker processes.

Kiltmakers' responses indicated that market stratification exists, that there are different consumers for each level of the market, and that a quality difference exists between products

at each pricing level. The data also indicated that the tourist market constitutes a significant portion of the Scottish kilt market.

Market

First, further research is needed in order to delineate each level of pricing in the Scottish kilt market. Researchers might consider shopping the market in popular tourist areas, in order to obtain a sample of garments from shops in the area. An analysis of pricing should be conducted to determine if prices cluster around certain amounts, and if a defined stratification in pricing is observed. This will assist kiltmakers and kilt shops to better understand the pricing structure in the Scottish kilt market, and to align their prices to what is occurring in the market in order to attract customers, or to potentially consider line extensions or new product launches.

Participants also indicated that they had observed variances in quality aspects that were dependent on the level of the market from which a kilt originated. Additional analysis could be conducted on the samples purchased in the market to compare quality aspects (e.g. yardage, stitching, canvassing, pattern matching, drape, fit) of the sample of kilts purchased at different shops in the Scottish kilt market. In order to ensure that qualified individuals assessed the samples, it is suggested that kiltmaking teachers from the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) course be recruited in order to conduct the assessment. An analysis of quality aspects of garments from various market levels would assist kiltmakers and kilt shops to understand the actual physical differences between their kilts and kilts from less expensive market segments, and allow them to better market their products through comparison with other products.

Consumer

The data in the present study also indicated that consumers were driving demand for price-sensitive kilts, and that consumers did not understand quality differences between bespoke and mass-produced kilts. A consumer analysis of kilt customers would be beneficial to understand kilt consumers' purposes for shopping at various market venues and purchasing specific types of kilts. Researchers would be able to gain responses from consumers regarding kilt elements, modern versus traditional kilts, tourist kilts versus high-end luxury kilts, as well as, consumers' awareness level of the origin of the product and its importance to their purchasing decision.

Kiltmaker processes

The subject of differences between authentic luxury products and imported imitation products has long been a subject of debate in the apparel merchandising industry. Participants indicated that the traditional process of kiltmaking varied from the processes employed by manufacturers of imported products. The literature also shows that tartan and kiltmaking practice was exported to Asia by the Scots via the Highland Regiments during their occupation (Faiers, 2008). Another potential study could analyze the manufacturing processes employed by factories that produce kilts in countries such as China, Pakistan, and India. The proposed study could compare the steps of the kiltmaking process against the steps that were observed in the present study. Additionally, researchers could ascertain differences in types of tools and machinery used during the process in Asian factories.

Data were collected from artifacts (N=16) at the National Museum of Scotland during Phase I of the research, helped to provide a foundational understanding of the construction of kilts, but was not included in this study. However, analysis of these data would be of interest

to determine how kilt design and construction has evolved over the years, as samples ranged from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first century. It would also be beneficial to compare this sample of artifacts with historic records of economic, political, and industrial events of the time. Such an analysis would create a richer picture of the kilt's evolution to its present state, and would also provide specific details on its various incarnations at specific times in history.

Ethnography would also be an effective methodology to further investigate the Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ). Another study could position a researcher as a certification student who undergoes the entire SVQ training process. This would lead to a much richer understanding of experiences and learning processes employed during the SVQ course. Findings from this study could be provided to the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA), and could be used to make improvements to course structure and instructional techniques. In addition, another study could involve conducting follow-up interviews with kiltmakers who participated in this study to determine the after-effects of the SVQ course on their livelihood and career. This information would also prove to be valuable to the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA), as it would give the organization a better understanding of outcomes and career impact after students graduate from the course.

The present study touched on the evolution of the kilt, and also noted that the kilt has migrated to other countries around the globe. Further research could be conducted to qualify how the kilt has evolved through time, and what specific changes have been made to it along the way. A semiotics investigation into evolution of the kilt could include a sample of kilts spanning every ten years since early eighteenth century and track design and composition differences in the samples. This would assist in creating a richer picture of exactly how this

garment has evolved over time. In addition, there is a debate by kiltmakers both in Scotland and other countries as to the differences that exist between Scottish-made kilts and kilts made in the traditional way in other countries. A comparison study could be conducted on sample kilts from a variety of countries to understand how kilts and kiltmaking have evolved in destination countries around the world. It could be beneficial to compare kiltmaking process and kilt construction from samples obtained in other areas (e.g., Saville Row, Canada, USA, Australia), and compare them to Scottish-made kilts.

The findings of this study develop an understanding of the experiences of Scottish kiltmakers, the processes of learning and practicing kiltmaking, the current status of the Scottish kiltmaking industry, the Scottish Government's role in the industry, and the evolution and potential future of the kilt as a National Dress symbol. As is the case in all qualitative research, the findings are not generalizable. Additional studies might broaden these findings to other diverse groups of participants in different geographic regions of Scotland and the globe. Although previous academic research has not been devoted to kilts, kiltmakers, and kiltmaking, the subject area has tremendous potential for further inquiry.

BREXIT

This research was conducted pre-and post-BREXIT¹², and it is currently unclear how Protected Geographic Indication (PGI) status for many goods will be impacted (BBC, 2016). As the researchers have discovered that PGI status is regulated at the local level, it is possible that these laws may remain unchanged after the United Kingdom's separation from the European Union is complete. It is under this assumption that our findings remain unchanged.

¹² BREXIT was the United Kingdom's referendum to leave the European Union. The decision to leave occurred on June 23, 2016. (Foster, 2016)

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APPENDIX A

PHASE I: PILOT STUDY INFORMED CONSENT FORM

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

1 October 2014

Dear Participant,

As you know, Scottish material culture tradition is important, both to the make up of Scottish national identity, and to various people around the world that it inspires. However, although well historically documented, there is a definite lack of collective knowledge about how Scottish material culture knowledge is passed down and perpetuated. It's especially important today to ensure that this tradition is carried on to future generations. Sharing the knowledge that you have accumulated through your personal and professional life is essential to ensuring that Scottish material culture and the process of kilt making carries on and flourishes. In addition, the global market is becoming more competitive. The EU has proposed that intellectual property protections be expanded to traditional handicrafts such as the kilt via use of geographical indication. This sort of protection ensures that the entire Scottish kilt industry can better market itself, and that Scotland will continue to be the dominant global source kilts.

I'm conducting this research to understand the unique aspects of the kilt as a garment, how kiltmaking knowledge is passed down, and what purpose the kilt serves Scottish culture. I want to use a combination of interviews and observations to accomplish this. The questions in the interview will cover 4 areas: the Scottish Highland dress industry, kiltmaking training procedures, kilt manufacturing, and the kilt in Scottish culture. I will be using historic garments from the National Museum of Scotland collection to supplement my findings. My population for the interviews are Highland dress industry professionals located in Edinburgh and the surrounding areas.

Your participation in this research is totally voluntary. Your confidentiality and anonymity are assured. The answers you provide to questions will be compiled with others, and your participation is consent for your data to be used. You will not be individually identified with your responses. If you are videotaped, I will only tape your handwork (No faces, etc.). Please understand the use of this data will be limited to this research, as authorized by the Institutional Review Board of Iowa State University, although the results maybe presented in formats other than this research paper, such as dissertations, research articles, or conference presentations. You have the right to express concerns to me at the telephone below, or to my Major Professor, Dr. Eulanda Sanders, at the ISU Department of Apparel, Merchandising, and Design address shown above, or the ISU Institutional Review Board, Ms. Roxanne Bappe.

I greatly appreciate your participation in this research. The interview will take approximately 20 – 30 minutes to conduct. Thank you for your interest and participation in the study; appreciate your time!

Sincerely,

David Loranger
PhD Student

Iowa State University, Ames, IA 50011
917-445-3326, loranger@iastate.edu

Acknowledged by Participant

APPENDIX B**PHASE I: PILOT STUDY DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW
SCHEDULE****Interview Schedule
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE**

Participant Code: _____

Please check one:

 Male FemaleNative country (**if not
Scotland**): _____If native country is not Scotland, how many years have you lived in
Scotland? _____

Current age:

 20-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46-50 50-55 56-60 over 60 years old

Highest education level:

 Primary school Secondary school University (undergraduate) University (graduate) Specialized trade schoolIf university degree **or** trade school, where
attended? _____If university degree **or** trade school, what was your major or course of
study? _____

What is your profession title? _____

How many years have you been working in this profession? _____

How long did you train to work in this profession? _____

Have you ever worked in any other profession (circle one)? Yes or No

If you have worked in another profession, what was it and for how long?

Profession name: _____ Time worked: _____

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Industry-specific:

Are there a significant number of non-organized (individual) people engaged in kilt-making in Scotland?

Are there types of certification for individuals and/or companies engaged in kilt-making?

Is there an organization or guild to which kilt-makers belong?

To your knowledge, does the Scottish government offer any financial incentives for learning kilt-making?

To your knowledge, are there any marketing efforts (region, country, world-wide) (web-based, catalogs, word of mouth) being made by Scottish kilt-making companies, Scottish organizations and the Scottish government to promote Scottish kilts?

To your knowledge, are there currently any sort of organized quality & construction standards or certification for Scottish kilts?

If the answer to the above is “no”-could a certification of quality on Scottish kilts be beneficial? Why?

What do you feel is the #1 threat to the survival of the Scottish kilt-making industry?

What do you feel is the #1 opportunity for the Scottish kilt-making industry?

Knowledge transfer:

Where does one learn the kilt-making process?

Who teaches the kilt-making process?

What is the process (what are the steps) for training workers in kilt-making?

Are there apprenticeships in kilt-making?

What types of technical and problem-solving skills are important for kilt-makers to have?

If applicable:

How long have you been making kilts?

Describe your own training in kilt-making.

Where did you learn kilt-making?

Who taught you?

If applicable, What country or city was your teacher from?

How did they learn kilt-making?

If known, from whom did your teacher learn?

Where was your teacher's teacher from?

Are you a general tailor, or do you only make kilts?

Would you characterize yourself as specializing in men's, women's or kids?

Manufacturing Process:

Are there different types of kilts? (i.e., 6 & 8 yards, etc)

What are the major steps in making a kilt?

What would you say are the essential elements of a properly-made kilt?

Generally, how long does it take to make a kilt from beginning to end?

Is there a certain type of kilt that takes longer to produce?

How does the kilt-makers' s skill level impact the manufacturing process?

Is there patternmaking? If so, how is is done?

Are the Patternmaking, cutting, sewing functions separate in the factory (are they different people/specializations?)

In terms of design & construction, what distinguishes a Scottish-made kilt from a kilt made elsewhere?

Are there any unique design or construction aspects of Scottish-made kilts, versus kilts made elsewhere?

In terms of materials content, what percentages would you say comprise a kilt:

_____Fabric _____Trim (buckles, straps) _____ Miscellaneous (Interfacing, Thread)

Cultural:

In what ways is the kilt important to Scottish culture?

What symbolic and literal purposes does the kilt serve in Scottish society?

As a garment what does the kilt mean to you?

As a symbol what does the kilt mean to you?

How do you see the future of the kilt?

APPENDIX C

SVQ LEVELS (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2013). Reprinted.

Explanation of Levels

- Level 1** Defines competent performance in a range of activities which are largely routine and predictable.
- Level 2** Specifies that competent performance must be shown in a broader range of work activities which are less routine and predictable. The employee will have more autonomy and responsibility, and may have to work as part of a team.
- Level 3** Specifies that competent performance must involve the employee in carrying out a broad range of varied work activities, most of which are complex and non-routine. There is considerable autonomy and responsibility, including the possibility of controlling or guiding others.
- Level 4** Specifies competence as complex technical or professional work activities which require a substantial degree of personal autonomy or responsibility. Managing staff and other resources is often involved.
- Level 5** Specifies competent performance as involving the employee in carrying out a significant range of activities in a wide variety of situations which are often unpredictable. Substantial responsibility and autonomy is involved in the work, which requires decision-making in the allocation of resources and the work of others. This will require complex skills such as analysis, design and evaluation.

APPENDIX D

SVQ UNITS (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2013). Reprinted.

Mandatory Units

SSC ref	SQA ref	SCQF level	Title
HS1	F0JK 04	5	Health, Safety and Security at Work
HKM1	FA1Y 04	5	Look After the Work Area in Manufacturing Sewn Kilt Products
HKM2	FA20 04	6	Maintain the Quality of Production Materials in the Kilt Making Process
HKM3	FA21 04	7	Prepare, Measure, Mark Out and Cut Material for the Kilt Making Process
HKM6	FA22 04	5	Carry Out Pressing in the Kilt Making Process
HKM7	FA23 04	6	Select, Prepare and Cut Materials for Trimmings in the Kilt Making Process

Optional Units**Group A — choose 1 Unit**

SSC ref	SQA ref	SCQF level	Title
HKM4	FA24 04	6	Carry Out the Machine Sewing Processes in Kilt Making
HKM5	FA25 04	7	Carry Out the Hand Sewn Processes in Kilt Making

Group B — choose 1 Unit

SSC ref	SQA ref	SCQF level	Title
HKM8	FA26 04	8	Cutting Room Organisation in the Kilt Making Process
HKM9	FA27 04	7	Measure, Fit and Make Alterations to the Kilt in the Bespoke Kilt Making Process
HKM10	FA28 04	6	Carry Out Bespoke Selling of Kilts and Highland Wear

APPENDIX E

KILTS SAMPLED AT NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SCOTLAND

MUSEUM ACCESSION NUMBER	YEAR/ Ca. MADE	FABRICIATION (Wool, cotton, etc.)	# pleats	COLORS (ground/ overcheck)	TRIM & DETAILS (describe)	PART OF LARGER OUTFIT? Y/N	USAGE CONTEXT (e.g.: Formal Business Farming)	BASIC MEASUREMENTS (Waist, Length, # yards of fabric used)
K2000.501		Wool twill	30	Orange/red & green	Brown buckles	N	None	23 1/8 ft/24 1/2 back
A1987.358B		Heavy wool twill	29	Brown, purple, black, green	Brown buckles Metal buttons	N	None	1: plears, 61/4 waist 24 1/4 front 24 1/4 back 3/4 pleat 6 1/4 waist
TTA 28 1969		Wool twill	26	Red, white, black, green	Black straps	N	none	25 1/2 front 26 back
K2006. 311 1		Light wool twill	28	Red, spruce, black, white	Purple, green and blue tartan trim silk	Y	Formal	24 3/4 front, 24 3/4 back, 6 3/4 waist
TTA 23C		Wool twill	18	Green, blue, black, red white	Tartan silk trim on waistband green, blue, black red	N	none	24 1/2 front, 25 3/4 back, 7 1/2 waist
K2000,504A		Wool twill	26	White, red, green, blue, yellow, black	Silver grosgrain, black buttons, silver buckles	Y	Formal	22 1/4 23 1/4 6 1/4 waist
L1981.1B		Heavy wool tweed with border	25	Burgundy ivory, black rust tweed	Brown buckles Tan lining wrapped over top	N	None	24 3/4 front, 25 1/2 back 7 waistband
TTA 9	1929	Hard twill wool	13 box pleats	Blue, red, green, black	Black silk waistband trim no buckles	N	None	27 front 26 1/4 back, 5 3/4 waist
1966. 924		Hard twill wool	11 box pleats	Red, blue, green plaid	Self- buckles, black silk waist piping	N	None	25 front, 25 1/4 back, 7 1/2 waist
1929-832	1800	Light wool twill	8 box pleats	Red, green, blue, ivory	Black & ivory horn buttons no straps	N	Formal	24 7/8, 24 3/4 back
K2005 309.2	2005	Wool twill	24	Red, turq, olive tartan	Black leather buckles	Y	Formal	26 1/2 front, 26 3/4 back, 7 3/4 waist
H.TTA 20B	1800	Light wool twill	13 box pleats	Red, olive, black tartan	Wood buttons no buckles	Y	Formlal	25 1/4 front, 26 1/4 back, 5 1/2 waist
A 1915. 2120	1800	Light wool twill	16 box pleats	Red, Green blue	Red ribbons no buttons	Y	Formal	24 1/2 back, 24 1/4 front, 5 3/8 waist
A1993.60 B	1800	Light wool twill	10 box pleats	Green Red, blue black	Green silk flourettes, brown wooden buttons Watch pocket in waistband	Y	Formal	27 1/2 front, 27 1/4 back 6 waist
A1988 182A	1903	Heavy wool twill	29	Red, green blue, yellow	Brown single straps	Y	Formal	24 7/8 front, 25 1/4 back, 6 3/4 waist
K2008 38		Light wool twill	25	Light blue ground, navy, red, yellow, white	Black leather straps	N	Sporting events	23 3/4 front, 24 back, 7 1/4 waist

APPENDIX F

VIDEO DATA METRICS

VIDEO SGMT and TIME	STEP #	PROCEDURE (describe)	MATERIALS USED	MACHINERY USED	TIME USED TO COMPLETE STEP
1/12:00	1	Prepare fabric & mark	Chalk	None	20:00
2/8:30	2	Pin pleats & "match to stripe" repeat	Pins	None	14:30
2/15:00	3	Work other side to front apron	Pins	None	7:30
2/27:00	4	Mark for front & back	Chalk	None	11:00
3/0:00	5	Basting Kilt	Needle & thread	None	
3/6:20	6	Dart waist	Needle & thread	None	
3/9:00	7	Trim pocket fabric	None	None	
3/19:00	8	Back apron	Needle & thread	None	
3/20:00	9	Adjust pleat size to get to 24 pleats (depends on model)	Needle & thread	none	
4/12:10	10	Tack selvedge-pleats are bigger on bottom	Needle & thread	None	22:00
5/7:23	11	Fringe (press & sew onto front apron)	Needle & thread	none	16:30
5/24:00	12	Belt loops and pockets	Scissors, needle & thread	None	
6/7:00	13	Back of front apron	Needle & thread	none	
7/1:00	14	Edge stitch front and back aprons	Needle & thread	None	
7/15:00	15	Turn-up	Needle & thread	none	
8/1:00	16	Stitching pleats (can change color of thread)	Pins, Needle & thread	none	
9/12:00	17	Darts	Needle & thread	none	
9/25:00	18	Steeking (ajar) Most important part	Needle & thread	none	
10/9:30	19	Cut pleats (trimming off excess bulk)	Scissors	none	
10	20	Middle Canvas	Scissors, Needle & thread	none	
11/9:20	21	Back Canvas	Scissors, Needle & thread	none	
11/18:01/17:50	22	Baste piece in place	Needle & thread	none	
11/19:00	23	Front Canvas	Needle & thread	none	
12/00:00	24	Belt Loops	Needle & thread	none	
12/15:00	25	Make Pockets	Thread	Sewing machine	
13/1:00	26	Attach pockets and waistband	Needle & thread	Sewing machine & hand	
14/2SD/15:00	27	Buckles, pad for buckles	Needle & thread	hand	
14/2SD/21:00	28	Attach main buckles, pockets hangers	Needle, thread, hole punch	none	
15/2SD/00	29	Lining	Needle & thread	None	

APPENDIX G**PHASE II: INFORMED CONSENT FORM**IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

18 April 2016

Dear Participant,

As you know, Scottish material culture tradition is important, both to the makeup of Scottish national identity and to various people around the world that it inspires. However, although well historically documented, there is a definite lack of collective knowledge about how Scottish kiltmaking knowledge is passed down and perpetuated. It's especially important today to ensure that this tradition is carried on to future generations. Sharing the knowledge that you have accumulated throughout your personal and professional life is essential to ensuring that Scottish material culture and the process of kilt-making carries on and flourishes. In addition, the global market is becoming more competitive. The EU has proposed that intellectual property protections be expanded to traditional handicrafts such as the kilt via use of geographical indication. This sort of protection ensures that the entire Scottish kilt industry can better market itself, and that Scotland will continue to be the dominant global source of kilts.

I am conducting this research to understand how aspects of learning, practice, gender, business, and culture all intersect to impact the Scottish kiltmaking business. Based on a pilot study that was conducted in October of 2014, I have decided to currently focus on kiltmaker knowledge and practice, in conjunction with kiltmakers' opinions of potential Certification Mark or Protected Geographical Indication protection for the industry. We also would like to gain an understanding of your experiences with the current kiltmaking SVQ program.

Your participation in this research is totally voluntary, and your confidentiality and anonymity are assured. The answers you provide to questions will be compiled with others, and your participation is consent for your data to be used. Any quotes published will refer to the fake name that you assign to yourself. By signing this form, you acknowledge that you are 18 years of age or over. Please understand that the use of this data will be limited to this research, as authorized by the Institutional Review Board of Iowa State University (ISU), although results may be presented in formats other than this research paper, such as in dissertations, research articles or conference presentations. You also have the right to express concerns to me at the telephone below, or to my Major Professor, Dr. Eulanda Sanders (sanderse@iastate.edu) at the ISU Department of Apparel, Merchandising and Design address shown above, or the ISU Institutional Review Board, Ms. Roxanne Bappe (email: irb@iastate.edu or tel: 515-294-4215).

I greatly appreciate your participation in this research. The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. Thank you for your interest and participation in this study; I appreciate your time!

Sincerely,

David Loranger
PhD Student
Iowa State University, Ames, IA 50011
917-445-3326, loranger@iastate.edu

APPENDIX H

PHASE II: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Scottish kiltmaking: Knowledge, practice, and potential for Protected Geographic Indication Protection

Interview Guide Revised April 8, 2016

Areas to Explore/Theory	Key Questions	Probes
Learning and having a career in kiltmaking. Theory: Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) Scaffolding Theory (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008)	What are your experiences learning kiltmaking? (or, if more experienced, when you first learned kiltmaking).	Where and who did you learn from? (if not in kilt school) What are the key steps in learning? How does your experience in learning kiltmaking compare with the SVQ? (for experienced kiltmakers not in school) How long does it generally take to learn? What attracted you to kiltmaking?
Learner versus Master. Theory: Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) Scaffolding Theory (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008)	What differentiates a learner from a master kiltmaker?	What happens in the process of learning to mastery of kiltmaking? What role does adapting and customizing what you've learned play into developing skill as a kiltmaker?
Unique aspects of kiltmaking. Theory: Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) Scaffolding Theory (Mundy & Compton, 1981; Tehrani & Riede, 2008)	What do you think differentiates the kiltmaking practice from other types of sewing/tailoring/bespoke practice?	Are there specific techniques and tools that are unique to kiltmaking?
Kiltmaking in society. Theory: Cultural Transmission Theory (Eerkins & Lipo, 2007) Fashion cycles (Blumer, 1969; Kaiser, et al., 1995; Mackinney-Valentin, 2012; Sproles, 1981) Movement of meaning (Barth, 1969; Crane et al., 2004; Hamilton, 1997; McCracken, 1986; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992) Sources of meaning (Blumer, 1969)	What are your feelings about kilts & kiltmaker's role in Scottish society and culture?	How does that impact your kiltmaking practice? Has your understanding of kiltmakers' roles changed over time? (for more experienced kiltmakers)
Gender and kiltmaking. Theory: Feminism Theory (Hill-Collins, 1996, Mann & Huffman, 2005; Ramirez et al. (1997; Rampton, 2015; Sanders, 2011)	Tell me about your experiences as a female Scottish kiltmaker.	Do you think that your experience is different than your male counterparts? How? Are there differences in opportunities for you versus men? Does your female life/family role impact your kiltmaking practice?
The kiltmaking industry. Theory: Social Capital Theory (Coleman, 1988; DeCarolis & Saporito, 2006)	What is your understanding of the current state of the Scottish kiltmaking industry?	Are there opportunities and/or threats? What are the causes of these? What role does kiltmaking play in the overall economy?
Political and economic policy. Theory: Social Capital Theory (Coleman, 1988; DeCarolis & Saporito, 2006)	What is the UK and Scottish governments' relationship to- or role in the Scottish kiltmaking industry?	What is your position on the current governmental stance? What are your feelings about SVQ certification initiative in the United Kingdom? What are your attitudes towards and beliefs about the initiative?

APPENDIX I**THEMATIC OUTLINE**

- Kiltmaker experiences
 - a. Tradition
 - b. Opportunities
 - i. Asking
 - ii. Serendipity
 - iii. Apprenticeship
 - iv. Certification
 - 1. credentials
 - c. Career
 - i. Career change
 - ii. Freelance
 - iii. Stereotypes
 - iv. Compensation
 - v. Goals
 - 1. Achievement
- Teachers' Experiences
 - a. Heritage
 - b. Open door
 - c. Passion in educating
 - d. Verification
- Administrators' Experiences
 - a. Tradition
 - b. Industry forces
 - c. Lack of respect
 - d. Standards
 - e. Business model
- Learning Process
 - a. Base skills
 - i. Learning curve
 - b. Scaffolding
 - i. Learning easy parts first
 - ii. Reverse learning
 - iii. Building speed and confidence
 - iv. Observation
 - v. Adaptation
 - vi. Ongoing
- Learners versus experts
 - a. Expertise
 - i. Problem solving
 - 1. Body of knowledge
 - 2. Efficiency

- ii. Experience
 - iii. Perpetual learning
- Kiltmakers' experiences as apprentices
 - a. Chain of knowledge
 - b. Trial by fire
 - i. Self-correction
 - c. Knowledge control
- Certification experiences
 - a. Selection
 - b. Assessment
 - c. Course requirements
 - d. Flexibility
 - e. Mentorship
 - i. Help
 - f. Benchmark
- Kiltmaking versus tailoring
 - a. Specific skills
 - i. Patternmaking
 - ii. Mathematics
 - iii. Hand versus machine
 - b. Specific garments
- Salient design and production processes
 - a. Planning
 - i. Expertise
 - ii. Pattern
 - iii. Fit
 - iv. Trial and error
 - b. Sewing
- Women's Work
 - a. Income Inequality
 - b. Work/life balance
- Societal stereotypes
 - a. Cottage industry
 - b. Professional Respect
- Politics and economics
 - a. Government
- Kiltmakers' views of the industry
 - a. Downturn
 - i. Financial concerns
 - ii. Few kiltmakers
 - iii. Reversal
 - b. Heritage trade
 - i. Dying
 - ii. Proactive
 - c. Demand

- i. Tourists
 - ii. Souvenirs
 - iii. Low Quality
 - iv. Wearing the kilt
 - v. Educating the customer
 - vi. Price resistance
 - vii. Informed consumer
 - d. Mass Production
 - i. Imports
 - 1. Empire
 - 2. Imposters
 - ii. Quality
 - 1. Machine made
 - 2. Cutting corners
 - e. Bespoke
 - i. Traditional techniques
 - ii. Fit
 - iii. Customer
- Kiltmakers' understanding of the SVQ
 - a. Standards
 - i. Setting standards
 - ii. Increasing standards
 - iii. Varying standards
 - iv. Funding
 - v. Promotion
- Kiltmakers' understanding of Certification Mark and Protected Geographic Indication
 - a. Government
 - i. Apathy
 - b. Protection
 - i. Country of origin
 - ii. Copyright
 - iii. Certification mark
 - iv. Protected Geographic Indication

APPENDIX J

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD EXEMPTIONS

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Institutional Review Board
Office for Responsible Research
Vice President for Research
1138 Pearson Hall
Ames, Iowa 50011-2207
515 294-4566
FAX 515 294-4267

Date: 9/15/2014

To: David Loranger
429 Montgomery Ave, C503
Haverford, PA 19041

CC: Dr. Eulanda Sanders
31 MacKay
Dr. Ann Marie Fiore
1062 LeBaron

From: Office for Responsible Research

Title: Analysis for the Purpose of Establishing A PGI (Protected Geographic Indicator) for Scottish Kilts

IRB ID: 14-448

Study Review Date: 9/15/2014

The project referenced above has been declared exempt from the requirements of the human subject protections regulations as described in 45 CFR 46.101(b) because it meets the following federal requirements for exemption:

- (2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey or interview procedures with adults or observation of public behavior where
 - Information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects cannot be identified directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; or
 - Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could not reasonably place the subject at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to their financial standing, employability, or reputation.

The determination of exemption means that:

- **You do not need to submit an application for annual continuing review.**
- **You must carry out the research as described in the IRB application.** Review by IRB staff is required prior to implementing modifications that may change the exempt status of the research. In general, review is required for any modifications to the research procedures (e.g., method of data collection, nature or scope of information to be collected, changes in confidentiality measures, etc.), modifications that result in the inclusion of participants from vulnerable populations, and/or any change that may increase the risk or discomfort to participants. Changes to key personnel must also be approved. The purpose of review is to determine if the project still meets the federal criteria for exemption.

Non-exempt research is subject to many regulatory requirements that must be addressed prior to implementation of the study. Conducting non-exempt research without IRB review and approval may constitute non-compliance with federal regulations and/or academic misconduct according to ISU policy.

Detailed information about requirements for submission of modifications can be found on the Exempt Study Modification Form. A Personnel Change Form may be submitted when the only modification involves changes in study staff. If it is determined that exemption is no longer warranted, then an Application for Approval of Research Involving Humans Form will need to be submitted and approved before proceeding with data collection.

Please note that you must submit all research involving human participants for review. **Only the IRB or designees may make the determination of exemption**, even if you conduct a study in the future that is exactly like this study.

Please be aware that **approval from other entities may also be needed.** For example, access to data from private records (e.g. student, medical, or employment records, etc.) that are protected by FERPA, HIPAA, or other confidentiality policies requires permission from the holders of those records. Similarly, for research conducted in institutions other than ISU (e.g., schools, other colleges or universities, medical facilities, companies, etc.), investigators must obtain permission from the institution(s) as required by their policies. **An IRB determination of exemption in no way implies or guarantees that permission from these other entities will be granted.**

IRB Committee [ORR] <irb@iastate.edu>

Feb 4 ☆



to me ▾

Hi Dave,

Sorry for the delayed response. If the questions you ask are within the scope of your previously approved study, and the interview questions remain within the scope of what was previously approved, and the only difference being that you will no longer videotape, you may continue to conduct interviews as previously approved. If you decide to make any other changes, you may need to send us a modification form. More information on when a modification form is required for exempt research may be found here: <http://www.compliance.iastate.edu/irb/forms/exempt-mod.html>.

Feel free to contact me if you have any other questions.

Best,
Roxanne

Roxanne Bappe

IRB Administrator
Office for Responsible Research | Iowa State University
1138 Pearson Hall | Ames IA 50011
[515-294-4215](tel:515-294-4215) | [515-294-4267](tel:515-294-4267) fax
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