Designing for coalescence

A design framework to support shared stakeholder agency in Pakistan's craft for empowerment system

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To my research participants:

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Zusammenfassung

Projekte mit dem Ziel ethische Standards und Praktiken in der weitreichenden aber oft ausbeuterischen Kunsthandwerksindustrie Pakistans zu fördern sind von ganz unterschiedlicher Natur. Ihr Spektrum umfasst international geförderte Entwicklungshilfeprogramme genauso wie kleine Privatinitiativen, philanthropische Unterfangen genauso wie unternehmerische. Individuelle Designer möchten ihre Produktlinien durch handgefertigte Elemente aufwerten, und in Designstudiengängen werden Studierende mit traditionellen Kunsthandwerkstechniken und gleichzeitig mit sozialem Engagement vertraut gemacht.

Das weite Spektrum von Projekten an der Schnittstelle von Kunsthandwerk, Ermächtigung und Design überrascht wenig: seit Jahrhunderten kommt Kunsthandwerk in Südasien eine besondere Bedeutung zu, und so auch in Pakistan. Das Fördern von lokal hergestellten Kunsthandwerksprodukten war eine wichtige Strategie während der Unabhängigkeitsbewegung, durch die das Ende der Kolonialmacht herbeigeführt wurde. Bis heute dient Kunsthandwerk als Symbol für kulturelle, politische und wirtschaftliche Befreiung in der gesamten Region, wo Kunstgewerbe (die sog. cottage industry) nach wie vor eine wichtige wirtschaftliche Rolle spielt. Pakistans Kunsthandwerkstraditionen sind außerdem vielfältig, und Millionen von Menschen arbeiten in der Kunsthandwerksproduktion, die meisten von ihnen allerdings unter prekären Bedingungen in informellen Arbeitsverhältnissen, in denen sie ökonomischer und sozialer Ausbeutung ausgeliefert sind.

Sich die Kunsthandwerksfertigkeiten zu Nutze zu machen, die viele marginalisierte Menschen als Teil ihres Aufwachsens lernen, ist eine weit verbreitete Strategie um ethische Kunsthandwerksprojekte zu initiieren. Deren Ziele vereinen häufig Aspekte der Bewahrung von Kulturerbe, Armutsbekämpfung und sozialer Gerechtigkeit für Kunsthandwerksproduzent*innen und deren Gemeinschaften. Die Absicht, Möglichkeiten für ein Einkommen zu schaffen, zieht sich wie ein verbindender roter Faden durch die Projekte, weshalb ich sie 'craft for income project' (Projekt zur Förderung von Einkommen durch Kunsthandwerk) genannt habe und im weiteren die Abkürzung CFIP verwende.

Das in dieser Dissertation vorgestellte Designforschungsprojekt beschäftigt sich mit der Frage, wie CFIP Akteure durch Designstrategien beim Erreichen dieser Ziele unterstützt werden können, nachdem offensichtlich wurde, dass sie oft hinter ihren eigenen Erwartungen bleiben. In einer umfassenden empirischen Untersuchung wurden die Umstände, die Motivationen, Perspektiven und Herausforderungen verschiedener CFIP Akteure erforscht. Fallstudien aktueller CFIPs, ein Aktionsforschungsprojekt, zwei Fokusgruppen sowie Feldbeobachtungen ergaben eine Fülle an Daten, die von der Bricolage-Methodik geleitet, in drei thematischen Feldern erörtert wurden: konzeptionelle Ansätze und Organisationsformate; Transfer von Fähigkeiten und Wissen; und Belange der Akteure. Synthetisiert wurden die Daten durch das Mappen der verschiedenen CFIP Akteure und ihrer Beziehungen, wodurch

das 'craft for empowerment system' (System der Ermächtigung durch Kunsthandwerk) sichtbar wurde und drei Ebenen offenbarte: oben die politische Ebene mit internationalen Entwicklungshilfeorganisationen, Kreditinstituten und Regierungen; in der Mitte eine Implementierungsebene mit lokalen Regierungsabteilungen, NGOs, akademischen Institutionen, Unternehmern, Designern, Philanthropen und Zivilgesellschaft; und die Ebene der Zielgruppe mit den Kunsthandwerksproduzent*innen und ihren Gemeinschaften.

Vor dem Hintergrund der Kolonialgeschichte, Gloablisierung und aktueller Herausforderungen in Entwicklungshilfe und Prozessen zur Graswurzelermächtigung, war es kein Wunder, dass die systemische Analyse eine starke Top-Down-Bewegung im Management von CFIPs offenbarte, sowie ungleiche Machtverteilung, Distanz und Entfremdung zwischen CFIP Akteuren, die aus extrem unterschiedlichen demografischen Verhältnissen in Pakistan und im Ausland kommen. Das führt dazu, dass CFIPs oft von oben herab von Akteuren gesteuert werden, die eine eher bruchstückhafte und stereotypische Wahrnehmung der Kunsthandwerksproduzent*innen auf der Zielgruppen-Ebene haben.

Als Ergebnis dieses Designforschungsprojekts wird das Framework 'designing for coalescence' (Zusammenwachsen durch Design) als Antwort auf die dominierende und einseitige Top-Down-Dominanz im CFIP Management vorge-stellt. Es wird ein Paradigmenwechsel angeregt, der verschiedene CFIP Akteure, inklusive Kunsthandwerksproduzent*innen, ermutigt, gemeinsam Aktivitäten zu entwickeln, durch die Verantwortung und Entscheidungsfindung in CFIPs schon während der Planungsphase gleichberechtigter aufgeteilt werden können. Wenn CFIP Akteure die Möglichkeit haben, während der Projektarbeit und in kritischen Reflektionspozessen voneinander zu lernen und dadurch enger zusammen zu wachsen (to coalesce), sind sie besser in der Lage, kontext-relevante und machbare CFIP-Ansätze zu entwickeln. Diese sind wichtig für verbesserte Kunsthandwerksprodukte, Wertschöpfungsketten und positive Veränderungen für alle Beteiligten. Obwohl das gegenseitige Voneinander-Lernen ein wichtiger Bestandteil des Coalescence Framework ist, bleibt die Förderung der marginalisierten Kunsthandwerksproduzent*innen ein zentrales Anliegen, damit diese mehr Verantwortung übernehmen und so zu gleichberechtigten Projekt- und Unternehmenspartner*innen werden können, anstatt in der Rolle der Hilfsempfänger zu verharren.

Schließlich wird noch das Konzept für ein Lab vorgestellt, das eine Umsetzungsmöglichkeit des theoretischen Frameworks beschreibt.
Theoretisch untermauert wird dieses Forschungsprojekt von kritischen Diskursen zu Entwicklungshilfe, Design in der Entwicklungshilfe und in Graswurzelermächtigungsprozessen und Systemtheorie.

Abstract

Craft projects that aim to establish ethical practices and standards in Pakistan's large and exploitative craft sector are diverse in nature. They range from large scale, internationally funded development aid schemes to small private initiatives, from philanthropic to entrepreneurial endeavours, and from individual designers who upgrade their product lines with exquisite handmade elements to academic design curricula with a focus on familiarising future designers with craft traditions and social awareness.

This wide spectrum of engagement at the intersection of craft, empowerment and design is no surprise: for centuries, crafts have carried significant meaning in South Asian societies, including in Pakistan. Promoting local handmade products was an important strategy in the movement that led to independence from colonial power. To this day crafts serve as symbol of cultural, political and economic liberation across the region, where cottage industries remain a significant part of the economy. Pakistan's craft traditions are rich and the craft sector employs millions of people in craft production, though most of them under precarious conditions in the informal economy. They are vulnerable to economic and social exploitation.

Tapping into craft skills that many poor and marginalised people acquire as part of their upbringing is widely considered a feasible strategy to initiate ethical craft projects. Their objectives usually combine aspects of cultural heritage preservation, poverty alleviation, and social justice for craft producers and their communities. Since the aim to create income generation opportunities runs as a common thread through these projects, I introduced the term 'craft for income projects' and use the abbreviation CFIP throughout this dissertation.

The design research project presented in this dissertation is concerned with the question how design can support CFIP stakeholders in achieving these goals, after realising how they often struggle to meet their expectations. Through an extensive empirical investigation the circumstances, motivations, perspectives and challenges of diverse CFIP stakeholders were explored. A case study of current CFIPs, an action research project, two focus groups, and field observations provided an abundance of data. Informed by the methodology bricolage, it was organised according to three emerging thematic fields: conceptual approaches and organisational formats; skills and knowledge transfer; and stakeholder concerns. When synthesising the findings by mapping out stakeholders and their relationships the 'craft for empowerment system' emerged, revealing three levels: a political level at the top, featuring international aid agencies, credit institutions and governments; an implementation level in the middle, comprising local government departments, the NGO sector, academia, entrepreneurs, designers, philanthropists, and civil society; and the target level at the bottom, consisting of craft producers and their communities.

Set against the backdrop of colonial history as well as contemporary challenges of development aid and grassroots empowerment, it was not unexpected that the system's analysis revealed a strong top-down direction in the management of CFIPs,

power imbalances and alienation between CFIP stakeholders who come from extremely different demographic backgrounds from within Pakistan and abroad. CFIPs are often directed by stakeholders at the top, guided by a stereotyped and fragmented knowledge of target-level craft producers' real-life circumstances.

This design research project concludes with responding to the dominant and unidirectional top-down management in CFIPs and with proposing the theoretical design framework 'designing for coalescence'. It involves a paradigm shift, encouraging different CFIP stakeholders, including caft producers, to collectively develop activities towards more equally shared agency in CFIPs from an early planning stage onwards. When CFIP stakeholders 'grow together' or 'coalesce' in processes of mutual learning-by-doing and critical reflection they can make more contextually relevant and feasible decisions regarding longer-lasting improvements of products, craft value chains and the situation of CFIP stakeholders. Reciprocal learning from each other is vital to the coalescence framework, and while the support of the craft producers remains central, so that they can gain agency and develop from being beneficiaries of aid to more equal project and business partners. Finally, a collaborative lab format as one possible way of implementing the theoretical coalescence framework is described.

Theoretical underpinnings of this research project include critical discourses regarding processes of development aid and grassroots empowerment, design's role in development, empowerment theories and systems thinking.

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Abbreviations

Self-defined abbreviations used throughout the dissertation:

CFIP	Craft for income project
DFAP	Donor funded aid programme
CE	Craft enterprise
CDI	Community development initiative

Glossary

Selected terms in local languages used in this dissertation

Ajrak	Blockprining technique
Baraderi	Kinship
Charka	Spinning wheel
Chowk	Street junction with an open market area
Dhoti	Loincloth
Jisti	Embrodery technique
Kala	Traditional South Asian concept of craft making that did not distinguish between fine art and applied arts
Kes	Weaving technique
Mela	Temporary sales fair
Numberdar	Village elder
Patti	Urdu word for woollen woven fabric of narrow width (30 cm) from the Hindukush mountain area
Rilli	Type of patchwork blanket
Shu	Chitrali word for woollen woven fabric of narrow width (30 cm) from the Hindukush mountain area
Swadeshi	Self reliance, movement that promoted the use of locally made products during India's independence movement
Swaraj	Self rule or self governance
Tehsil	Small administrative district

Prologue

One

In March 2008 I found myself on the top berth of a Pakistan Railway sleeper wagon, returning from Interior Sindh, in the South of Pakistan, to the city Lahore, where I had taught design for three and a half years. My large backpack, tucked next to me, contained one of the projects that would ignite my interest in this research. A year earlier, a friend in Lahore had shown me a *rilli*, a style of patchwork blanket that his female family members make, and asked me to sell these blankets in Germany. The stitching was very interesting, but the blanket was made from polyester. I suggested that we purchase cotton fabric, sketch designs, send both to his relatives in Sindh, and let them make new ones.

A few months later the prototypes returned. On first sight they looked fantastic, but a closer look revealed a number of quality issues, partly with the standard of workmanship and partly with our choice of yarn, from which colour bled onto other parts of the blankets. I travelled to Sindh to discuss quality issues and decide how to proceed with the project. Now, squeezed between the backpack and the low ceiling, the 20-hour journey provided ample time to reflect. The women had told me they did not like my designs and only made them because I had given the order. For the first time it occurred to me that I was perceived as an outsider, a foreigner from Europe, whom the women did not want to disappoint. I was not comfortable with that. I had not engaged deeply with topics such as development aid, postcolonialism, social business or participatory grassroots empowerment methods at that time, but I sensed that it would be important for the producers to own their work conceptually and artistically. They should not do the designs I gave them only to satisfy me. On the other hand, if they wanted to sell blankets, those blankets would need to reflect the taste of potential customers. Another thought that struck me was that the coordination of such a project — design, production, quality control and merchandising — would require frequent personal interaction, which was impossible for me. I already had a full-time university job, and that length of journey was not something I could undertake very often. In short, I could not steer such a project on my own, nor did I have the resources to manage and train a team alone.

Two

In May 2010 I sat with a group of women on the lawn of Lourdes Hotel in Quetta, the capital of Pakistan's Baluchistan province, trying to work out how to continue to provide them with orders to embroider products after funding for a project we were working on would end later that year. The women belonged to three religious and ethnic minority communities: Hindu, Christian and Hazara. The latter is a religious minority belonging to the Shia sect of Islam as well as an ethnic minority originating in Central Asia. These three communities are poor and exposed to violence; the Hazaras, in particular, have faced extreme persecution for many years. I had been working with these three communities in their neighbourhood centres for two years as a product design consultant,

facilitated by the child rights NGO Sanjog. The project addressed child sexual abuse, and one aspect was to offer meaningful free-time activities to teenage girls. Most of them had good embroidery skills and expressed the wish to work on fashion and accessory design. This project component began as vocational training with the hope that the girls could later earn some income through selling embroidery work. Six workshops took place in Quetta over the course of two years, in which we tried to develop products but also conducted sessions on setting sales prices and explored local markets for purchasing raw materials and possibilities for local shopkeepers to sell the products. The women leaders of the community centres travelled to Lahore — something not easily possible for women due to social restrictions and duties to be covered in their households — and visited urban markets for a better understanding of lifestyle and product trends. Connections to potential customers such as department stores, craft organisations and fashion designers were also explored.

The impact of the project was positive on many levels. The young women gained confidence, skills and knowledge, and received encouraging feedback on their first products. But after two years, when the project was about to conclude, no sustainable market connections had been established. I worked hard with the women and with project managers from the NGO to find ways to support them further. As a designer I had not been involved in development aid projects before. Now questions regarding the relationship between empowerment, income opportunity and craft production emerged. In the development aid context it seemed common to terminate funding before projects had matured to the point of being self-supporting. It also puzzled me that there was a team of highly dedicated, experienced and knowledgeable people implementing the project, yet we all struggled to find ways to extend it. I researched alternative opportunities for the Quetta women and found Sungi Development Foundation, which focuses on human and legal rights and on community-building. It had a strong craft enterprise component, and at the time was in the process of establishing SABAH, an organisation aiming to become a social craft enterprise with a focus on home-based women workers' rights. After reviewing the work of the women from Quetta, SABAH registered some of them as members. Sungi and SABAH later became one of the central projects in the case study of the empirical research.

Three

In October 2004, during my first week in Pakistan, I visited the project Thatta Kedona, which translates as 'The Toy Village of Pakistan'. Retired German design professor Senta Siller and architecture professor Norbert Pintsch initiated it in the early 1990s. The project had commenced with the production of dolls in traditional dresses and small tin toys like rickshaws made by the women and men of a rural village in the Punjab province of Pakistan, around three hours by car from Lahore. Over the years the project developed into a holistic community project, which includes education, health care, sustainable infrastructure (for example solar energy and a sewage system), the revival of traditional clay architecture and experiments with alternative tourism and a community radio station. Many visits and numerous conversations with Norbert and Senta

followed; these conversations provided impulses to think about how craft production is embedded in holistic processes of empowerment and community development. Their project is also central in the case study of the empirical research.

1. Introduction

1.1. Research topic and scope

Craft in Pakistan has many facets, from handmade low-cost everyday products, widely available in busy bazaars, to expensive designer collections featuring exquisite craft skills. Craft producers themselves are usually poor, however. They work under precarious conditions, and many are at risk of financial exploitation, because they are unable to access markets that apply ethical practices such as appropriate wages and regular order placement.

By the time this research commenced I had been teaching design at Beaconhouse National University in Lahore for around seven years. With a penchant for crafts, especially textile crafts, I had already worked on two projects that aimed to support craft producers through product design input. One was self-initiated together with a friend, in whose family women make a special kind of quilt, *rillis*, in a small town in Sindh in southern Pakistan. The other project was consulting for the youth empowerment programme of a child rights organisation, in which teenage girls from religious and ethnic minority communities in Quetta in Baluchistan would embroider various products. Additionally, since arriving in Lahore in 2004, I had regularly visited a project in the village Thatta Ghulamka Dhiroka about three hours' drive south of Lahore. Handcrafting of dolls and tin toys in this village is embedded in a more holistic community development approach that also includes the establishment of schools, a health station, a sewage system, a museum, a radio station, the revival of clay architecture, and the frequent collaboration with volunteers who contribute their expertise in a variety of fields, for example agriculture or pottery. This village project would later become one of the four core projects discussed in the case study of my empirical research.

These experiences provided early insights into the motivations of and challenges facing people who initiate craft projects as part of grassroots empowerment. As a consequence I chose craft projects with an ethical dimension and a focus on improving the working conditions of craft producers in Pakistan's large and often exploitative craft sector as my research topic. Most of these craft projects are embedded in a wider

spectrum of development aid and grassroots empowerment efforts, from internationally funded aid schemes to small private entrepreneurial, philanthropic or educational initiatives. Some projects focus on reviving craft techniques in order to preserve cultural heritage, others link craft-making to poverty alleviation, community development or women's empowerment. A common goal is to establish sustainable income opportunities for and with craft producers. Therefore I term these projects 'craft for income projects' and throughout this dissertation use the abbreviation CFIP.

Craft producers in Pakistan are not a homogeneous group. Some artisans specialise in a certain technique, for example *ajrak* (a textile printing technique), or *kes* (a weaving technique), and already run a workshop as their small business. Others live in low-income communities and often have good skills in a common craft technique, for example embroidery, which most women learn as part of their upbringing. They often just make whatever they like without any historical reference. Many have not yet utilised their craft skills for income generation; others work for middlemen, who pay low wages and do not commission products regularly. These women usually work from home, alone or in small groups, and therefore are widely termed 'home-based women workers'. They operate largely within the informal economy, where they are not protected by labour laws and are vulnerable to exploitation. Over the past two decades their plight has become internationally recognised in the aid sector, and in Pakistan several organisations have been advocating for workers' rights since 2005 (for example Akhtar, 2020; HomeNet Pakistan, 2020). Most of these workers lack access to education, job opportunities, professional networks, health care, financial services, social security and general infrastructure. They often live in remote rural or in poor urban areas, geographically and demographically distant from markets that pay adequate rates. Many CFIPs investigated in this research target home-based women workers and focus on embroidery and other textile crafts, but artisans specialising in other craft techniques , some with established workshops, also form part of CFIPs' work, for example when the aim is to revive traditional techniques, such as *ajrak* or *kes*.

At the core of this research undertaking sits an extensive empirical investigation that comprised of three parts:
      1. A case study of current CFIPs in Pakistan
      2. An action research project with a group of women in a village
      3. Two focus groups with different CFIP stakeholders

The aim was to understand CFIP stakeholders' different motivations, implementation strategies, challenges, perspectives and emerging opportunities. Three types of CFIP were defined through the case study: donor-funded aid programmes (DFAPs), craft enterprises (CEs) and community development initiatives (CDIs).

The objective of most CFIPs is to establish and maintain ethical craft value chains. As a common strategy, many CFIPs conduct vocational training to equip craft producers

with skills in product design, production management and customer communication, so that they learn how to manage such value chains. However, an omnipresent risk, and a common challenge for many CFIPs, is that they are often unable to achieve this goal, despite the immense efforts of CFIP managers with long-standing experience and expertise. CFIPs often end vocational training when the grant used to fund the programme terminates, and while participants have without doubt learned something, acquiring the knowledge needed to be successful is an open-ended, long-term endeavour. Some craft producers do find regular income opportunities, but many remain without regular orders or are unable to meet customer expectations without help. Marginalised craft producers often rely on long-term collaboration with supportive partners. In particular, NGOs conducting DFAPs do not always have the capacity in terms of time, human resources or budget to continue such support when they are busy applying for new grants to start new projects in order to continue their overall work. NGOs attempt to find strategies for long-term support, for example by compiling profiles of training graduates in directories; customers can search these directories for a craft producer who can make a particular work. Such directories require regular updating, however, and there are many communication difficulties between customers and craft producers about product development, quality standards and production deadlines. While customers must understand the limitations of craft production as opposed to standardised industrial production, craft producers must realise the importance of meeting customer expectations. This communication between craft producers and customers requires facilitation from the NGOs that maintain such directories in the limited time available. As a result of these challenges, value chains often get disrupted, and many craft producers are left disappointed and lose the motivation to engage in vocational training again. Customers also become disillusioned, and their motivation to order from training graduates also diminishes. On the other hand, CEs and CDIs usually continue to provide practical, financial and managerial assistance for quite a long time, as such assistance is part of their open-ended character. CE and CDI initiators and owners often pay out of their own pockets for this continued assistance when they realise that the task of managing a CFIP is more challenging and complex than they first assumed.

1.1.1. Locating the research topic

My research interest is located here, at the point when CFIP stakeholders struggle to cross the threshold of becoming independent and self-organizing — or realise the importance of thinking about business, learning and communication as an integrated, mutual, and open-ended process.

When I started this research project, the idea of utilising the craft skills that many poor and marginalised people already possess to help them find income opportunities and empowerment appealed to me as much as to those people initiating CFIPs. It seemed plausible and achievable to link craft-making to poverty alleviation as well as to cultural

Fig. 1.1: Locating the research topic

heritage preservation and social justice advocacy. I therefore became increasingly interested in exploring the relationship between grassroots empowerment, craft-making and design (Fig. 1.1.).

The stakeholders contribute a breadth of experience and expertise in fields such as entrepreneurship, social development, product development, craft-making and education in the form of vocational training. But why, despite such expertise, good intentions and dedication of the vast majority of CFIP stakeholders, was it so difficult to establish ethical and sustainable craft value chains?

When I embarked on this research I had no specific research question other than asking myself what support the design perspective could contribute besides product design and marketing strategies. My project experience prior to the research indicated to me that the answer would neither be simple nor limited to, say, better skills training in craft production, product design and merchandising.

When engaging with craft projects in Pakistan, the country's cultural, social, economic and political context cannot be ignored as it is closely intertwined with the conceptual and practical approaches of CFIP stakeholders. Important aspects of grassroots empowerment that impact CFIPs include international relations, development aid debates and practices, the informal economy, the economic and cultural potential of craft in Pakistan (where craft workers form a large part of the labour force), and the historical and political meaning of craft in South Asia, where it is deeply engrained in the history of independence from colonial power and the understanding of local identity and thus an integral part of design education (Fig. 1.1.).

As the research progressed, the scope of the topic extended beyond questions of product development and value chain management, fair wages and income generation.

The initial research interest in product development to attract more customers soon expanded to include supporting CFIPs in transitioning from aid initiatives to ethical craft businesses. This transition would require a broader focus on value chain management rather than solely focusing on product development. For several months during the research process I was convinced that CFIPs' financial independence would be the most crucial aspect for the economic empowerment of craft producers, because dependency on pre-defined grant periods and implementation requirements is a significant barrier for maintaining continuity of value chains initiated by CFIPs. Strategies with more flexible time spans and open-ended methodological approaches would possibly be more useful. Moreover financial independence would probably bring conceptual and practical independence from donor requirements. An even more constructive approach could be to involve donors into the planning of alternative strategies to ensure that financial support is invested with a long-term impact. Many CFIP managers struggle to fulfil donor expectations while developing alternative strategies based on their experiences in the field that they consider more contextually relevant, and in some cases they succeeded to convnce donors of such better practices.

Achieving financial independence for many CFIPs turned out to be unrealistic. With greater understanding of the extent of craft producers' inability to access high-end markets without supportive partners (donors as well as CFIP managers), it became clear that CFIPs could simply not be either aid initiatives or craft businesses. Rather, CFIPs would have to embrace both and integrate open-ended strategies of fostering holistic learning, inclusive communication and sustainable businesses.

Following the empirical research, the need to strengthen and integrate these three areas in CFIPs became the design task of this research. Many CFIP managers are aware of this necessity. They may not articulate it explicitly, but they are already developing and implementing activities that involve aspects of business, learning and communication within the limitations of grant schemes or tight private budgets. One example is the previously mentioned compilation of directories of craft producers and customers. Personal and professional networks of experts in useful disciplines such as design, heritage preservation, entrepreneurship or social work are also cultivated by CFIP managers, often informally, and activated when they suit a certain project. It became evident that such activities were important for fostering empowering activities in the craft sector.

The business side alone is not sufficient, however, and one flaw of the purely entrepreneurial approach is that it focuses on craft producers with excellent skills, whose products normally turn out exquisitely and can easily be marketed. Within craft producer groups, for example in a village, individual skill levels differ, even after training. Excluding those with weaker craft skills would compromise the empowering impact of CFIPs and be counterproductive for community development, because exclusion increases the potential for conflict in craft communities. Fostering inclusivity is vital in ethical craft projects. Extra thoughtfulness and creativity are needed in order to include both skilled and less skilled craft producers in value chains, for example by designing

attractive products with components that can be made by those with weaker skills. Moreover, integrating learning, communication and business skills involves accepting that revenues might be smaller than the cost of training. This cost is an investment; holistic learning experiences and improved inclusive communication do not usually pay off immediately.

I became increasingly interested in developing a design strategy for enhancing the exchange of information and experiences between the many different stakeholders involved in CFIPs so that they can understand each other better and develop new approaches together. In my view, this cross-fertilisation has the potential to increase long-term income opportunities in a more sustainable way than can be achieved by simply teaching product design and business knowledge.

Such collective effort and exchange would require detailed planning, however, which I have learned is very difficult for Pakistan's grassroots empowerment initiatives, as they involve stakeholders from very different demographic, professional and cultural backgrounds and regularly face infrastructural issues. Circumstances can change quickly, for example when security issues arise after violent attacks and upheaval or after natural disasters such as earthquakes or floods. Most importantly, the empirical research revealed that different CFIP stakeholders are keen to strengthen supportive networks and have ideas for denser, more dynamic and experimental collaboration, but they are challenged by time and resource constraints.

1.1.2. Craft and empowerment in Pakistan through the systems lens

These insights from the empirical research led to applying the systems lens to the analysis and synthesis of the data that I used to establish what I called the 'craft for empowerment system'. This system's shape and behaviour as well as relationships between CFIP stakeholders were analysed in order to understand what caused the observed obstacles, especially discontinuity of projects in CFIPs.

This craft for empowerment system will be described and analysed in detail in chapter 5. In summary, what surfaced and guided the subsequent direction of this research is that the system has three hierarchical levels: the political level at the top, where international organisations, donor agencies, credit institutes and governments determine the direction of international aid politics and grant schemes; the implementation level in the centre, where CFIPS are implemented by local government departments, NGOs, academia, think tanks, civil society, designers, social entrepreneurs, independent consultants, philanthropists and individuals with an interest in crafts; and the target level at the bottom, where craft producers and their communities attempt to find customers for the products they make.

The three levels are connected through processes and stakeholder relationships, often characterised by power imbalances. For example, stakeholders at the implementation level typically implement grant schemes that have been defined and

distributed at the political level. But this is not their only role. Implementation-level stakeholders also start their own initiatives, and they sometimes reject grants to avoid slipping into financial and conceptual dependency because the requirements of such grants, defined at the top level, do not always resonate with implementation-level stakeholders' experiences and ideas. But implementation-level stakeholders are also affected by the debate at the political level regarding development. CFIP project managers are located at the implementation level, and in contrast to political-level stakeholders have deep insights into the conditions under which target-level stakeholders live and work. Target-level stakeholders are usually recruited by implementation-level stakeholders as part of starting a CFIP, whether funded through grants or otherwise. Rarely, target-level craft producers will take the first step when they know someone at the implementation level who they think might be interested in working with them. Generally, though, they have difficulty even distinguishing implementation- and political-level stakeholders and their roles, and perceive them in a rather blurred way as people who want to help them.

Analysing the three system levels made visible the alienation between CFIP stakeholders, especially those from the political and target levels but also between those of different professional, cultural, socio-economic and demographic backgrounds on the implementation level. Disruptions like the discontinuity of CFIP activities and craft value chains can be linked to those gaps and to top-down dependency, both financial and conceptual. This systems analysis resulted in formulating the objectives of this research:

1. Empowerment for all CFIP stakeholders
2. A more democratic craft for empowerment system

The common notion is that mainly the craft producers need to be empowered by being taught skills and knowledge required in existing value chains, in unidirectional processes while CFIP stakeholders from academia, the arts, business and the aid sector could teach craft producers these skills and knowledge, for example product design and quality control. But the data analysis revealed that it is not only a lack of skills among craft producers that disrupts CFIPs. Top-down dependency on, for example grants, and the pressure to fulfil donor requirements, as well as power imbalances, alienation from each other and resulting misunderstandings among CFIP stakeholders cause many of the disruptions experienced in CFIPs. These system's dynamics are unintended by most CFIP stakeholders. Many of them are aware of these dynamics and often try to overcome them, a difficult endeavour because the system's dynamics have developed over time and solidified, and so have mindsets that drive them regarding who needs help and who can provide it that drive implementation routines. These dynamics, however, at least ensure that CFIPs continue to take place, because grants are regularly approved. It was helpful, though, to understand and acknowledge how the craft for empowerment system's top-down dynamics, power imbalances and stakeholder alienation pose barriers to CFIP stakeholders' desire for independence.

To succeed, therefore, empowerment strategies for craft producers need to be embedded into more holistic systems change approaches, in which stakeholders renegotiate their positions and roles and not only aim to uplift marginalised craft producers. The underlying insight is that the empowerment of craft producers requires the other, more powerful, stakeholders to reflect critically on their roles as budget and knowledge providers and begin to consider themselves as learning partners. These new stakeholder constellations can only emerge when direction is provided by stakeholders familiar with the local context — from academia, the arts, business and the NGO sector and the craft producers themselves — rather than by international donor agencies or other stakeholders unfamiliar with local conditions. The two research objectives — empowerment for all CFIP stakeholders and a more democratically operating craft for empowerment system — were derived from these insights.

The research objectives were conceptually supported by grassroots empowerment theories, such as described in Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire's book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (1970 / 2000) central to which is building a 'critical consciousness' through collective dialogic and reflective processes between powerful and less powerful people. Indian literary scholar Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's (1999) concept of 'planetarity' also shaped the definition of this research's two objectives. Spivak's concept is based on an idea of all-encompassing embrace and care between people of diverse perspectives and practices, even if one might not agree with others' practices or even consider them offensive. Both theories highlight the importance of collective critical reflection in order to gain awareness of contextual conditions, concerns and opportunities. These theories also explain the need for renegotiating power relationships, because true empowerment can only be achieved when the powerful bring their relationship with the less powerful into balance. True empowerment does not mean to lift up the less powerful to the level of the powerful but to negotiate more equal relationships and move forward together. Such processes require the powerful and privileged to reconsider their own perspectives while listening carefully to the less powerful or marginalised. The latter often hold contextually important knowledge and therefore must be heard, understood and included in empowerment strategies. Vital to this process of gaining awareness is to articulate thoughts and observations. These theories resonate with Indian economist and Nobel laureate Amartya Sen's concept of viewing development as a set of freedoms. Sen (2000) defines development as gaining the ability to make informed decisions regarding one's own life and work.

These theories and concepts, summarised in chapter 3, are part of a broader engagement with the history of development and the ideology of global aid politics. It might sound far-fetched to relate the vast field of development aid to this research about craft projects in Pakistan. The empirical research, however, showed that global aid politics affect the experiences of CFIP stakeholders in the field when they plan their projects according to grant requirements, formulate their goals, and deal with the affects of projects planned according to donors' demands. While at first sight it is mainly donor funded aid programmes (DFAPs) that experience the impact of global aid,

craft enterprises (CEs) and community development initiatives (CDIs) are also affected when they apply for a grant and have to abide by the donor's requirements. Moreover, CE and CDI stakeholders are also influenced by the different omnipresent ideologies of development aid when they plan their projects.

The grand narrative of development, which has dominated global aid since the 1950s, suggests that the poor countries of the Global South need to follow — or catch up with — rich countries of the Global North, not only in respect of their states' economies and governance but also in fields like education, culture and lifestyle (Rostow, 1960). Terminologies such as 'developed country' or 'developing country' have their roots in this catch-up narrative, which has been heavily critiqued by scholars and practitioners of alternative development theories. One theory is the centre–periphery model, which refers to rich and powerful countries as the 'centre' and poor and less powerful countries as the 'periphery'. It explains how the centre is exploiting the periphery economically by buying resources such as raw materials at low prices while selling expensive goods made from such raw materials back to the periphery. The centre also implements its own businesses and academic institutions in the periphery as a way to enable peripheral countries to catch up with countries at the centre, which causes peripheral countries to depend on the centre. Similarly, within a particular country, powerful urban areas are considered the centre and rural areas the periphery, and the urban–country dynamic is similar to the global centre–periphery dynamic. This theory critiques the damaging impact of the current periphery–centre dynamic on the histories, cultures, economies and administrations of the periphery (Centre–Periphery Model, 2020).

CFIP stakeholders in all three project categories — DFAPs, CEs and CDIs — do not necessarily refer explicitly to these different grand narratives of aid when they conceptualise and implement their craft projects, but the different development theories shimmer through in CFIP approaches. International and local CFIP stakeholders have internalised different values and concepts of aid through their own education and upbringing. During hectic project planning and implementation phases in CFIPs different perspectives collide but often there is not enough time and mental space to use this creative potential and expertise for critical reflection and the development of alternative CFIP approaches.

1.1.3. Designing for coalescence: proposing a theoretical design framework and a corresponding lab concept

If ethical craft projects are already conducted with expertise and dedication, what could a design research project contribute to the field of craft and empowerment?

After analysing the empirical data through the systems lens, the research focus shifted towards systems change in the craft for empowerment sector. Most research participants acknowledged that the goal of a systems change would be to bridge the ideological, conceptual and physical distance between CFIP stakeholders and to challenge the power imbalances that characterise stakeholder relationships.

Systems thinking contends that systems are emergent and therefore cannot be designed or prescribed. However, to use systems terminology, they can be leveraged into, so that emerging change can be observed. In other words something can be inserted, for example a new activity or a entity. The change this new activity or entity triggers can be observed and analysed, and may inform further leverage activities (Meadows, 2009).

The systemic analysis of the empirical data resulted in the development of a design strategy that can be viewed as a two-fold leverage strategy consisting of:
1. The theoretical design framework 'designing for coalescence'
2. A concept for a collaborative lab format as one possibility to implement of this framework

Central to this design strategy is the insight that CFIP stakeholders actively seek opportunities for people, projects and practices to grow together — or coalesce — but such opportunities are scarce. The proposed theoretical design framework consists of seven components — paradigm, principles, design methods, goal, impact, values and character — that were defined in response to the analysis of the current craft for empowerment system. For example, the paradigm of the current craft for empowerment system was defined as 'appropriation of craft producers' skills to mainstream market expectations from across the system'. This paradigm clearly has a positive intention as it aims to include craft producers into value chains, so that they have the opportunity to earn an income. The appropriation-informed CFIP approaches are currently well planned and thought out. But appropriation also indicates a unidirectional approach to bringing craft producers into value chains, and for some craft producers undoubtedly increases income opportunities. Though for many it does not.

However the lack of acknowledgement of craft producers' perspectives and circumstances can lead to many challenges, such as a gulf between customer expectations and craft producers' abilities to meet them. When craft producers are not involved in project management or product development but simply taught skills and given ready-made design commissions, they have less sense of ownership of their work, also because their own valuable perspectives do not get the chance to play a significant role in CFIPs. In response to the 'appropriation' paradigm, defined based on my analysis of the current craft for empowerment system's top-down dynamics and power imbalances between CFIP stakeholders, I propose the alternative paradigm 'coalescence'. It is intended to support people, perspectives, practices and institutions from across the system, and encourage them to converge, form new alliances and experiment together in CFIPs. This paradigm aims to encourage different CFIP stakeholders to come together to review their current and planned project activities. The idea is that through better mutual understanding they will gradually modify the typical top-down dynamics and power imbalances and collectively generate alternative CFIP approaches.

1.1.4. Remarks on the research topic and scope

The scope of the research interest broadened throughout the research process from the initial focus on product design to an interest in ethical craft value chain management in an effort to support CFIPs to transform from aid projects to sustainable craft businesses. Acknowledging the complexity of such a task widened the boundaries of the topic further, because I realised that CFIPs could not be either aid projects or businesses but needed to integrate characteristics of both. When I applied a systems approach I viewed product development and value chain management as parts of a larger craft for empowerment system. Also, because a large number of people with diverse cultural, demographic and socio-economic backgrounds, perspectives and practices engage in CFIPs, a multi-stakeholder approach was considered appropriate. The empirical data was used to establish the craft for empowerment system, and this system was used as the basis for the 'designing for coalescence' framework and the corresponding concept of a collaborative lab format as an implementation possibility.

Expanding the boundaries of the research might seem like an oxymoron, when what is expected to happen is that the focus of any (design) research project narrows as it progresses. In this research, however, 'narrowing' meant choosing the craft for empowerment system as the focus through which the boundaries of the topic were expanded to systems-level scale. I took this step because I considered it important to embrace the complexity and different dimensions — from global politics to hands-on craft practices in concrete case projects — that unfolded in the empirical research rather than simplifying it artificially by picking out one aspect, for example product development.

This choice to embrace systems-level scale and complexity also resulted from becoming increasingly clear about which research directions I could not justify, for example the more obvious possibility of formulating success strategies or step-by-step guidelines for improving CFIPs. In my view that would have been pointless, because the empirical research revealed that current CFIP managers are very experienced, dedicated, reflective and creative people with positive intentions. They know their projects better than I ever could, even after gaining deep research insights. In fact one common experience of CFIP managers is that external consultants provide them with guidelines and tools for improving their work. While such recommendations can be helpful for certain aspects, such as product development, often external consultants lack insight into the specifics of the contextual challenges. In addition, they are usually unable to monitor the implementation process long-term, because their contracts are for limited time periods. There was no need for me to perpetuate this practice.

Another reason for not developing guidelines for one task or project is that each CFIP is closely connected with other stakeholders in the craft sector and the related fields of grassroots empowerment, entrepreneurship and design. Each CFIP is part of a complex system and cannot be viewed in isolation. In this system circumstances can change quickly, especially in Pakistan; for example, the security situation in a region may worsen or travel is restricted after a natural disaster, and also politics can impact projects, for example regarding budgets for grants. Following any

guideline meticulously is an unrealistic goal. It is more important that CFIP stakeholders are critically aware of threats and opportunities in their environments, and deal with them according to the need of the moment without losing sight of long-term goals.

Therefore the only meaningful way forward for me was to contribute to a more holistic understanding of the larger scenario of craft for empowerment in Pakistan, with its eclectic combination of stakeholders, their complex relationships, and different conceptual and practical CFIP approaches. Analysing the system's shape, dynamics and relationships helped to make deeper sense of what causes the challenges these CFIP stakeholders face.

This understanding of how the larger craft for empowerment system operates enabled me to deconstruct the framework of the current craft for empowerment system and analyse its underlying paradigm as appropriation and subsequently propose 'designing for coalescence' as an alternative frameowrk and a collaborative lab format as one suggested implementation possibility of this framework.

The scope of this research result brings together the real-life practices and experiences of people engaging in CFIPs, and the wider political, economic and cultural dynamics.

1.2. Data collection and analysis

Extensive empirical research forms the backbone of this research-project. The case study of current CFIPs comprised of around 20 projects.[1] The case projects were investigated with different levels of intensity. Eventually four 'core case sets' were defined, each consisting of a focus organisation, enterprise or initiative and its adjunct partners. The four core case sets included: two different NGOs aiming to become social craft enterprises, one of them rooted in advocacy work for legal rights and social justice and the other founded as a spin-off of a microcredit bank; one fashion and home textile label linking small craft organisations with an industrial apparel manufacturer for production and finishing; and a community development project with a strong craft component alongside infrastructural and educational activities. They were chosen because they represent interesting organisational and conceptual formats of ethical craft initiatives that had already involved designers at the time of the research.

The action research project with a group of women in the village near to the campus where I taught was conducted in order to

[1] The exact number is not easy to determine, because some projects are so closely intertwined that it is difficult to decide whether they can be called a single project.

support the women in developing and selling mostly embroidered products, and to examine the impact of interactions with design and business students and faculty from the nearby university.

With the deep insights gained through the case study and the action research I conducted two focus groups on sustainable craft business strategies with different CFIP stakeholders, most of whom I knew from the case study and the action research.

The role of serendipitous data should not be underestimated in creating a picture of ethical craft approaches in Pakistan. This serendipitous information was collected when attending sector events such as round table discussions, organised by NGOs or the Chamber of Commerce; temporary markets, called *melas*, where different CFIPs, including those from the case study, displayed the craft products made by their training participants; and spontaneous field trips and interviews, where opportunities for further insights into   craft for empowerment emerged though, even if not linked to any case study.

1.2.1. Identifying an appropriate methodology

A vast amount of data was collected. Structuring and analysing this data was more challenging than I had expected, however. Initially my aim was to analyse successful and less successful strategies from the case studies and match them with my own findings from the action research project. To code my data I attempted to use Grounded Theory, a method to categorise information developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 (2010). After a while I stopped using this method, however, because it did not reveal meaningful patterns. Almost each insight was met by a counter-insight, so that the process did not allow for drawing generalised conclusions regarding which CFIP strategies might be more successful. For example, there were different opinions regarding whether to calculate the fee for an embroidered piece by square inch of work, weight, or time spent on it, or whether craft producers should work from home or come to a common workshop space. Any decision of how to go about them seems to be thought through and depends on each project's specific context, for example the level of sophistication of a certain embroidery stitch or the accessibility of geographical locations. Also entrepreneurial experience, socio-economic and cultural background and the social norms of the communities involved play a role when CFIP managers develop and modify their specific CFIP's strategies. Against such a diverse and eclectic backdrop, any categories I came up with appeared forced and uninteresting.

This unsatisfying coding process directed my attention towards the organisational structures and processes of CFIPs and stakeholder relationships. Analysing these aspects was not an easy task because apart from CFIP managers, many other stakeholders, for example craft producers are not aware of how CFIPs are organised and financed. These stakeholders can only talk about their experiences, while they are often not aware of other CFIP stakeholders' roles or even their existence. For example, craft producers do not always know who initiates projects to support them, and often

they do not understand the roles of people who engage with them, such as designers or NGO managers. Craft producers in marginalised communities experience that people who do not belong to this community approach them in order to start a project to help craft producers. But those do not understand the larger picture because project information is not made fully transparent to them. Hence they it is difficult for them to link and articulate the impact of organisational factors or stakeholder relationships on their projects and on their lives, when I ask them.

For me as a researcher it means to also pay attention to insights emerging through what is not expressed by research participants directly. If craft producers do not talk about important background information of projects, this information does not take form that can be coded. The inability to see and articulate contextual information and connections, however, speaks of power imbalances between CFIP stakeholders, imbalances only stakeholders in powerful positions are aware of. Those without power might have a sense of others exercising power, but lack deeper insights into these power structures, the vocabulary, and a platform to voice their concerns and ideas.

I found it extremely interesting to investigate these inequalities in regards to CFIPs. This interest required me to look into the complex connections between the organisational structures and processes of craft for empowerment in Pakistan, the impact of these structures and processes on CFIP stakeholders and their practice in the field, and the relationships between different stakeholders. But this interest also meant I needed to find an appropriate method to analyse my empirical data.

The process of collecting and structuring data was then guided by the 'bricolage' method, as outlined by Kincheloe and Berry (2007) who recommend clustering emerging thematic fields to discuss rather than to draw final conclusions. For analysing and synthesising the findings from this process I applied the systems-oriented design approach, especially the GIGA-mapping method, developed at the Oslo School of Art and Architecture (Sevaldson, for example 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017a & 2017b). Combining bricolage and systems-oriented design resonated with my research interest, because both methods encourage researchers to embrace the complex nature of real-world challenges rather than trying to simplify them. These methods value messy and open-ended processes, especially where multiple stakeholders are involved, and both explicitly aim to foster change by making power relationships transparent.

Bricolage considers all types of data and formats important in order to gradually fill a puzzle of information about a research topic. When applying bricolage, the researcher appreciates eclectic information, and data can take different form and character — rather than pre-defining a particular data format so that it can be analysed easily. The collected data usually represents a complex reality, which in bricolage is considered authentic with no need for researchers to simplify the data hastily. In order to structure and discuss data, topics emerging through the investigation are grouped together. In bricolage this process is termed 'threading through topics' (Kincheloe and Berry, 2007). Three fields of interest emerged through this thematic threading process and were then discussed as the findings of the case study: conceptual approaches

and organisational formats; skills and knowledge transfer; and stakeholder concerns. However, thematic threading was not applied to the findings of the action research project and the focus groups in the same rigorous way, because it was not needed. The data was less diverse, because these research activities focused on one project or activity, making it easier to describe significant observations.

The empirical findings were then synthesised in the craft for empowerment system by applying the GIGA-mapping method, which involves mapping out all information and data on a topic, however unorganised it may appear. Through visualising such a complex, even messy, scenario it becomes possible to see interesting patterns and connections that can provide starting points and ideas for generating ideas on how to support systems change — or, in systems terminology, 'where to leverage into the system' (Sevaldson, 2017b, n.p. & 2017c, n.p.).

The findings of the case study, the action research and the focus groups were used to sort CFIP stakeholders into categories such as NGOs, businesses, academia or craft producer groups, and related individuals such as NGO managers, entrepreneurs, academics and craft producers, including their relationships with one another.

The intertwined process of applying bricolage and systems-oriented design was accompanied by a contextual literature review. This review formed an integral part of the research process and was not conducted to identify a topic or to design an empirical investigation or develop a final design solution. Instead the contextual literature review accompanied this research at all stages and touched on many topics from outside the design realm, for example development studies, empowerment theories, social business and innovation and systems theory besides more design related subjects such as crafts and design in development contexts, especially in South Asia. I could not cover each emerging topic in depth but explored each to the extent that it was helpful for this research at the intersection craft, design and empowerment.

It is worth mentioning that this process (investigating people's experience in the field, seeing craft for empowerment system as a whole, and engaging with literature and existing theories) was not always linear. Instead it gradually developed into an ongoing dialogue between the different perspectives. But it also became a dialogue with different CFIP stakeholders over a period of several years, during which I regularly revisited them and their projects, which enabled me to reflect on their earlier process.

1.3. The context of Pakistan

CFIPs take place in many countries, mainly in the Global South, where development aid activities are omnipresent. While CFIPs might show parallels in terms of motivations, challenges and applied strategies in different countries, some aspects are specific to a cultural context. Therefore some basic information about Pakistan is necessary here.

Pakistan is located in South Asia, bordering India to the east, China to the north, Afghanistan to the west, Iran to the south-west, and Oman to the south through a maritime border in the Persian Gulf (Fig. 1.2).

Geographically Pakistan is diverse. The northern areas feature some of the world's highest peaks in the Karakoram and Hindukush mountain ranges of the Himalayas. Sindh, Baluchistan and parts of Punjab are desert, while Punjab consists mostly of fertile agricultural land. Except in mountainous areas, the weather is usually hot for most parts of the year. The monsoon in late summer regularly causes floods that destroy peoples' living environments, with poor people affected more severely.

Today Pakistan consists of the provinces Sindh in the south, Baluchistan in the south-west, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the north-west, and Punjab in the east, plus the autonomous territories Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan in the mountainous north, and the Islamabad Capital Territory. The different regions have many different cultural traditions, including community organisation. Provinces and districts have their own languages: an estimated 77 languages are spoken in Pakistan, some by only a small number of people. Larger native language groups are Punjabi or Sindhi speakers. While English and Urdu are the official languages (Ethnologue, n.d.), neither is the native language of the majority of the people, who usually learn them at school. English has become the language of the privately educated elite (Mustafa, 2012). For CFIPs this is important, because craft producers in particular often do not know Urdu or English.

Historically, the geographic region that is Pakistan today was the cradle of the ancient Indus Valley civilisation when it was first inhabited, around 300,000 years ago. In 326 BC, Alexander the Great invaded Pakistan's northern areas and the Punjab region. Subsequently Mauryans from India and Central Asian tribes ruled large parts of what is now Pakistan. Hinduism and Buddhism were the main religions, and in the eighth century Islam began to spread. In the sixteenth century, Mughals from Central Asia expanded their empire in South Asia. By the seventeenth century, Mughal India was the world's largest economic power. The Mughal cultural legacy includes walled cities, forts, mosques and tombs, such as the Taj Mahal in Agra in India and the Lahore Fort in Pakistan. In the seventeenth century British businessmen established the East India Company, a trading company which became so powerful that in the eighteenth century the British government took over direct political control of India in 1857 (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2020), while smaller Indian territories were ruled by Portugal and France.

When India gained independence from colonial rule in 1947, the partition of Pakistan and India was decided. Pakistan became an independent country comprising of regions where the majority of the population were Muslims. This included West Pakistan, which is now Pakistan, and East Pakistan, which in 1971 became Bangladesh. Kashmir, in the north, was divided between Pakistan and India and remains a disputed territory to this day. Partition led to widespread violence and millions of deaths on both sides of the border when many Muslims from across the subcontinent migrated to Pakistan and many Hindus and Sikhs moved from Pakistan to India (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2020). 96.4 % of Pakistan's population are estimted to be Muslims, most of
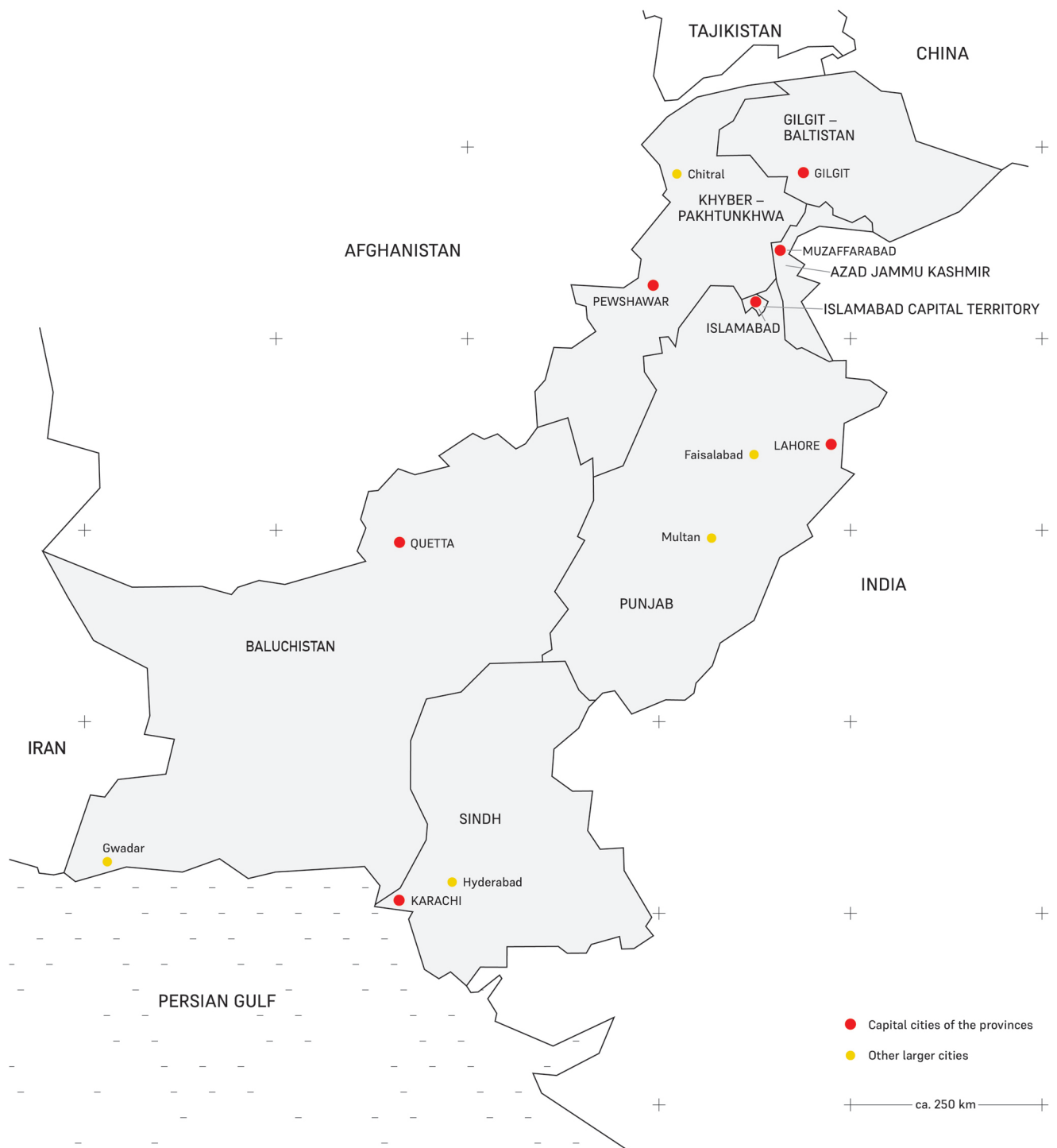
Fig. 1.2: Map of Pakistan

2 Members of the Ahmaddiyya community consider themselves as Muslims, but are not permitted to declare themselves officially Muslims in Pakistan. They believe that there were prophets after Mohammad and follow Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as their spiritual leader, which conservative Muslims consider to be blasphemous.

them Sunni and about 10 to 15 % Shia. Other minority groups include Christians, Hindus, Parsis and the Ahmadiyya community;[2] and many minority groups frequently experience religious violence (Sayeed, 2019, n.p.).

Generally speaking, people in Pakistan identify strongly with their religious and ethnic community, their caste, their extended family and their *baraderi*, a larger group of people whose ancestors derive from the same lineage (Bertolani, 2017, p. 165). Different ethnic

minorities live in Pakistan, for example the Hazara people from Central Asia, who settled in the area bordering Afghanistan. As both a Shia minority and an ethnic minority they have faced sectarian violence and persecution for decades (Ijaz, 2018, n.p.). Minority communities are often marginalised and therefore CFIPs often, though not only, take place in relgious and ethnic minority communities.

One of the most pressing concerns for the past ten to fifteen years has been an electricity crisis that causes long hours of power cuts, a particular problem in the long hot summers. As with most infrastructural crises, poor people suffer most, because they cannot afford back-up power supplies. Industrial production across sectors faces significant losses because it is unable to operate machinery continuously, which also causes workers to lose their jobs.

While this paints a grim picture of Pakistan, its people have developed an immense capacity to improvise in order to go about their daily routines; a high level of resilience when it comes to re-establishing a situation after a disaster, for example rebuilding houses destroyed by floods after heavy monsoon rains or earthquakes; and a resolve not to succumb to violence or threats, for example threats to educational institutions made by Islamist fundamentalists.

Since this research is concerned with questions of poverty, social justice and empowerment, some statistical information is also helpful. According to the 2017 census, almost 208 million people live in Pakistan (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics [PBS], 2017, p. 71). Around 51% are men and 49% women. It is the fifth most populous country in the world, and the UN estimates that by 2040 its population will exceed 300 million (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019a, p. 36). The two most populous cities are Karachi in Sindh, with around 15 million people, and Lahore, with around 11 million (PBS, 2017, p. 76). The majority of people live in rural areas. Around 43% of the population is aged 15 or under; around 60% are between 15 and 64 (UN ESA, 2019b, p. 889); and the median age is 22.8 (p. 892). The literacy rate of adults over 15 years of age is 57%. Women spend an average of 3.8 years in school, men 6.5 years (United Nations Development Programme, 2019a, n.p.). Pakistan ranks 152nd out of 189 countries included in the Human Development Index (HDI) 2019, published by the United Nations. The HDI calculates access to a long and healthy life, knowledge (years of schooling) and a decent standard of living. With a value of 0.56, Pakistan falls into the category of 'medium human development'. However, when looking at how achievements in these three areas are distributed among the overall population, Pakistan falls to 0.386, which locates it in the category of 'low human development', indicating that there are large discrepancies in Pakistan's population regarding life expectancy, years of schooling and standard of living (UNDP, 2019a; UNDP, 2019b, p. 306 & p. 310).

Against this backdrop development aid plays a significant role in Pakistan, which throughout its history as a state has received foreign aid to support education, health care, culture, infrastructure and the economy. CFIPs are often financed and conceptually influenced by the dicourses around these aid projects.

The role of crafts in South Asia in the context of grassroots empowerment and development aid is complex and will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3 and in the empirical research in chapter 4. Briefly, during the independence movement using homespun fabric was not only promoted to support economic independence but also served as a unifying symbol between different demographic groups. Today there is widespread understanding that craft traditions shape national and cultural identity, and hence need to be preserved.

1.4. Relevance of the research

Quantitative data specifically about CFIPs in Pakistan is not available, not least because they had not been defined and investigated as a standalone sector before. However, some reasonably reliable statistics regarding employment in Pakistan support the relevance of this research.

Out of Pakistan's population, 44.9% of those ten years of age and above are economically active. This number differs between men (67.9%) and women (21.4%) (PBS, 2022, p. 19). This activity ranges form being employed, employers, own-account workers or contributing family workers (p. vi). A total of 67.25 million people in Pakistan are employed: 51.91 million men and 15.34 million women (p. 22). Of those employees 13.7% (men and women) are employed in the category 'craft and related trade workers' (p. 24), in which men work 51.7 hours per week on average and women 31.5 hours (p. 30). Men in this category earn on average 21.709 rupees (about 107 euros) and women 10.554 rupees (about 52 euros) per month (p. 41).[3]

These numbers cannot directly be applied to CFIPs, because some projects engage producers who are not yet earning in the craft sector, and therefore do not appear in the statistics. But interesting conclusions can be drawn nonetheless to underline the importance of this research that could impact a large number of people:

– Craft production is a significant sector of Pakistan's economic activity
– The craft sector engages millions of people
– The craft sector engages a relatively large number of women
– Those women mostly earn very little
– Craft producers are vulnerable to financial exploitation
– Craft production is predominantly an occupation of poor people

[3] As per exchange rate on the publication time of the census.

An important factor in the larger craft sector is the informal sector, in which 87.8% of Pakistan's employees of the category 'craft and related trades' work (PBS, 2022, p. 36). The PBS defines small household enterprises as informal. Workers are own-account workers, which means that their private and their business account are the same, and that businesses have fewer than ten employees, including the business owner, family members and regular or occasional employees. However, this definition of informal employment excludes agricultural activity (PBS, 2018, p. 31-35).

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2002) uses similar definitions. It sees the drawback of being employed in the informal economy as a lack of social protection and exclusion from benefits provided by the state, the private economy and political processes. This means that people working in the informal economy are vulnerable to underpayment, poverty, insecurity and exploitation. They lack opportunities for individual professional development such as learning a skill, developing a consciousness for the possibility to pursue a career and the confidence for voicing collective concerns. Worldwide, more than 60% of employees work in the informal economy (ILO, 2018, p. 1).

Another factor supporting the relevance of this research is that design researchers have widely investigated the relationship between craft production, cultural heritage, grassroots empowerment and design, but only a few have carried out research in Pakistan and none of them have adopted the systems perspective. Internationally, research about craft and design looks at aspects of product design within a particular culture (Kaya, 2011; Miettinen, 2007; Nugraha, 2012), at the link between development, capacity-building and craft-making (Fathers, 2012; Mazzaralla, 2018; Reijonen, 2010), or at sustainable economic models for craft production (Hassan, 2018; Reubens, 2016; Venkatesan, 2009; Wongtanasuporn, 2010). The relationship between poverty alleviation and design has also been investigated (El Aidi, 2015; Fathers, 2012; Saad, 2013), as has the potential of involving different design expertise such as product or communication design in grassroots empowerment in Pakistan (Ali, 2014; Hassan, 2018; Mirza, 2015 & 2020). Seher Mirza looked at participatory approaches to product development with women in Sindh in the South of Pakistan and also tackled questions of power imbalances between marginalised craft producers and those who want to collaborate with them, such as designers and NGOs (2020).

At the time of writing I am not aware of any design research that applies the systems approach with a focus on multi-stakeholder relationships to craft-making in the context of grassroots empowerment in Pakistan. The reviewed research projects cover a wide spectrum, including one in-depth research conducted in Pakistan, but the focus is mostly on hands-on product design processes, including questions of participation; market linkage strategies; or individual case study projects.

In the design research project presented here, product design was viewed as important but not as the aspect that required most attention, because product designers already work with craft producers in the investigated CFIPs. Nor was it the aim to write

a proposal for one of the case study projects, as they are already managed well. Rather the aim was to make the complex craft for empowerment sector tangible through visualising it as a system. This visualisation allowed me to observe, describe and analyse the current structures, processes, and stakeholder relationships of the craft for empowerment system and the mindsets that inform them. This research aims to encourage CFIP stakeholders to step back from time to time during their projects and reflect on their current position in the system. They can use the proposed coalescence paradigm of the theoretical framework as well as the collaborative lab format as references when developing new or alternative activities.

1.5. Limitations of the research

This research project certainly has limitations, resulting from its scale, its thematic location at the intersection of different disciplines and fields and from its open-ended research approach.

Firstly, expanding the boundaries of the research topic into a holistic systems approach made much sense for the reasons I described above. However, critical questions about such a topic evolvement are also understandable. The holistic systems view of crafts in Pakistan sees fields such as international relations and global aid politics, cultural history, design, economics and demographics playing a vital role in this research project. As a design researcher I cannot claim to be an expert in any of these fields, or that I could become one through the course of this research. Synthesising information from different fields through the systems design perspective makes the research vulnerable to experts in those fields finding the work superficial. Some designers might consider the expansion of the topic too far-fetched, because the expanded boundaries make it difficult to develop an applied design solution. However, in my view — and in line with debates on design that address complex problems, summarised in chapter 3 — this holistic approach is precisely where systemic design's value lies: it does not view challenges as existing in isolation from one another. The disadvantage is that it is impossible to have in-depth knowledge of all required adjunct disciplines, but in my opinion this is outweighed by the integration of different perspectives and the involvement of different stakeholders which allow for a more holistic understanding.

For this reason, chapter 3, despite its length, can only summarise an overview of the many topics I needed insight into, with some topics covered in more detail than others. It was also not an easy decision to compile the summary of all those topics in one chapter as opposed to outline them throughout the dissertation wherever they became important, in the empirical research, the systems analysis or the framework and lab development. The chosen structure might pose a challenge for the reader to remember these different concepts and theories of the contextual review at a later point in the dissertation when I refer to them. However, the other option of spreading

the topics of the contextual review across the dissertation seemed to make reading it confusing because I need to refer to some topics more than once.

Secondly, bricolage and systems-oriented design, two methods of strongly open-ended and non-linear character, involved a sense of continuous dissatisfaction for myself, because each time the data collection seemed complete, new developments in the case study projects took place, and I felt tempted to include them into my data collection. Obviously those projects continued in an organic way, and, interestingly, some of the new developments resulted from my research activities, even though the activities took place independently. It would have been fascinating to follow up each further development, but if I had done so this dissertation would never be finished.

Thirdly, the research result is not a tangible design object or easy-to-use service that could be tested and analysed during the research process. The usefulness of the 'designing for coalescence' framework and the collaborative lab format will only emerge over time and only when CFIP stakeholders engage in shaping them. An indicator of the potential benefit of the framework and the lab concept as research outcome is precisely the fact that research participants did begin to collaborate in adopting alternative approaches, embodying coalescence in their work, at least partly, even though they did not term their activities 'coalescence'. I believe this demonstrates the usefulness of the proposed framework and lab format, but no measurable results can be presented at this point.

1.6. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is structured as follows:
Chapter 2 locates this research project as project-grounded design research. It summarises the empirical research approach and further describes how the research topic and the specific characteristics of the research environment mutually impacted each other. The research methods 'bricolage' and 'systems-oriented design' are introduced because in combination they guided the open-ended and iterative research process of data-gathering, structuring, synthesising and analysing.
Chapter 3 summarises selected concepts and theories that have shaped this research project, including an overview of historical and conceptual debates and practical approaches to development aid and empowerment; complexity and systems thinking in development and in design; the meaning of crafts in South Asia; the role of craft in design and design education in South Asia; design for development and democratisation since the 1970s; social innovation and social business; and collaboration and participation in transformative processes towards co-design, collective learning and a critical reflective practice.
Chapter 4 describes the empirical research process. It comprises an extensive case study of CFIPs; an action research project with a group of women in a village near my university campus; and two focus groups with diverse CFIP stakeholders as

participants. Based on the findings, 'craft for empowerment' is extracted as a sector in its own right, embedded in related fields of development, empowerment, education, culture and entrepreneurship. The chapter concludes by formulating the design task, which is to foster the integration of sustainable craft businesses, holistic learning experiences and inclusive communication between craft producers and other CFIP stakeholders.

Chapter 5 synthesises the empirical data through the systems lens by visualising the craft for empowerment sector from a bird's eye perspective as a system. It analyses this craft for empowerment system, featuring three levels, top-down dynamics and unequal power relationships. Experiences of three main CFIP stakeholders — producers, managers and customers — are visualised as cycles of motivation and disappointment, which allow for pinpointing situations that disrupt continuity of CFIPs. Finally the two overarching objectives of this research are defined as fostering a more democratically operating craft for empowerment system and creating empowering experiences for all CFIP stakeholders, concluding that the empowerment of craft producers requires all stakeholders to review their roles, positions and practices.

Chapter 6 introduces the prospective framework designing for coalescence based on a paradigm shift. Concluding that currently conceptual and practical approaches in CFIPs are guided by a paradigm that was defined as appropriation in response the alternative paradigm coalescence is proposed. It is based on the empirical research findings and the insight that the craft for empowerment system is currently characterised by top-down management, power imbalances and alienation between CFIP stakeholders. Such well-intended upward-appropriation strategies at the same time were revealed as disruptive to empowering experiences in craft value chains. Designing for coalescence aims to inform alternative (design) practices that foster mutual learning and processes of growing together between different people, perspectives, practices and institutions in CFIPs. As one possible way of implementing the theoretical framework the concept for a collaborative lab is introduced.

Chapter 7 reflects on this research project's contribution to the field of craft in the context of grassroots empowerment in Pakistan. Through visualising the craft for empowerment system this field becomes tangible and enables CFIP stakeholders to observe, describe, analyse, debate and initiate activities to change it. This research aims to support CFIP stakeholders in critically (self-)reflecting together on the current appropriation-driven structures, processes and stakeholder relationships in CFIPs, and to develop more coalescence-informed strategies. The chapter further summarises this research project's contribution from a methodological perspective to design research and design in the contexts of development and empowerment. Finally, it reflects on the limitations of this research project and opportunities for further research.

The **prologue** recalls briefly the observations and questions that rotated in my head after first experiences in craft and empowerment projects and that motivated me to begin a deeper exploration of CFIPs in Pakistan. The **epilogue** reflects on how my perspective on projects that link craft, empowerment and design has changed during the

research process. These two small texts frame my before and after perspective not only on craft projects but on larger questions of marginalisation, power imabalances, development aid and on how to move forward and achieve conditions of more equity in grassroots environments. Before embarking on this research project I wondered why it was so difficult to link marginalised craft producers to markets; by the end of the empirical investigation I was able to understand and appreciate the achievements of current CFIP stakeholders to such an extent, that these insights changed the further direction of this research project significantly. Rather than developing guidelines for product design or ethical value chains — in yet another top-down manner — the inspiring experiences and ideas of the currently active CFIP stakeholders resulted into formulating the theoretical design framework 'designing for coalescence' and a corresponding lab format as a possible implementation strategy.

Lastly, the ***appendix*** deserves a mention. It contains images that could have been put into the main text to illustrate activities of the empirical investigation. However, images of the case study and of the action research project were used only sparcely because many of the participating craft producers, most of them home-based women workers, were initially uncomfortable with being photographed and with the idea of their picture and name being published. However, upon a recent consent request they did not object any more. Further the appendix contains excerpts of interview transcriptions. It was sometimes difficult to decide how much of a transcribed conversation to include but usually I refer in the main text to a certain part, defined by mentioning the minutes, but include a larger part in the appendix to provide some context of the conversation. These transcriptions remain unedited. The ***digital appendix*** was only part of the dissertation submitted for evaluation but not for this open-access version. It contains files such as full audio and video recordings, folders with larger amounts of pictures, additional data material and scans of consent agreements.

2. Research approach

This chapter positions this research project as design research, distinguishing it from a practical design project and from research in related fields such as the social sciences or economics. This is followed by an outline of the empirical research, and of the methodologies bricolage and systems-oriented design that guided and informed my research process. The extensive contextual review that accompanied the entire research process follows in chapter 3.

2.1. Positioning this research as design research

A good starting point for grasping the relationship between design practice and design research is to examine the debates regarding research <u>about</u> design, <u>for</u> design and <u>through</u> design (or sometimes <u>by</u> or <u>with</u>) of the past five decades (e.g. Archer, 1979, pp. 34–35; Frayling, 1993, pp. 4–5; Findeli et al., 2008, pp. 68–73; Jonas, 2015, pp. 32–36; Wolf, 2016, pp. 64–67).

Research <u>about</u> design debates practices and effects of design projects that have been done, or are in the process of being done. Findeli considers such analyses of applied design, conducted by researchers in other disciplines such as historians, anthropologists or management experts, as not very relevant to designers, because their objective is to advance not design but their own discipline (Findeli et al., 2008, p. 71; Jonas, 2015, p. 33).

Research <u>for</u> design provides knowledge for designers and their practice, though the validity might be compromised through continuously changing realities (Jonas, 2015, p.33). Technological, ergonomic, economic, aesthetic, psychological, and more aspects of design rely on data gained through research for design (Findeli et al., 2008, p.70).

Research <u>through</u> design positions design research as applied research. Action research, experimentation and immediate consideration of feedback are some of the characteristics pointing at the integrative and reflective nature of theory and practice

(Jonas, 2015, p.35). Koskinen et al. refer to 'design research in which construction — be it product, system, space, or media' — takes centre place and becomes the key means in constructing knowledge' (Koskinen et al., 2011, p.5).

This raises the question of how design practice and research differ. Findeli considers it important to distinguish project-based design research from design practice, which also requires research in order to execute a design product or concept well. He argues that in design research a design project can only be a part of a larger research inquiry into epistemological knowledge gain. The project is the medium of conducting research (Findeli et al., 2008, pp.72-73). Similarly, Jonas states that 'design uses and applies analytical knowledge for the purpose of designing artefacts or finding answers to design questions, whereas RTD (research through design) uses designerly, project-based process knowledge for the purpose of finding answers to research questions' (2015, p. 34).

Project-grounded research

Findeli et al. consider it important that the design researcher is both an academic and a practitioner, holding that the value of this integration lies in the emergent knowledge gain. Data is collected from practice and feeds into new theories and questions, which in turn inform new practice. He defines three areas to which design research — about, for, and through — should contribute: 1) design knowledge, 2) improvement of design practice, and 3) design education. Besides assigning design practice the role of a medium for new theoretical knowledge generation, Findeli et al. consider it important to explore the relationship between theory and practice in design research (2008, pp.72–73) and raise three questions referring to the specific design angle in design research:

1. What exactly are the 'objects of design' considered as a scientific, academic discipline?
2. What are the phenomena of the world we are interested in observing and understanding, that are not already the 'property' of other disciplines?
3. What do we intend to say about these phenomena that is not known yet and that other disciplines cannot know or at least that design claims to know better?

(Findeli et al., 2008, p.69)

This framework shows that project-grounded research integrates practical design activities into the research process but requires further methodologies and engagement with theory.

Such reflections were helpful for locating this research project. The question was how to distinguish it from fields such as the aid, management or cultural sectors, that already advocate at the intersection of social justice, cultural heritage and poverty alleviation. What insights and strategies could design research contribute to the work of CFIPs? If

not product design or value chain management — as was decided during the research process — what would be this research's object of design according to Findeli et al.? The object of design was identified as what I termed 'the craft for empowerment system' after I used the empirical data to establish it. It helped to make its operations and dynamics tangible to observe, describe, analyse, and debate. Instead of focusing on product designs or value chains only, it became possible to view CFIPs as embedded into a larger system of aid, empowerment, craft, design, and the dynamics between the different stakeholders. The resulting coalescence framework and corresponding lab concept therefore expand beyond product design, marketing, and management and view them rather as an integral part of the craft for empowerment system.

2.2. Empirical investigation

The backbone of this research is an extensive empirical investigation, motivated by an interest in first-hand accounts of the lived experiences of different CFIP stakeholders. The empirical research activities consisted of three main parts:

1. A case study of CFIPs in Pakistan was conducted through open conversations, interviews, collaboration and when possible field visits between 2011 and 2017. Some of these projects I revisited for several years, others involved only one conversation. The character of the case projects differed. They included NGOs that implement CFIPs with grants from international donor agencies; private initiatives by individuals focusing on a certain community or on a specific craft technique; designers who include the work of craft producers into their product lines; social entrepreneurs who aim to support craft producers; and one independent craft producer-entrepreneur who runs a micro-business from her home. Four case projects in India were also included, albeit only through a single interview each. Not all data from the case projects are part of the core analysis of the case study. Instead four case sets, each consisting of a main case project with different affiliated initiatives, were defined, categorised, and observations and findings formulated.

2. An action research project was conducted between 2011 and 2014, parallel to the case study, with a group of women in the village Tarogil, which was within walking distance of the university where I taught. The aim was to develop products and market links, keeping in mind the synergistic potential of having academics, practitioners and students of different design programmes as well as business and management programmes nearby. Another aim was to investigate how the women could organise their group as independently as possible with the help of the university. As chapter 4 will show, the project did not achieve its anticipated goals. Nevertheless, it provided surprising and valuable insights into craft producers' motivations, ideas and perception of the aid sector's project implementation pattern, to which they, as aid recipients, are subjected, and the coping strategies they have developed to deal with this.

3. Two focus groups were held in March 2016 to discuss sustainable craft businesses. Participants, who had been part of the case study and the action research, included NGO and university managers, fashion and textile design academics and practitioners, leading personalities from art and design institutions, communication designers, the craft micro-entreprenuer and, last but not least, home-based worker representatives from Tarogil village. The focus groups yielded unexpected insights that affected subsequent data analysis, synthesis and concept development. Rather than practical steps towards business models, participants unanimously expressed the desire for this kind of open exchange more often. Usually they do not meet at all, or meet under pressure to come up with a concrete project proposal. The focus group offered a unique opportunity to listen to each other's experiences and brainstorm ideas together. Most participants found it enriching, and some continued to develop new experimental project components together in the aftermath, independent from my research activities.

Researcher position

My position, similar to a participant-observer, was engrained into the research process right from the start, because the research itself is rooted in questions that emerged in my project engagement prior to the research. During the research I continued to engage in CFIP, for example as facilitator of the action research project, as a faculty member at Beaconhouse National University who took students and faculty on field trips to the community project Thatta Kedona and as coordinator of a collaborative project between BNU's design programmes and the NGO Sungi, which has a strong craft component. Strictly speaking, a participant-observer should actively seek to blend in among the diverse CFIP stakeholders (Murchison, 2010, pp. 83-86), but that was not always possible. The ethical craft sector involves people of different socio-economic, cultural and demographic backgrounds, and blending in naturally was not possible, especially in grassroots environments where I was perceived as an outsider. In academic, business and management circles, people are peers with similar educational and professional backgrounds and international experiences. Among them it was easier to be a participant–observer.

My researcher position in relation to other research participants kept changing in the research process. In the case study I often interviewed stakeholders or made field visits as an external researcher. During some research activities I had to wear several hats simultaneously and be aware of them. For example, in the focus groups I was a moderator, an observer and a participant. Especially when applying the systems lens my position was characterised by continuously moving between mingling in the field of craft and empowerment activities, and taking a bird's eye view, trying to make sense of the dynamics and relationships of the craft for empowerment system. This constant shift in position enabled me to gather rich and valuable data, however.

Ethics

Empirical research always raises ethical questions. How can research participants' privacy be ensured while using their individual experiences as valuable data? Initially

DESIGNING FOR COALESCENCE

I considered it self-evident that I could use information and names, because I always revealed it to people when they participated in my research activities. My view was that their agreement to meet me and be recorded provided sufficient consent. Upon reading more on research methods, though, I realised that it would be more ethically correct to ask research participants to sign agreements. In 2014 I therefore introduced consent agreements for all empirical research activities, such as interviews, group discussions and focus groups. No one refused to sign the agreement, but most women of Tarogil village asked for their identity not to be disclosed at the time but later agreed.

It was a challenge to communicate the idea of academic research to some of the central participants, in particular the women of Tarogil village and other people from grassroots environments. Many are illiterate and have never left their village or community. Their perception of academia as well as the media are shaped by a mix of fascination and diffuse fears, for example of appearing on TV, where other people from their communities could recognise them and criticise their activities as inappropriate to local customs. Such reservations should not be brushed aside, because it does sometimes happen that people are presented in the media without their consent. I nevertheless thought it was important to explain what my research is about and why recording is required, and I tried to communicate this as clearly as possible.

Another ethical concern is how to make the research outcome accessible to research participants. Apart from the craft producers, most participants would be able to read this dissertation. The Tarogil village women probably could not. The fairest way would be to explain to them that they could perhaps benefit from the research findings if CFIPs' strategies to establish income opportunities would improve through the findings. But I could not make a promise I might not be able to fulfil. I told them honestly that their participation could not guarantee increased income.

Data processing

I gathered a large amount of data, including audio and video recordings of interviews, open conversations, group discussions, focus groups and other events; photos of most research activities, such as field visits, workshops, craft products and other activities; questionnaires from women I interviewed from the action research project and from a visit to the case project Thatta Kedona; field notes; project reports from organisations; project blogs; and craft products.

Processing such an extensive pool of data proved to be a demanding task and required some compromises. Transcriptions were made using the software F5. However this process turned out to be extremely lengthy: transcribing a complete interview of about 90 minutes would take four to five days. Having recorded about 50 interviews, plus five hours of focus groups and many hours of other events, I realised that I could not transcribe every audio recording completely. After much time had been spent on transcribing many interviews in their entirety, I determined that it would be sufficient to transcribe only those parts that are quoted or referred to directly in the thesis.

During the focus groups many conversations took place in a mix of English, Urdu and Punjabi. Individual interviews with the women from the Tarogil village project, who do not speak English, had to be conducted in Urdu or Punjabi. I am not fluent enough to understand either language fully. Therefore during this research activity I arranged for students to assist and translate. The individual interviews with the women from the Tarogil village project were conducted through questionnaires that were translated into Urdu. I asked the students to take the women through these questionnaires and write down their answers in English. This seemed a feasible way because asking someone to transcribe about seven hours of conversation in a mix of Urdu and English and translate it meticulously would not have brought along a significant advantage for comprehension. Instead I worked from the English answers written down by the student assistants, and if something was unclear I planned to ask them to translate that part of the recording. This did not become necessary though.

The action research can be considered the design project of a project-grounded design research, as described by Findeli et al. and outlined above (2008, pp.72–73). For the case study and focus groups research methods were borrowed from the social sciences. However, what sounds like a linear, planned process was in reality characterised by serendipity and spontaneity. While this posed challenges, they allowed a wealth of information to surface that a meticulous research plan could not have provided.

One initial concern was how and where to begin the empirical research. CFIP (Craft for income projects) I had defined myself as a term, so I could not search for existing information using this specific term. But I looked for craft projects, specifically those engaging in ethical practices, often embedded in different concerns of economic empowerment, social justice and cultural heritage. Desk research did not lead to many such projects beyond those I was already aware of. An attempt to find out from the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics [PBS] did not result in much data other than some statistics that indicated the scale of the overall craft sector, as mentioned in the introduction. An overview of ethical craft initiatives in Pakistan is as far as I know not available.

Information and research participants were mainly identified through the snowball principle: contacting people I already knew from early project experiences, colleagues and friends. This approach resulted in an abundance of information about people, projects and implementation strategies. The process gradually developed an independent dynamic and without asking for it I received invitations to round tables at the Chamber of Commerce, grant information sessions conducted by donor agencies, vocational training sessions, and temporary bazaars, called *melas*. Attending them provided a wealth of diverse perspectives and insights. The biggest challenge was knowing when to stop following every hint.

2.3. Research environment, process and direction

One specific characteristic of this research is how the research environment and the research process informed one another. Through this interplay the systems approach as the main direction of the data analysis and synthesis emerged. Let me explain.

The research environment is the larger context of Pakistan. At first sight, Pakistan can be perceived as unpredictable and thus difficult due to frequent security measures in response to incidents of violence, natural disasters, or persistent infrastructural issues such as long power cuts. But what by far outweighed this perception is that the country's people demonstrate high levels of resilience against such obstacles, and responded with flexibility, effort, courtesy, enthusiasm and general support to this research. It enabled me to gather rich and diverse data, revealing the realities of CFIP stakeholders in all their eclectic and genuine truth and challenging stereotypical behaviours ascribed for example to NGO managers, designers and craft producers. Such insights I would not have been able to gather by following any one research method step-by-step. Eye-opening information revealed itself in unexpected ways; these revelations could not have been planned, sometimes not even documented. But I did not want to neglect such information or tame it to make it easier to handle. In an earlier paper (Kulick, 2015, pp.3-5) I outlined the characteristics of this research environment. Here I share a modified version:

Challenging characteristics of the research environment
Infrastructural challenges: Electricity or fuel shortages can slow down research and so can sudden road blockages or flight cancellations when natural disasters happen.
Security concerns: At times the government suddenly restricts travelling to certain areas, especially for foreigners. This prevented one field trip to South Punjab and delayed another, to Chitral, for a year.
Social restrictions: Research participants such as home-based women workers in the action research project required permission from male family members or village elders to participate in the workshops on campus. During the first workshop the village elder, the *numberdar*, came to approve the environment and the activities.
Gaps in understanding: Communicating the purpose and format of academic research to participants who have no experience of such research or are illiterate caused hesitation, especially when it came to getting consent for further data use.
Grassroots realities: Sometimes practical emergencies delayed research activities. A set of interviews with the women of the action research project, carefully planned and with equipment and assistants arranged, had to be cancelled on the spot, because out of the 17 participants 14 were called to help in the harvest.
The impact of aid on stakeholder relations: The roles of stakeholders in aid are commonly predefined. Some receive and others provide aid in the form of money or expertise. Some craft producers such as the women of the action research project initially believed that I was providing aid to them, because it is difficult for them to distinguish unfamiliar people who arrive with different project intentions. The women viewed me

with scepticism because in their experience aid projects would often terminate without achieving the anticipated aims. Overcoming this obstacle required several discussions regarding how we could design and sell products together.

Similarly, such consolidated divisive perceptions of CFIP stakeholders emerged in the empirical research as one of the main obstacles that CFIPs are faced with.

Supporting characteristics of the research environment

Appreciation and enthusiasm: Many research participants explicitly stated how relevant they thought the research topic is. As a result they were very cooperative and enthusiastic, going out of their way to make field visits possible, for example. I encountered next to no bureaucratic red tape. Participants also volunteered useful information on project updates.

Ad hoc culture and spontaneity: Interviews, field visits or other opportunities often became possible at short notice; for example, someone remembered that an expert who has not been easy to meet was in town and helped to arrange a meeting, sometimes within a few hours. This spontaneity did also mean that activities could be cancelled or postponed at short notice, but the positive effects of this spontaneous culture far outweighed the negative.

Flexibility and improvisational ability: Most CFIP stakeholders operate with high levels of resilience and creativity in their daily routines in order to make things happen in the midst of disrupted infrastructure and sudden changes of circumstances. They took the same approach to facilitating my research requests.

Openness: Stakeholders did not hesitate to open up about their experiences, insider observations, the challenges they face and their ideas about how to address them.

In the same earlier paper I outlined my operational research strategy in this environment, which I embraced it as rich and eye-opening research territory and termed it 'research by chance' (Kulick, 2015, pp.3–5). In order to remain open-minded and flexible while staying focused, I defined certain strategies, which — in a slightly modified forme — include:

- Mingling in the field, consciously encouraging observations and serendipitous finds that would not come to my notice while sitting at a desk reading books or relying on individual statements from research participants only
- Being as spontaneous as the environment, willing to rearrange activities, and having recording equipment, notebook and consent agreements always to hand
- Learning by heart core questions, concerns and themes of interest in case ad hoc interview opportunities arise
- Developing the ability to distinguish quickly whether new information, for example a new case study, has additional potentia
- Having alternative plans in mind in case an activity cannot take place as planned

The biggest challenge of 'research by chance' is not giving in to convenience — organising the research around data opportunities just because they occur. Relying solely on such opportunities might become misleading. This meant not shying away from inconvenient and harder-to-pursue research steps when needed to get certain data, e.g. coordinating field visits, focus groups, and the action research project.

2.4. Research methodology

Parallel to the empirical investigation I searched for established research methodologies to support this process and guide it further. The following resonated with my approach:

1. Bricolage as outlined by Kincheloe and Berry (2004)
2. Systems-oriented design as developed at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design by Birger Sevaldson and his research team of the Systems Oriented Design group (Sevaldson, 2017a)

The choice to combine bricolage and systems-oriented design was made because these approaches do not aim to streamline complex realities but rather acknowledge the eclectic nature of complex challenges. Both aim for change; they do not necessarily anticipate pragmatic and perfect final solutions but accept and value the messy process of understanding and improving complex situations, especially where multiple stakeholders are involved. I considered these approaches appropriate in light of the diverse and eclectic data that continued to unfold in the empirical research, which itself was embedded in an unpredictable, often surprising yet supportive research environment as outlined above.

While bricolage predominantly informed the process of data gathering, organising and formulating findings, systems-oriented design was used for data synthesis and the analysis of the craft for empowerment system. Therefore the following section summarises both.

Bricolage comes from the French word 'bricolage', one meaning of which is improvisation with the tools and materials at hand. The researcher is called a 'bricoleur', a tinkerer who improvises (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Yee & Bremner, 2011). Bricolage encourages applying different methods or parts of them and the invention of new methods. The bricoleur creates a collage or patchwork of information in the best sense by using, breaking, mixing, remixing, reviewing and modifying methods. Apart from that, the bricoleur rejects a predefined research plan.

This tinkering is a high-level cognitive process involving construction and reconstruction, contextual diagnosis, negotiation, and readjustment. Bricoleurs understand that researchers' interaction with the objects of their inquiries is always complicated, mercurial, unpredictable and, of course, complex. Such conditions negate the practice

of planning research strategies in advance. Therefore bricoleurs enter a research as methodological negotiators (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004, p.3). Bricolage rejects the idea that research should create order and find answers. Instead it embraces open-ended outcomes, which pose new questions:

> Indeed, the rationalistic and reductionistic quest for order refuses in its arrogance to listen to the cacophony of lived experience, the coexistence of diverse meanings and interpretations. The concept of understanding in the complex world viewed by bricoleurs is unpredictable.
>
> (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004 p.5)

Bricolage is concerned with contextual understanding, looking at relationships between people, entities, structures, processes and connections that they are part of, that have shaped them and which they shape, rather than looking at a concern in isolation (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004, p.79). Bricolage explicitly aims to uncover, question and change power hierarchies. It strives for inclusion and acceptance of marginalised voices from different parts of the world and within one society, questioning the world order that has been shaped by Western elites who have little reason to change it. Bricolage criticises that established research methods are not appropriate in marginalised environments if they are the only ones used in a research (pp.99-100). Bricolage supports the idea of including epistemological knowledge production other than the one following Western methods (p.22). It rejects 'elitist narrow-mindedness' and seeks to interrupt grand Western narratives (p.117). These thoughts are of particular interest when researching in the field of development aid and empowerment.

Bricolage is considered a more honest and rigorous approach than following a particular method for the sake of its correct use or to rationalise information. Critics argue that bricolage remains superficial, but Kincheloe states that in today's world no other approach is appropriate. Any attempt to reduce and simplify would not do justice to all-encompassing eclectic, pluralistic and complex realities (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004, p.50), here the one of CFIP stakeholders.

Berry argues that just because bricolage allows the use of any research method or activity it does not lack structure. The first step for the bricoleur is always to identify what Berry calls a 'point of entry text' (POET) into a research. This can be any aspect of interest, such as observation of a situation, an object, a theory, or a social concern. The research process now circles around this POET. Aspects that the researcher identifies as of interest in this POET surface during the research process. The researcher dives into each of them — in bricolage terminology, 'threads through' them — and relates them back to the POET. This process can be visualised as a butterfly diagram. The POET is written in the centre of a canvas. Keywords for emerging themes are written around it and connected back to the POET through circles. New aspects emerge and hence new circles are connected back to the POET, reminding of a butterfly, and gradually the diagram fills with more and more information.

Rather than providing answers, bricolage produces more questions. Its rigorous character shows in fact that it does not try to tame the complexity inherent to most research fields but accepts pluralistic voices in search for social justice (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004, pp.108–114).

At first sight bricolage appears to be a contradiction to design research due to its open-ended character. After all, designers want to use research data to develop concrete design strategies and pragmatic solutions. However, bricolage is also concerned with translating insights into action. Design research too, in my view, is more interesting and honest when it results in concepts that are visionary, open-ended and subject to a continuously evolving process. A design practitioner has to meet a deadline and submit a concrete finalised design, but a design researcher can offer possibilities based on research findings which can open up food for thought for new and different design practices, and for practitioners to critically debate and experiment with.

Bremner and Yee call methodological bricolage a design research paradigm (2011, n.p.), and in my view too bricolage and design research show parallels: both synthesise information from different disciplines, focus on contextual relevance, and on the close relationship between researcher and research subject.

Bricolage played an important role in this research as it encouraged open-ended data collection and frequent diversions into relevant themes and disciplines, even if these diversions were sometimes superficial. It also inspired the data analysis by suggesting the threading-through-butterfly-loops method, which helped structure the empirical research findings in chapter 4.

Systems-oriented design (SOD) is a methodology that connects well with data collection à la bricolage. At the Oslo School of Architecture and Design, Birger Sevaldson and his research group continuously pursue further SOD development. SOD makes systems thinking — often considered abstract — accessible for designers who engage with all kinds of systems, including social and economic systems. SOD does not aim to simplify data but also embraces the complexity inherent in most real-life situations (Sevaldson, 2017b, n.p.). As outlined in more detail in chapter 3, complex systems include non-linear dynamics between system parts, and wicked problems, which cannot be solved, because any solution causes other problems to surface.

Central to SOD is the GIGA-mapping method, in which complex situations are mapped out in detail with special attention to relationships between parts; in this research, for example, the relationship between the stakeholders of the craft for empowerment system. The qualities of their relationships are visually distinguished, and craft for empowerment was extracted as a complex and continuously changing system (Sevaldson, 2017a, n.p. & Sevaldson, 2018, n.p.).

The main goal of the SOD approach is systems change. SOD and methods such as GIGA-mapping are helpful for designers because they can be used to synthesise fuzzy data, visualise complex realities, and address problems creatively (Sevaldson, 2017a, n.p; 2015, p.4).

Combining bricolage and systems-oriented design

There are good arguments for combining bricolage and systems-oriented design. They overlap in being inclusive of multiple perspectives and in their aim to challenge power imbalances and inequalities among people. Both approaches embrace the complexity of real-life situations and do not seek to tame problems in order to develop pragmatic solutions. Rather, both encourage embracing the complex reality reflected in data that is diverse in nature and can include different perspectives of individuals regarding for example history, culture, science or demographics.

I continued the snowball approach for collecting data until a late stage in the research process, and the sheer abundance of data that emerged from this approach provided a rich picture of craft for empowerment in Pakistan. It turned out to be a blessing and a curse — the latter being the huge task of processing the data. While not all data was included in the deeper analysis, all information contributed, sometimes intrinsically, to a more holistic understanding of the field of CFIP through gradually filling the puzzle of information about craft for empowerment. CFIPs in Pakistan served as the POET into this research project, and the findings were arranged by threading through three thematic fields: 1) conceptual approaches and formats, 2) skills and knowledge transfer and 3) stakeholder concerns. Similarly, challenges that CFIPs are faced with and possible strategies to address them were also described.

Those findings were then synthesised by establishing the craft for empowerment system by applying the GIGA-mapping method. This step revealed the craft for empowerment system as manifested and non-inclusive in shape and dynamics. This in turn provided the basis for the subsequent development of the framework 'Designing for coalescence' as the result of this research project.

2.5. Limitations of the research approach

The research approach had certain limitations. One is that it is difficult to decide when to stop collecting data, because following the snowball principle caused the information pool to grow exponentially. It was important to develop a sense for deciding quickly which hint might be useful to follow up and which not. Further, I needed to put a stop to including more information entirely at some point because research participants kept updating me on their own and other projects.

Another limitation is that the craft for empowerment sector is dynamic. New CFIPs are initiated while others are terminated. Some were ignited by the research activities; for example, after the focus groups were finished, an independent collaboration between participants commenced without my involvement. While it would be valuable to include the experiences gained in those new experiments, I had to leave most of them out, because this dissertation needed to be completed. On the whole, though, the overall systems analysis remains very valid, even with new activities emerging.

Another limiting aspect relates to the differing depth to which the case projects could be investigated. For some, multi-dimensional information and differing perspectives were collected, while with others only one interview was possible or the project was not followed up at all. This made it difficult to compare case studies. I often felt that it was easier to understand those case projects of which I had only some information, whereas more information made understanding a project more difficult. Understanding the diverse characteristics of CFIPs better also led to the insight that comparisons would not be a useful method.

Communication gaps naturally posed a challenge. While language, especially in regards to the craft producers, was one aspect, the bigger gap had to do with the different backgrounds of the research participants, including my own. Sometimes experiences and concerns differed to an extent that made understanding questions and participating in debates difficult, especially for the craft producers, and I needed to make sure I actively included them.

Being confronted with a large and diverse amount of data and being unable to process all of it in detail illustrates the dilemma of design researchers, who often have to grasp different perspectives and form synergies. The challenge is to extract the information that is important, but to find this important information a lot of data must be collected and sorted. In summary, identifying an appropriate research methodology by combining bricolage and systems oriented design for navigating data collection and analysis formed twin threads throughout the research process.

3. Contextual review

Throughout the research process a range of topics, theoretical frameworks and methodologies from different academic and professional fields served as important references. One challenge was to make a meaningful selection, another to understand them to an extent that could add value to this research. But I could not, and did not, aspire to compete with the experts in those fields but rather sought to synthesise important aspects of their work from my design research perspective.

The contextual review informed the research at different stages. Relating theoretical input — for example terminologies, frameworks and critiques of development aid and empowerment — to empirical findings helped to form my own position regarding aid and the impact of its implementation strategies. Engaging with systems thinking that is already recognised by professionals of both development and design guided the research focus on CFIPs at a systems level. I became more interested in how the larger system of aid and empowerment affects processes of designing products and establishing value chains. The socio-cultural and economic meaning of craft and its role in design in South Asia is then summarised and was important for contextualising the historical and cultural relationship between craft, empowerment and design. The potential and limits of design in development contexts is discussed from a historic and contemporary perspective, a discussion that also embraces fields such as social innovation and social business. Formats and frameworks used in multi-stakeholder collaboration and collective learning provided valuable input for developing the co-release framework and the co-release craft lab.

3.1. Locating development aid

According to Dambisa Moyo, there are three types of development aid: 1) humanitarian and emergency aid, such as after natural disasters or other calamities; 2) charity that is distributed by organisations to people and institutions on the ground; and 3) systematic

aid, consisting of money transferred from one government to another (bilateral) or provided by agencies like the World Bank (multilateral) (2010, pp. 54–55).

CFIPs in Pakistan are part of all three types of aid. Large CFIPs in particular are embedded in the third category, sometimes alongside the first category when income schemes are implemented in hard-hit regions. Aid is not an abstract force for CFIPs but affects their global and local stakeholders both conceptually and practically, as the empirical research detailed in chapter 4 and the systems analysis of the data in chapter 5 revealed. Therefore it is not far-fetched to suggest that for this research it is vital to understand how global aid politics and the conceptual frameworks, debates and conflicts inform concrete aid activities.

The following section outlines the terminology used in development aid, its main stakeholders, its historical emergence as a geopolitical strategy since the 1950s, and the controversies and critiques that are relevant to CFIPs in Pakistan.

3.1.1. Terminology

Oxford Dictionary defines 'development' as 'a) the process of developing or being developed, b) a specified state of growth or advancement and c) a new and advanced product or idea' (Oxford University Press, 2022a).

These simple definitions suggest that development can occur actively or passively: one develops, or one is being developed. It can be viewed as a process of advancing or as having achieved a more advanced status than previously. Indicators of advancement could include individual, cultural and regional aspects, as well as ideologies and concerns regarding development during a certain time period. Daniel Gad defines development and progress as multi-dimensional, consisting of interrelated economic, political, social and ecological aspects (2014, p. 33). But what might be considered advanced in one culture or parts of one culture might be considered backward or intolerable in another. Therefore development remains an elusive term, in flux, one that cannot be expected to become any sharper in the future (Nohlen, 2002, p. 227; Gad, 2014, p. 33).

The terminology around development, including terms such as development aid, developing and developed countries, and underdevelopment, is closely associated with the mainstream political agenda of international aid, which is based on the theory that the development of a country is a linear process that poor countries of the Global South (many of them former colonies) must undergo, aided by rich countries of the Global North or commonly known as the West, which according to this common understanding is already developed (Ottacher & Vogel 2015, pp. 20–25). The highest level of development is closely linked to rapid economic growth and capitalism — a controversial approach to development as it suggests that capitalist countries of the Global North, or the West, define the objectives and values of development and must support those countries that they consider underdeveloped in Asia, Africa and Latin

America in achieving those objectives. Wolfgang Gieler questions the universal validity of Western and / or Eurocentric values of advancement, which he defines as:

1. *Rationality:* the belief in the superiority of rationality over intuition
2. *Technicism:* the belief that technology and science can solve human problems
3. *Chronometric processes:* the belief that exact measurement of time is a superior imagination of time than any other imagination of time
4. *Alphabetic literacy:* the belief that written traces of traditions are superior to orally transmitted information
5. *Stationary lifestyles:* the belief that a settled lifestyle is superior to a nomadic lifestyle
6. *Evolutionary progress:* the belief that all societies have to go through the same steps of development

(Gieler, 2010 cited in Gad, 2014, p. 35)[4]

Questioning such perspectives serves as a critique of dominant Western narratives and values, but at the same time one must not romanticise traditional ideas of advancement, especially when in the societies concerned the desire to follow the West can be widely observed (Gad, 2014, p. 36). This desire is evident in Pakistan and must be understood in light of its colonial past, when people's understanding of advancement was shaped alongside the desire to follow the West.

The centre–periphery model (sometimes core-periphery), described later in this chapter, offers an alternative terminology and view of development. It uses a spatial metaphor in which the centres of power, considered to be the countries of the West, especially the US, form the core. The periphery are countries of less global power, most of them postcolonial societies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This model critiques the idea of Western countries being the role model to follow. The centre–periphery model describes how central countries exploit the periphery, for example by purchasing peripheral countries' raw materials and low-cost labour, only to sell goods manufactured by those raw materials back to the periphery at a high price. In this model the process of development means that peripheral countries achieve economic as well as cultural and technological independence from the countries at the centre. Both the centre and the periphery develop autonomously; they interact and affect one another but as equal partners (Centre–Periphery Model, 2020, n.p.). Developing countries in the centre–periphery model are termed the

[4] These points are translated from the German original into English by the author of this dissertation.

periphery. They are also termed 'dependent countries' in the dependency theory, outlined later in this chapter, which uses the centre–periphery model to critique the dominant model of development. The terminology signals a significant difference in how poor countries in the Global South are perceived. Instead of characterising them as needing to follow the countries at the centre, their development is viewed as a process towards autonomy and equal partnership, but that stage has not been achieved and they are still exploited by the centre.

Today it is increasingly difficult to divide the world into developed and developing countries, because ecological and economic concerns are global concerns. Discourse and practice in aid policy have also diversified. Nonetheless, development politics continue to adhere to the ideology of the centre, and, at least in the minds of many aid stakeholders, divisions between East and West or Global North and South still shape aid policy today.

Throughout this dissertation I largely use the terminology of development aid, developing and developed countries, not because I agree with the mainstream view on aid politics of following the centre and the values they represent, but because they form the reality in which CFIPs are embedded. Especially in craft projects this opens up space for critical inquiry, because craft-making is closely linked to strengthening traditional culture and heritage as part of recollecting national and cultural identities in postcolonial societies. At the same time the appropriation-paradigm, that I deconstructed from research results, is often applied subconsciously and with good intentions but feeds into into the mainstream follow-up ideology of development.

3.1.2. Stakeholders in international development

Development aid is not a selfless act of support for poor countries, driven by pure altruism, but part of international relations. Stakeholders in international development shape ideologies, conceptual frameworks, implementation strategies and debates. It is impossible to mention all stakeholders due to the sheer size of the global aid sector, but in order to understand its structure, strategies and policies it is useful to gain an overview of the main ones.

The main role in a country's development is played by the state, both as a structure and as an agent within society. It coordinates institutions that take on a country's development tasks. Other structures and agents include markets or groups of people such as tribes. A state does not always operate in the same way; in an extreme form of capitalism, a state's role would be minimal, since markets would regulate advancement. But a state can be shaped by societies and cultures, and those are not homogeneous but diverse and pluralistic (Allen & Thomas, 2000, pp. 191–192).

Besides states, international institutions and organisations drive the development aid sector and provide what is known as Official Development Assistance (ODA). The United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945 as a world organisation by its then five

permanent member states: USA, UK, France, China and the USSR. There were 51 member states. The UN is mostly funded by contributions from its 193 member states (Allen & Thomas, 2000, pp. 199–201). Pakistan joined the UN on 30 September 1947 (United Nations, 2021a), shortly after its foundation on 14 August 1947.

International credit institutions are also core stakeholders in global aid. Both the World Bank and the IMF were established in 1945 and provide loans to governments of developing countries. Initially loans were for short-term projects, but since the 1970s they have increasingly been given for long-term programmes, acknowledging the time it takes to achieve long-term impact and local contextualisation. A continuous point of debate and conflict is whether to release poor countries from the debts that have accrued over decades from these loans (Allen & Thomas, 2000, pp. 206–207). Today there are numerous credit institutions that provide credit to the development aid sector, often with a regional focus, such as the Asian Development Bank. Besides providing funds, the World Bank also operates as a development think tank. Its annual World Development Report focuses on a central topic each year, such as 'Trading for Development in the Age of Global Value Chains' (2020) or currently (2021) 'Data for Better Lives'. These reports serve as a trend barometer in global aid politics (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, p. 50; The World Bank, 2021).[5] As a result, funds are mobilised for the launch of large-scale grant schemes that address these thematic focuses.

International NGOs, including campaigners such as Greenpeace and service providers such as Oxfam, are a driving force within the aid sector. In countries such as Pakistan, there is also a dense network of local NGOs. Both function as implementation partners for funding released through ODA. The number of NGOs worldwide has increased since the 1950s, and in the 1980s, when neoliberal strategies led to the privatisation of infrastructure and services, many NGOs took on tasks that were formerly the responsibility of governments. While the NGO sector is widely criticised for spending a lot of money without making much impact on the lives of the poor, the situation of NGOs and their employees is often difficult. As their work depends on grants, they are more accountable to their donors than to the work they aim to do with people on the ground (Allen & Thomas, 2000, pp. 212–213).

Most governments make their contributions to international aid through specially established institutions. In Germany this is the BMZ,[6] which provides aid to 60 countries, among them Pakistan. The GIZ[7] is a company owned by the German federal government for the purpose of implementing Germany's development strategies,

[5] Other examples include 'Mind, Society and Behaviour' (2015), 'Digital Dividends' (2016), 'Governance and the Law' (2017), 'Learning to Realize Education's Promise' (2018), or 'The Changing Nature of Work' (2019) (The World Bank, 2021).

[6] German name: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung / Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development

[7] German name: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit / German Society for International Cooperation

while the KfW Development Bank coordinates the government's aid-directed financial services (GIZ, 2020; KfW, 2021). Many other countries have established similar structures and institutions, such as the Department for International development (DFID) in the UK and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the United States (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2021).

Some philanthropist-run organisations have also become significant players in global aid, for example the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in the health sector, but critics raise concerns that governments may decide they do not need to invest in aid (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, p. 62). The main political parties in Germany aim to provide political education through their own foundations, for example the Green Party's Heinrich Böll Foundation or the Christian Democratic Union's Konrad Adenauer Foundation. While these foundations do not explicitly engage in development aid, they maintain offices in many developing countries in order to strengthen democratisation processes and civil society (Lepszy, 2013). Such civil society members critique governance failures from within a society as opposed to external observers (Gad, 2014, pp. 62–63).

Private companies also engage in development areas such as poverty, health, education or environmental decline. They offer charity, which simply means that they raise and donate funds for supplying infrastructural and material help (Oxford English Dictionary, 2022b), while others offer vocational trainings in order to develop skills, foster self-reliance or improve community life. Some, especially larger companies, apply ecological and social values to their company culture and believe in corporate social responsibility (BMZ, n.d.).

For projects involving the arts, cultural institutes play an important role. Design projects, for example, including product design, communication strategies and social innovation, receive support from foreign cultural institutes such as the Goethe Institute or the British Council (Goethe Institute, 2021; British Council, 2021a). Their project implementation partners are universities, NGOs, community organisations and designers. Projects concerned with cultural heritage or the revival of craft traditions are frequently supported, for example by the British Council through programmes such as 'Developing Inclusive and Creative Economies' or 'Crafting Futures'.[8]

Donor agencies, credit institutions and international NGOs that provide ODA usually prefer to work with official partners on the receiving end of aid, such as government departments. These in turn identify further partners, such as local NGOs, research think tanks, academics or individual consultants, who can implement projects,

[8] This research was, for example, presented in 2020 during the 'Making Futures' conference in Cebu / Philippines (British Council, 2021b; British Council Philippines, 2021).

write reports or conduct studies. In aid receiving countries there are government departments that coordinate grant schemes and select implementation partners. While government bureaucracy can be a burden, it is important to involve official entities, especially in social justice or the economy (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, pp. 65–67).

One important yet difficult challenge is the evaluation of aid projects. Usually it is compulsory for partners in a grant scheme to report back to the donor, and independent consultants are often engaged to assess projects from a neutral external perspective. Some measurable aspects, such as the number of participants, amount of built infrastructure or strategies for convincing parents to send their children to school, can be evaluated through numbers (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, pp. 68–71). However, in my view, in the arts, including crafts, the impact of a project is much more difficult to measure. It might be possible to measure the number of craft products sold, but other aspects that are equally or even more important in the empowerment process can only be observed over long time periods, such as changed behaviour, increased confidence in negotiating with customers or the ability to develop products collectively with customers.

3.1.3. Historical and conceptual overview
Early notions of development after the colonial period

Development aid as a geopolitical strategy was introduced in the mid-20th century following two major historical events: the end of World War II and the process of colonies gaining independence.

Centuries earlier, when European colonial powers conquered foreign territories, they did not generally consider this an act of suppression but of helping those regions to advance and become 'civilised', through implementing European systems of administration, economics, education, and infrastructure, and even religious belief, converting native people to Christianity. The native peoples of those colonised territories did experience the colonial period as suppression, however, and today it is widely considered a period of violence that fragmented cultures, societies and economies and shaped global power relations irreversibly. When colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America gained independence, the globally dominant notion of what it meant for them to develop as new independent nations resonated with the programmes of the late colonial powers, including systems of jurisdiction and administration, and policies to enable economic growth (Allen and Thomas, 2000, pp. 266–267). By the end of the colonial period, generations of native people had been educated and trained to work in the colonisers' systems. With independence it was not possible or universally desired to return to the structures and systems that were in place prior to the colonial period. Approaching independence opened a space for negotiations about how a developing country should be governed in postcolonial territories. In this space, development aid became a powerful geopolitical strategy in international relations.

By the end of the 1940s the world was also experiencing an atmosphere of insecurity and at the same time enthusiasm for the possibility of new beginnings after the end

of the war and the colonial period. However, the Cold War solidified and shaped the world order for decades to come. The world was perceived as divided, with the First World including North America and its industrialised allies, the Western bloc. The communist countries affiliated with the Soviet Union were considered the Second World or the Eastern bloc. Countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa, many of them former colonies, were referred to as the Third World. The First and Second Worlds competed to gain Third World countries as allies, supporting them through money, infrastructure and knowledge. Some Third World countries joined the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) that was founded in 1961 by the leaders of India, Egypt, Ghana, Indonesia and then Yugoslavia. It was made up of countries that had decided not to ally themselves with either the Western or the Eastern bloc.[9] Pakistan joined the NAM in 1979, and there are now 120 member states (Munro, 2020; Member States, 2019)

A key moment in the emergence of development aid was US president Harry S. Truman's inauguration speech on 20th January 1949. He declared his support for the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which he defined as 'underdeveloped'. This prepared the ground for the dominant global mindset that still divides the world into developed and underdeveloped, or developing, regions today. It became accepted wisdom that a developed country is characterised by advanced science and technology, leading to a fast-growing economy following the example of the US (Truman, 1949). All other countries were considered behind and therefore in need of help. In the same speech, Truman announced the founding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and embedded the global aid agenda in Cold War politics (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, pp. 20–21; Truman, 1949).

The UN Development Decades

Following this point of departure, in the 1950s the UN and the World Bank began defining universal development strategies for the following decades. They were known as the UN Development Decades until the 2000s, when they were termed Millennium Development Goals (MDG); in 2015 another change renamed them Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). When engaging with CFIPs in Pakistan it makes sense to know about these main frameworks and locate them within the wider context in which they are embedded, because it allows greater understanding of CFIP stakeholders' perspectives.

1950s and 1960s: development as modernisation

The modernisation theory dominated development aid in the 1950s and 1960s and during the first UN Development Decade, 1961–1970.

[9] In 1955 the leaders of these countries met in Bandung to discuss the importance of remaining neutral while the fronts of the Cold War hardened. They then founded the Non-Aligned Movement at the Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade in 1961 (Munro, 2020).

It was believed that the modernisation process in developing countries would not take longer than a decade (Ottacher & Vogel 2015, pp. 20–24 and 41–42). Key beliefs included viewing development merely as an engineering task. With investment in science, technology and industrialisation, large-scale infrastructure such as roads and factories were built and locals trained to operate and maintain them. The aim was to transform developing countries into fast-growing economies, in order to lift them out of poverty through the creation of jobs. Through these strategies developing countries were supposed to catch up with developed industrialised countries.

These ideas were informed by Walt Whitman Rostow, economist and adviser to the US government, formulated 'The Stages of Economic Growth' in 1960, a model in which all countries go through five stages at different times and at different speeds but with the common goal of reaching the highest level, characterised by mass consumption. According to Rostow, the US had already reached this level in 1960. Rostow defined the following five stages:

1. **Traditional society:** rural, subsistence agriculture, no access to or knowledge about technology, no opportunity for economic growth through trade or production, limited mobility and little flexibility to change into another or higher position

2. **Preconditions for take-off:** when society starts manufacturing and trading outside its own boundaries, and governments start supporting infrastructure and education

3. **Take-off:** short period of fast industrialisation and economic growth, plenty of innovation opportunities, society becoming diversified through economic and educational opportunities that allow individual change and progress

4. **Drive to maturity:** extended period during which the achievements of the previous stage in the economy and education gain stability

5. **Age of high mass consumption:** highest level with production and consumption taking place at rapid speed, increasing development; production and consumption of luxury items increases because consumers' basic needs are satisfied

(Rostow, 1960, pp. 4-16)

Even though conceptual approaches to development have been debated, diversified and changed, the paradigms of these early years can still be observed in development aid today, when rural areas are considered backwards, and technology is often viewed as the solution to development concerns.

1970s: Development as partnership and participation
The modernisation approach did not produce the desired results. Applying universal standards did not eliminate poverty. The focus shifted towards acknowledging culturally diverse conditions and the needs and knowledge of societies in developing countries. During the Second UN Development Decade, 1971–1980, World Bank president

Robert McNamara called for the inclusion of local knowledge and expertise and a distribution of responsibility:

> What is imperative is that at each organizational level financial discipline be rigorously required, and that the entire structure be oriented toward initiative and self-reliance. Experience shows that there is a greater chance of success if the institutions provide for popular participation, local leadership, and decentralization of authority.
>
> (McNamara, 1973, p. 10)

The concept of capacity-building found its way onto the aid agenda with the focus on helping people to help themselves when establishing organisations and institutions in fields such as education and healthcare. Key concepts included partnership, ownership and participation (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, pp. 42–43 and 94–96).

Early participatory methods included rapid rural appraisal (RRA) and participatory rural appraisal (PRA). These methods were developed at the Institute of Development Studies in Brighton by development researchers and practitioners such as Robert Chambers. RRA and PRA encouraged gathering data quickly in the location of an aid activity and involving people from those poor communities in the process. Early participatory methods were influenced by action research, for example Donald Schön's reflective action and Paulo Freire's popular education and critical consciousness (Chambers, 2008, p. 87). Chambers also suggested applying data-gathering methods creatively, not applying professional rules meticulously but rather using common sense. The aim was to obtain the viewpoint of the people and ideally let them do the research. While it might involve the risk of the people's own bias, the data obtained would be rooted in the local context. Self-critically, Chambers called both methods 'dirty'. The approach was critiqued by other researchers for the risk of receiving answers that reinforce the researcher's preconceptions; the researcher finds what he or she wants to find and can interpret whatever is easily visible, for example people and activities, but not the underlying relationships and processes. Similarly, RRA and PRA can only see and analyse a moment in time, not the long-term trends that are significant for the development of a community. On the other hand, the risk of long-term studies is that by the time they are evaluated they would be out of date (Chambers, 2008, pp. 72–74).

1980s and 1990s: Development as debt and privatisation

After the aid activities that were implemented during past decades did not show the anticipated outcome of stronger economies in developing countries the IMF and the World Bank asked developing countries to repay their debts, leaving many projects uncompleted (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, p. 43). In the 1990s, the communist Second World began to dissolve and the Cold War officially ended. The leading concept now was privatisation, suggesting that every country was responsible for its own advancement and therefore people required entrepreneurial skills. For governments of developing

countries, the privatisation of public services such as healthcare, education or simply clean drinking water was a way to save money and thus be able to pay back their debt. The profitability of aid projects and the need to fight corruption became important topics, shifting the focus of aid toward good governance and democratisation. Annual UN conferences focused on topics such as human rights, environment, population growth and nutrition (Ottacher & Vogel 2015, pp. 30–31).

2000s and 2010s:
Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals
The UN formulated the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in 2000, ending the era of Development Decades. Instead, the UN member states agreed on eight goals, aiming to achieve them collectively by 2015. When 2015 drew near, member states discussed and formulated the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The main difference is the SDG's focus on sustainability as the juxtaposition in table 3.1. shows.

Sustainability is mentioned in the MDGs only in point 7 regarding environmental aspects, whereas in the SDGs all 17 points are considered important in order to achieve sustainable social, economic, and ecological development. However, sustainability in development has been on the UN's agenda since the 1970s, when the Club of Rome formulated 'The Limits of Growth', outlining how economic growth is limited by ecological boundaries due to the earth's limited resources (Meadows & Wright, 2009, p. xI; Gad, 2014, p. 37). Ironically, material growth and consumerism largely remain the measure of the success of an aid intervention, despite experts in both developed and developing countries debating alternative approaches (Gad, 2014, p. 37). The launch of the SDGs was welcomed by many but was also met with scepticism and critiques from development researchers and experts such as anthropologist and design theorist Arturo Escobar (Escobar, 2017, p. 61) and anthropologist Jason Hickel (Hickel, 2015, n.p.) who did not see any paradigm shift of power relations in the SDGs. The planning, implementation strategies and indicators for assessment remained top-down and administered by the same Western dominated global aid organisations. The yardsticks used by these aid organisations still define which countries are able to achieve the desired goals and which are not, which perpetuates the dominating but outdated notions of development. A significant shift can be observed in the SDGs compared to the MDGs and earlier goals, because the SDGs emphasise that ecological, economic and social challenges extend beyond country borders and must be addressed in both so-called developing and developed countries. At the same time, it is vital to acknowledge the different character of problems in different geographical and cultural contexts; contextually sensible and relevant strategies are needed.

3.1.3. Controversies and critiques of development
There are numerous critiques of development aid, of which many fall into the domain of postcolonial studies. This academic field has stakes in many different disciplines, especially the humanities, the sciences and increasingly also design. It analyses

Millennium Development Goals	Sustainable Development Goals
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger 2. Achieve universal primary education 3. Promote gender equality and empower women 4. Reduce child mortality 5. Improve maternal health 6. Combat HIV / AIDS, malaria, and other diseases 7. Ensure environmental sustainability 8. Develop a global partnership for development	1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages 4. Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning 5. Achieve gender equality and empower women and girls 6. Ensure access to water and sanitation for all 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all 8. Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries 11. Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources 15. Sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, halt and reverse land degradation, halt biodiversity loss 16. Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies 17. Revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development

Table 3.1: Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals (adapted from Thomson, M., 2015)

and critiques contemporary ideological paradigms and real-life experiences that are shaped by the effects of colonialism. Development aid is a central field debated within postcolonial studies, which is not surprising considering its already described historical emergence. The arising conflict is that

> In development studies the traditional aim is the transformation of society according to expert plans and universal concepts, while postcolonial studies question these concepts because of their (alleged) Eurocentrism (the concept of 'development' being the classical example).
>
> (Ziai, 2012, p. 11)

The following two critiques argue against the dependency created through development aid or, more emphatically, reject the idea entirely.

The dependency theory critiques the linear modernisation concept of development. It counters it by using the previously discussed centre–periphery model, which attributes the deprivation in poor peripheral countries to their exploitation by the powerful countries at the centre. The centre–periphery model and the dependency theory build on a theory formulated by Andre Gunder Frank and other scholars in the 1960s.

Frank, in his seminal essay 'The Development of Underdevelopment' (1966, pp. 7–17), critiques the modernisation theory: the notion that so-called underdeveloped countries, which he terms 'satellites', are today in an earlier stage of history, one through which developed countries, which he calls 'metropolises', have already passed and which is what has made them 'developed'. But being underdeveloped, he argues, is not the same as being traditional. Neither the past nor the present of the underdeveloped satellites resembles the past conditions of developed metropolises. Developed countries were never underdeveloped but simply undeveloped. The strategies used by developed countries to develop contributed or even caused the underdevelopment of other countries, mainly in postcolonial territories. Underdevelopment is caused by developed countries' economic strategies. This process began with extracting capital from colonies in the past and continues today, even after former colonies became independent states, through buying raw materials at low prices and deploying corporations, institutions and values of the metropolises to the satellites as a form of investment into the metropolises' economic growth, for example multinational companies and universities of the Global North establishing branches in countries of the Global South.

This strategy of the metropolises affected political, cultural and social relationships and power imbalances between the metropolises and the satellite countries. The diverse histories of the underdeveloped satellites are ignored or interpreted as 'backward', allowing the developed metropolises to take the dominant role in steering development in the satellites (Frank, 1966, pp. 7–10). Furthermore, the metropolis–satellite dynamic replicated itself within the satellites, where towns became a local metropolis that exploited its local satellites, the rural areas (Frank, 1966, pp. 9–10).

The satellite, globally or locally, depends on decision makers in the metropolis, though the global metropolis depends on no one and therefore has a lot of economic and cultural power. Frank argues that those satellites that did not experience much contact with the metropolis, for example Japan, developed into stronger economies than those satellites that experienced metropolitan interference (Frank, 1966, p. 13). Frank's theory resonates closely with the centre–periphery model of development.

The centre–periphery model serves as a spatial metaphor that helps to envision an alternative scenario to Rostow's stages of growth. Envisioning development processes in peripheral countries is also outlined in steps or phases:

1. Before the industrial age, there were diverse local economies.
2. With industrialisation and colonialism, the core–periphery relationship formed; the powerful economies at the centre thrived at the expense of the periphery, retaining economic and political power through buying up resources and outsourcing labour and production.

3. Attempts to distribute economic activity and responsibility to the periphery increase, although the centre remains dominant in defining the values and rules of this process.
4. The highest level of development describes a spatial integration, in which economic activity is distributed across interdependent and equally strong regions, without the centre being in a more powerful position.

<div align="right">(Mondal, n.d.; Centre–Periphery Model, 2019)</div>

Seeing development as the development towards an equal-sided relationship between the centre and the periphery, or between the metropolis and the satellite, helps to explain the continuing dependency of developing — or, per Frank, underdeveloped — countries, because the fourth stage has not yet been reached.

The dependency theory was formulated in the 1970s and 1980s by scholars, notably those from Latin America, Asia and Africa. They critiqued that developing countries became increasingly indebted and economically dependent through the strategy of extracting cheap materials and labour while selling back expensive goods, and locating organisations and institutions of the centre in the periphery. These scholars demanded International economic reforms, including fixed prices for raw materials. Without such reforms they suggested that developing countries should not cooperate in development aid programmes. According to some researchers, the dependency theory lost support during the 1980s, when some Asian countries, such as South Korea or Taiwan, transformed into developed countries in the space of a single generation (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, pp. 25-28).

The post-development theory rejects the idea of aid and interference in developing countries entirely. It maintains that by defining themselves as developed, industrialised countries legitimise their interference in developing countries. Post-development theorists cite the failure of many aid projects as proof and state that aid has had only one success, which was cementing values universally, including the understanding of who is developed and who is not. The post-development theory rejected aid for ignoring the heterogeneity of different cultures, societies and countries (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, p. 32–34). Wolfgang Sachs notes:

> Development cannot be separated from the idea that all peoples of the planet are moving along one single track towards some state of maturity, exemplified by the nations 'running in front'. In this view, Tuaregs, Zapotecos or Rajasthanis are not seen as living diverse and non-comparable ways of human existence, but as somehow lacking in terms of what has been achieved by the advanced countries. Consequently, catching up was declared to be their historical task. From the start, development's hidden agenda was nothing else than the Westernisation of the world.
>
> <div align="right">(Sachs, 1992, p. xviii)</div>

Another criticism from post-development theorists is that the Western paradigm affects both the poorer population and the elites of developing countries. These elites increasingly perceive themselves as inferior and feel they must aspire for Western lifestyles and value systems. While international development experts consider educated stakeholders important as local partners, post-development theorists criticise the racism in how these local experts are treated. European or North American politicians and economists in powerful aid sector positions are still paid better, their degrees are ranked higher and their decisions regarding the distribution of grants weigh more (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, pp. 33–35).

This theory rejects the idea of external experts and consultants. But those experts and consultants are in a dilemma: while they might actually agree to the arguments of the post-development theorists because they experienced the impact of Western dominated aid first hand, their job is to continue to implement projects according to the dominant guidelines, which are then likely to be dismissed by post-development theorists. A counterargument to the post-development theory is that it is unfair to tell people in precarious situations that their situation is a Western construct. Post-development theorists are criticised for being not practitioners but philosophers, who do not provide alternative solutions. Nonetheless, post-development theory ignites important debates and contributes to bottom-up initiatives being taken more seriously (Ottacher & Vogel, 2015, pp. 35–36).

While these theories that critique mainstream aid do not in themselves help directly to solve the problems CFIPs are faced with, they are helpful in understanding the challenges and the need to apply the systems lens to the empirical data about craft and grassroots empowerment. The theories allowed me not only to look at the surface of disrupted value chains but to examine the underlying causes, such as donor relationships and dependencies.

3.1.4. Expanding and contextualising the understanding of development

One challenge of global aid approaches is that they continue to follow universally defined indicators of development, for example the amount income per day. However for most aid projects, including CFIPs, it is important to understand the specific needs and opportunities of the local context. Therefore, I became interested in theories that support contextualising aid. One key figure in this regard is Amartya Sen, Indian economist and Nobel laureate, who defined development as a set of freedoms and developed what he named the 'capability approach', which in turn created the foundation for the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI is a tool for measuring levels of development according to indicators that move beyond the economic aspects of poverty. More detailed and diversified indexes followed. These indexes make the complex phenomenon of development better visible and tangible, enabling development practitioners to refer to them when they plan new projects.

Development as freedom and the the capability approach

Amartya Sen has been concerned with expanding the understanding of development beyond economic growth. He proposes considering the heterogeneous conditions of different people in relation to their social, economic and political circumstances. Rather than monetary prosperity, he argues for viewing development as a set of freedoms that enable people to live the lives they value. Sen differentiates between the 'primary end' and the 'primary means' of development. The primary end is a status and includes most basic elementary freedoms, such as not risking premature unnatural death due to hunger (Sen, 2000, pp. 24 and 36). The primary means concern instrumental freedoms that help to achieve development in the sense of achieving the 'overall freedom people have to live the way they want to live' (Sen, 2000, pp. 37–38). Out of the endless list of possible freedoms, Sen defines five:

1. **Political freedoms** consist of a) democratic rights and values; b) the right to determine who should govern under which principles; and c) freedom of expression, including the right to criticise authorities and no censorship

2. **Economic facilities** consist of a) access to economic resources that enable participation in consumption, production and exchange; b) the amount of money available to a person under contextual conditions considering rates and prices; and c) distribution methods between national wealth and the needs of people

3. **Social opportunities** is what society provides, for example in terms of health care and education

4. **Transparency** guarantees describe the right to information regarding important processes, for example when avoiding corruption.

5. **Protective security** includes a social safety net for those who do not have a private support system, provided by public services, such as unemployment benefits, income supplements or emergency support

Those freedoms, according to Sen, are closely interrelated. For example if a person has social opportunities such as being healthy and educated it affects the four other freedoms for this person (Sen, 2000, pp. 37–40).

Sen introduces the capability approach, in which he explains capability as the freedom to achieve different lifestyles according to what individuals believe is a good life. Central to the capability approach are 'functionings'. These are statuses, which he calls 'beings' and 'doings' and which have significantly different connotations. An example of this is 'fasting' or 'starving'. While starving is a 'being', fasting is a 'doing' because in the latter someone can actively choose not to eat. 'Functionings' can include basic functions, such as being able to eat a healthy diet, and more complex ones, such as having a certain level of self-respect. People choose 'functionings', from a set of options they can choose from, and those options can vary widely according to social, economic and political circumstances. These different sets of 'functionings' that people can choose to achieve the alternative lifestyles they wish to, can be considered the capabilities they need to achieve freedoms (Sen, 2000, pp. 75–76).

When engaging with the concept of freedoms and capabilities, it is important to understand the barriers to achieving freedom. Sen terms these barriers 'unfreedoms', and they include poverty, tyranny, social deprivation and neglect of public facilities (Sen, 2000, pp. 3–4). But beyond the lack of food or access to healthcare and education, deprivation of freedoms also includes the limitation or denial of political and civil rights and participation. In authoritarian regimes, rulers do not suffer the deprivation imposed on large parts of the population and therefore see little need to change anything, whereas democratic governments are elected by the people and therefore must perform in order to retain power. Sen counters the argument that political and civil rights need to be denied in order to achieve economic growth by pointing out that there is no empirical evidence for this and that the opposite is true: famines have not happened in democratic countries, whether rich or poor (pp. 15–17).

In summary, Sen does not ask what people wish to do but what they can do under their given circumstances and what, out of their possibilities, they choose to do.

The capability approach has helped in this research project by asking which freedoms are important for CFIP stakeholders. The focus lies on increasing the choices of craft producers who have weak supportive networks and fragmented relationships with customers and markets. For other stakeholders, for example NGO managers or designers, it means increasing the choices of project partners, or of contextual implementation strategies beyond the universally standardised options prescribed by donor agencies.

Human Development Index and Multidimensional Poverty Index
Sen's capability approach forms the conceptual background for the Human Development Index (HDI), which he developed together with Mahbub ul Haq, a Pakistani economist. The UN has used this index since 1990. Beyond measuring the economy of a country, it calculates the HDI according to three indicators:

1. Long and healthy life
2. Years of schooling
3. Standard of living

According to these indicators, countries are divided into four categories:

1. Very high human development
2. High human development
3. Medium human development
4. Low human development

The HDI shortcomings include that it does not say much about individual empowerment, security or inequality within a country (UNDP, n.d.).

Because of this shortcoming other indexes were introduced to complement the HDI. The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), developed by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiatives, consists of three indicators and ten sub-indicators: 1) health, consisting of nutrition and child mortality; 2) education, consisting of years of schooling and school attendance; and 3) standard of living, consisting of cooking

fuel, improved sanitation, safe drinking water, electricity, flooring and assets. People are considered multidimensionally poor when they show 22–30% deprivation, meaning that out of the ten indicators they are poor in at least a third of them; they are considered severely poor when they score 50% or higher deprivation. The MPI does not include income. It complements the World Bank's solely monetary poverty line, defined as income of 1.9 US dollars per day, because while monetary and multidimensional poverty might be related, it is not evident that the same people who are income-poor also face multidimensional poverty (OPHI, 2019).

In 2010 the Inequality-adjusted HDI was added, which takes into account the differences of the three HDI indicators among a country's population. If the gap between different segments of a society is small, the HDI value remains unaltered, but the bigger the inequality is, the more it discounts the HDI. There is also a Gender Inequality Index, introduced in 2010, and in 2014 the Gender Development Index was added, showing the discrepancies between men and women in the three HDI components of life expectancy, years of schooling and standard of living (UNDP, n.d.).

However, rather than going into rankings and indicators in more detail, it is more relevant to understand the complexity of the phenomenon of human development and how difficult it is to measure and compare human development between cultures, regions and individuals.

3.1.5. Aid today

Aid today remains a complex field in flux. Its grand Western-dominated narrative has not radically changed, but it now intertwines with conservative approaches and emerging structural, conceptual, ideological and practical alternatives. Constellations of aid-giving and -receiving countries have diversified to an extent that is difficult to understand. In *Aid at the Edge of Chaos*, Ben Ramalingam writes:

> Every country on earth is part of the aid system, as donor, as recipient or, increasingly, both. Aid flows to poor and middle-income countries alike; it is given to countries like India and China, which themselves give considerable amounts of aid to others. Most working adults in the high-income world and — increasingly — the middle-income world have contributed aid, either directly in the form of personal donations or indirectly through taxes.
>
> (Ramalingam, 2013, p. 4)

The impact of foreign aid and investment on the economy, governance, culture and society of developing countries continues to be controversial. One argument is that aid creates dependency, because it hinders the ability of institutions in developing countries to mature, and further that it supports corruption by paying developing countries' elites to implement aid projects. Some researchers suggest that in many poor countries there is no recognisable correlation between aid investment and economic growth

(Ahmed and Khan, 2007, pp. 216–218). Others argue that less money flows from rich countries to poor countries than from poor countries to rich countries. In other words, rich countries earn money from their engagement in poor countries, a theory that resonates with the centre–periphery model. Mechanisms that support this dynamic are, for example, the debts that poor countries have to repay to their lenders, or the interest that rich countries receive on their business investments in poor countries. Misinvoicing is a procedure that declares false values for imported or exported goods in order to evade taxes, capitalise on tax incentives or launder money to foreign bank accounts (Hickel, 2017, n.p.; Kar, 2016, n.p.).

Aid in Pakistan

It goes beyond the scope of this design research to provide a detailed account of the debates and implications of foreign aid in Pakistan. For this study on CFIPs it is sufficient to know that since the early years of its existence Pakistan has received and continues to receive substantial amounts of money through credits, investments and grant schemes. The German government, for example, supported Pakistan in 2019 and 2020 with 109.1 million Euros in order to support three development priority areas: governance, sustainable economic development and energy (BMZ, 2021). Similarly, other countries and international stakeholders have supported Pakistan through bilateral agreements. Global political strategies continue to be a driving force of aid. One of the main donor countries remains the USA, which first provided aid in the form of reconstruction support for building infrastructure such as roads, highways and power plants in the 1960s and 1970s, and later during the 1980s as military support to fight on the Afghani side against the Soviet invasion. After 9/11 the inflow of aid increased sevenfold when Pakistan agreed to join the war against terror (Hassan, Mahmood and Sarwar, 2015, p. 153). Another major investor has been China, which launched the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) since 2013 to support the construction of roads and industrial zones and the crumbling energy sector that for years has caused long hours of power cuts. Many of Pakistan's politicians and large parts of the population welcome these activities. China considers it an opportunity to establish an integrated South Asian infrastructure, linking China to ports on the Indian Ocean (Hameed, 2018, p. 2). However this undertaking is also facing heavy criticism regarding the insufficient compensation offered to landowners whose property will be taken by the CPEC project (International Crisis Group, 2018). Further, it evokes connotations of colonial approaches; centuries ago the British also built infrastructure as a tool to gain rule over India (Goswami, 2004, cited in Hameed, 2018, p. 3).

One observation is that in Pakistan everyone seems to be affected by aid, not just people involved in aid projects or the poor as the target group. The industry receives technical support and consultancy services on, for example, renewable energy or social standards in work environments. Infrastructure, including health care, sanitation, education and energy, is supported by aid. The education sector often relies on aid to sponsor research studies, conferences, seminars, facilities and equipment. Besides

academia, vocational training and employment schemes also heavily rely on aid. Aid often addresses concerns that the government and the industry do not cover, even though they should. Through these means donor countries impose their values and coordination styles on developing countries, echoing the centre–periphery model and dependency theory.

Different definitions of 'good development' shape mindsets across society, including the stakeholders in the craft for empowerment sector. Some of them studied development in an academic context and internalised the global aid narratives, whereas others criticise development for its top-down dominance. As a reaction counter-narratives emerge that reject external interference of donor countries' aid schemes and highlight the relevance of local traditions and vernacular approaches, for example in education, governance, culture and lifestyle. Opinions for and against external interference occur in eclectic combinations and are often expressed by one person or group at different occasions. from a different perspective poor and marginalised people who are the target group of aid repeatedly experience false promises of improved living conditions that never materialise; consequently, they greet new initiatives with indifference and doubt or pragmatically take whatever is offered, for example tools.

These complex dynamics also shape the craft for empowerment sector and its stakeholders, outlined and reflected in the empirical findings in chapter 4. For this research it was vital to gain an overview of the concepts and narratives of development aid in order to understand how the development sector operates. CFIPs are usually embedded in aid activities, whether in official aid schemes or as private initiatives with similar objectives. Stakeholders, including researchers like me, who immerse themselves in the craft for empowerment sector, are influenced consciously or unconsciously by values, mindsets and practical approaches of development aid. The different backgrounds of stakeholders and how they are intertwined with aid structures, processes and mindsets became visible during the empirical research. It was especially valuable not only to gain insights into the perspectives of project initiators, managers and supporters, but also those of the target group of CFIPs.

Recognising the diversity of stakeholders, positions and concerns, including women's empowerment, community development and economic inclusion, triggered the step of viewing craft for empowerment as a system in its own right and considering it the object of design of this research. Systems thinking involves extending boundaries of a concern in order to address those concerns holistically. This resonated with my research interest in CFIPs once I understood the global scale of aid structures, processes and mindsets and their impact on individual CFIPs and people.

3.2. Approaching empowerment

Empowerment is a widely promoted concept in development aid, but it remains an elusive term. The dictionary defines 'empower' as '1) to give (someone) the authority or power to do something or 2) to make (someone) stronger and more confident, especially in controlling their life and claiming their rights' (Oxford University Press, 2022c).

Empowerment is a concept applied when addressing the rights of social groups who are marginalised due to ethnicity, race, religion, handicap, gender or for other reasons. Empowerment involves power relationships. Jo Rowlands distinguishes four dimensions:[10]

1. Power over: the ability to influence and coerce
2. Power to: organise and change existing hierarchies
3. Power with: power from collective action
4. Power within: power from individual consciousness

The first signifies a top-down process where people are directed to behave in a certain way, while the second points towards access to knowledge and opportunity, the third towards benefits in collective engagement in communities, and the fourth towards personal awareness and reflective capacity (Rowlands, 1997, p. 13). She further describes three interrelated levels of empowerment: 1) personal, referring to one's sense of self, confidence and the undoing of internalised oppression; 2) collective, referring to groups working and achieving goals together; and 3) relational, referring to the ability to influence the nature of a relationship and make decisions (pp. 14–15).

Other scholars outline economic, social, human, and political as interrelated dimensions of empowerment (Eyben, Kabeer and Cornwall, 2008, pp. 7–18; Luttrell et al., 2009, p. 1). For example, someone who earns a decent amount can invest in their children's education. Cultural empowerment is sometimes mentioned in regards to strengthening of cultural practices, often those of minorities (Luttrell et al., 2009, p. 1).

The term empowerment can signify a status and a process. Empowered people have the right, the opportunity, the ability, and the means to access information and are therefore aware of possibilities and threats. Thus armed, they can negotiate and make conscious decisions concerning their lives. Empowerment as a status means that people are not only able to do all the above but also perceive themselves as able to do so (Eyben, Kabeer and Cornwall, 2008, p. 5), which disempowered people do not. Only when they actively go through the process of gaining awareness of their circumstances and

[10] This model has been developed as part of the feminist movement in the 1990s but I consider it very applicable to debates about empowerment in the context of development aid.

relationships, including hierarchies, can they question and negotiate their own position and consider it their right to do so. Only then do they achieve personal, collective and relational empowerment.

Grassroots empowerment is associated with community activism and alternative approaches towards sustainable development that involve local knowledge (Manzini, 2015, p. 80). While development aid often takes place in a top-down manner, grassroots empowerment in its purest form would be the opposite: poor communities would start initiatives without external financial and consultative support. In reality, purely bottom-up empowerment initiatives are rare and difficult to achieve.

Empowerment entered the development aid debate in the 1980s and 1990s, especially in relation to women's empowerment in developing countries. It embraced a philosophy that prioritised the perspectives and the needs of oppressed people (Calvès, 2009, pp. 2–4), such as members of ethnic or religious minorities.

3.2.1. Empowerment as consciousness, articulation and care in the thinking of Paulo Freire and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak

Two scholars and practitioners concerned with the relationship between marginalised people and powerful elites in the global South are Paulo Freire from Brazil and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak from India. Freire focuses on Brazil, Spivak on India. Both critique power relations within societies of countries in the Global South, in contrast to only focusing on power inequalities between countries of the Global South and the Global North, or between previous colonies and colonial powers. Both discuss the challenges marginalised people face in taking ownership of their own lives. Both describe a lack of consciousness among marginalised people regarding their disempowered role in society, which they do not question. Therefore activities to support empowerment need to foster critical consciousness among both the marginalised and the privileged in a society, including the ability to observe, describe, analyse, critique, question and negotiate current conditions. Both scholars focus on the need for marginalised people to develop the ability to reflect on and articulate their own position and relationship to those in power if they are to be able to change it. Both describe how training courses, even if conducted with the most genuine intent to create equality, are characterised by hierarchy, because the trainers are usually part of the privileged classes. Nonetheless, both scholars emphasise the importance of engaging in such activities.

Paulo Freire was a Brazilian educationist, who in the 1960s and 1970s developed participatory research methods in marginalised communities in rural Brazil. He had been assigned to develop literacy programmes, but instead of simply teaching people the alphabet he encouraged them to observe, describe and discuss their own situation and daily life. In dialectical processes, topics continued to emerge, enabling participants to address their community concerns rather than receiving top-down suggestions. The goal of this process was to develop what he termed a 'critical consciousness' and

create change with people (rather than for them) through discussing feasible solutions for the specific contexts of their communities (Freire, 1970, for example pp. 113–116 and 129).

According to Freire oppression is executed when governance concepts and mechanisms defined by powerful people are imposed on marginalised people. He was concerned with learning and pedagogical methods that would help overcome oppression. Oppressors are privileged, with access to or part of the ruling class. The oppressed are marginalised, deprived of access to power. Interestingly he considers both these groups dehumanised, because they recognise this situation as static rather than something they can actively change.

The oppressors have a sense of entitlement to sufficient food, clothes, housing, education, and the chance to travel and consume high culture, such as classical music. They fear the liberation of the oppressed because these privileges might be questioned or taken from them. At the same time they do not pity the oppressed for not having access to those privileges (Freire, 1970, p. 57).

> Reflection upon situationality is reflection about the very condition of existence: critical thinking by means of which people discover each other to be 'in a situation'. Only as this situation ceases to present itself as a dense, enveloping reality or a tormenting blind alley, and they can come to perceive it as an objective-problematic situation — only then can commitment exist. Humankind 'emerge' from their 'submersion' and acquire the ability to 'intervene' in reality as it is unveiled. 'Intervention' in reality — historical awareness itself – thus represents a step forward from 'emergence', and results from the 'conscientização' of the situation. Conscientização is the deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of all emergence.
>
> (Freire, 1970, p. 109)

Freire's position is that observing a situation, and developing the understanding that it is not something static, is the requirement for changing it. This realisation he considers the process of developing a consciousness. It is empowering because it enables debate about what kind of change one wants and how to achieve it. It goes beyond the emergence of change, which is of a more passive character.

There are people among the oppressors who want to show solidarity with the oppressed and wish to support them. But even if their ambition is authentic they cannot easily ignore their own privileged background and socialisation. According to Freire, oppressors must reflect their own behaviour at every stage, because they are bound to become nostalgic about the benefits of their background.

Freire further elaborates on the quality of attempted revolutions by differentiating static revolutions and dynamic revolutions. Static revolutions have a moment of power change, while dynamic revolutions continue to emerge gradually through changing processes of governance. In a static revolution, it is assumed that dialogue can only

begin once power conditions have changed and support it. In that case a revolution remains in the power paradigm of the oppressors, because change still depends on the approval of those in power. In a dynamic revolution, the liberating dialogue itself is considered the revolution. Such dialogue however requires the oppressors to trust the oppressed and how they observe, name, analyse and suggest the world and their own conditions, even if the oppressors at first do not understand or agree with the resulting perspectives and ideas for change. Freire calls this dialogue the true humanisation (Freire, 1970, p. 138). Any anti-dialogical activity — or in other words any activity that superimposes or dictates values and rules that were not collectively agreed — Freire considers a conquering one and therefore the opposite of liberation. Acknowledging open-endedness is the key to understanding that change is possible at all, albeit as a continuous process, not a static condition.

For Freire it is important to avoid revenge. Those who were oppressed should not turn into oppressors; they are the only ones who can liberate and humanise both themselves and the oppressors (1970, p. 44). Another important aspect is trust, which oppressors must show to the oppressed. If the oppressors only want to push through their own ideas of how communities of the oppressed should be organized, it creates dependency, because the oppressed do not identify with this understanding and have difficulty implementing and maintaining the imposed structures and procedures. Freire suggests that change can only be achieved together: The revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people for the leaders, but by both acting together in unshakeable solidarity' (1970, p. 129).

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is an Indian literary scholar and theorist, known especially for her work in the fields of postcolonial and subaltern studies. She coined the rhetorical question 'Can the subaltern speak?' which is also the title of an essay in which she discusses the difficulties experienced by subaltern people when trying to find a voice. But what does 'subaltern' mean?

The Subaltern Studies Collective was founded in the 1970s by a group of South Asian scholars around the Indian historian Ranjit Guha (Sardar, 1997, p. 79).[11] Guha introduced the term 'subaltern' based on to the usage created by Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci to describe exploited people of lower class who lack class consciousness. These people differ from the working class or the proletariat in Marx's theories as they are not only economically disadvantaged but also marginalised because of caste, ethnicity, gender or culture.

[11] Later in the 1990s, Subaltern Studies also emerged in Latin America and in the Middle East, for example Palestine (Nandi, 2009, p. 84).

They are excluded from established institutions and thus are located at the 'margins of history' (Sardar, 1999, p. 79). Important is the concept of 'the other', which is based on perceiving the otherness or alterity of a person or group outside one's own representation of class, caste, gender, culture, ethnicity, or social group (p. 13). People termed 'subaltern subjects' are characterised by both alterity and subordination to powerful rulers and policy-makers.

Subaltern studies is especially concerned with power relations within societies of previous colonies. Subaltern people within those societies live under cultural and historical hegemonies that explain historical events to them by highlighting the achievements of powerful elites and politicians. This is why subaltern people do not acknowledge their own efforts and achievements, such as peasants' and farmers' movements. Subaltern studies focuses on subaltern people who form the masses, who represent the silent 'other', unable to articulate their position in history, culture and society, because they lack consciousness of their own narrative entirely or do not consider it important or valuable. Spivak adds that women in marginalised circumstances in the Global South are silenced in two ways: firstly, they belong to subaltern communities, because they are poor or belong to an ethnic or religious minority, and secondly, as women they have less agency about their lives (Nandi 2009, pp. 84–87).

Additionally, Spivak argues that subaltern people are largely unable to articulate their positions because others speak for them. She uses the example of *sati*, widow-burning, a practice in some traditional Indian societies. The former British administration tried, and human rights advocates try today, to save widows from this tradition, but community leaders claim that the women choose to be burned. In between these two positions, the voice of the widows expressing their own position is lost. Neither side purporting to speak for them truly represents them; neither side is therefore able to understand their situation genuinely. Between the two sides, the women even loose critical awareness of their own situation and wishes. Spivak argues that the women do not have an audience, a receiver, which makes their act of speaking incomplete. This extreme example illustrates the lack of voice of the subaltern, which extends to many other concerns besides *sati*. Spivak sees the task of intellectuals who aim to empower the subaltern as creating spaces for conversations in which subalterns are heard and taken seriously, even if their positions transcend the known thinking patterns and paradigms of those who speak for them (Nandi, 2009, pp. 41–42).

Critical aspects of this theory include the argument that any effort to assist' subalterns in articulating their narratives would require someone external to the group to initiate that assistance, risking a perpetuation of power hierarchies. Any attempt to create an alternative narrative in retrospect, might also not turn out to be authentic (Nandi, 2009, p. 88).

In the text 'Imperative to Re-Imagine the Planet', Spivak proposes using the alterity lens for a different view of globalisation, especially the power imbalances it creates and its exploitation of the Global South (1999, pp. 335-350). She critiques the capitalist approach that guides global aid and introduces the concept of 'planetarity', in which the act of taking on all-encompassing responsibility is central. She suggests

countering the dominant Western distinction between people's rights and responsibilities. Alternatively, she describes 'planetarity' as a holistic approach to globalised thinking that is inclusive of subaltern societies and their values and practices. It views humans as being born with an all-embracing responsibility towards others and the greater whole. 'Planetarity', according to Spivak, is often misinterpreted as environmentalism or sustainability (p. 335). But more than the physical planet, she defines planetary thinking as an imperative to support and take on responsibility for the laterity that exists between humans and societies instead of subordinating to globalisation and capitalist ideologies (pp. 348-349).

Spivak refers to the ancient Islamic concept *haq*, which she describes as a 'para-individual structural responsibility' (p. 341). It offers a conceptual framework in which alterity is the basis for responsibility, based on the thought that everyone landed coincidently on the planet in the same way. Therefore everyone is 'the other' and at the same time has the responsibility to care for, 'the other'. This galactic planetary thinking expands the boundaries of how to conceptually approach differences and power inequalities. From this planetary perspective, holistic care according to Spivak would not be an obligation but a desirable experience and a characteristic of being human. Taking on responsibility for others in this theory is considered a central human right rather than the duty of caring for the poor and marginalised. This changes the notion of care significantly as it is considered an enriching activity rather than a sacrifice. While making a sacrifice can be rewarding, this concept involves that all people, marginalised or privileged are 'the other' for one another and experience the change of their own character, condition, and position though caring for and learning from others. Spivak sees this dynamic as a form of collective order that was common in pre-capitalist societies but that disappeared when capitalist and neoliberal ideologies gained dominance (pp. 341-342)

Spivak's radical perspective on globalisation offers an opportunity to change the trajectory of addressing inequalities, away from a worldview shaped by capitalist entrepreneurship and individual benefit thinking towards a mindset of collective well-being. Being inclusive, learning from radically different value and thought systems of marginalised or subaltern groups, and embracing differences and contradictions; these are more important to the planetarity concept than achieving agreement.

Conceptually, this radical change of thought is not uncontroversial, for example regarding the question of human rights. Spivak advocates for human rights but points out that they are currently shaped by the value systems of the West and suggests renegotiating them from the perspective of the Global South (Nandi 2009, pp. 104–109; Spivak 1999, pp. 334–350).

Both Freire and Spivak emphasise the importance of conversation as a form of social learning. They consider the ability to observe, explain and debate one's own background, needs, wishes and ideas a key characteristic of empowerment, and suggest dialogic approaches in order to foster it. Both describe empowerment as a continuous process of acquiring awareness through questioning the status quo and changing it

through active participation. Both emphasise the importance of powerful and power-less people engaging in such dialogic processes, embracing differences and contra-dictions rather than reacting to them with exclusion or non-care. Freire argues that the goal is not to reverse the power distribution between oppressors and oppressed, but rather find ways forward together. Similarly, Spivak encourages dominant and sub-ordinate people to rethink their roles in light of planetary alterity – a system in which everyone is 'the other' and cares for 'the other'. Those in dominant roles should aim to learn from the subordinate rather than appropriating them according to the dominant worldview (Spivak, 1999, p. 347).

For this research the theoretical discussions of empowerment, and the arguments of Freire and Spivak, hold much value, because in the craft for empowerment sys-tem people of diverse cultural, socio-economic and political backgrounds collaborate. Power imbalances between stakeholders are inevitable. During the empirical research it became clear that many of the craft producers, especially home-based women work-ers, fit Freire's characterisation of the oppressed and Spivak's description of the sub-altern. During the research process it was interesting to see that, especially during long-term relationships in the action research and some case study projects, the craft producers gained confidence in voicing their own ideas and positions. The concern that such conversations might not be entirely authentic because they are facilitated by peo-ple outside the craft producer communities is valid; but this concern also served as a reminder not to fall into the trap of telling people what to do, but rather to strengthen and respect their opinions and ideas as part of the process, even if not agreeing with them.

3.3. Systems thinking in development and in design

> Hunger, poverty, environmental degradation, economic instability, unemployment, chronic disease, drug addiction, and war, for exam-ple, persist in spite of the analytical ability and technical brilliance that have been directed toward eradicating them. No one deliber-ately creates those problems, no one wants them to persist, but they persist nonetheless. That is because they are intrinsically systems problems – undesirable behaviours characteristic of the system structures that produce them. They will yield only as we reclaim our intuition, stop casting blame, see the system as the source of its own problems, and find the courage and wisdom to restructure it.
>
> (Meadows, 2009, p. 21)

The fields of development and design both have been concerned with systems thinking and systems change. If pressing concerns such as poverty, hunger or economic insta-bility can be considered systems problems, it is important to apply systems thinking

when addressing their underlying causes. It was therefore considered useful for this research to examine craft for empowerment in Pakistan from a systems perspective. The following section offers a brief explanation of systems and systems change.

3.3.1. Basics of understanding systems

Numerous scholars have worked on systems theories in different fields such as engineering, natural sciences and social sciences. For an overview here I refer to Donella Meadows.[12]

System as wholeness: A system is more than the sum of its parts. A conglomeration of parts without any interconnections is not a system (p. 12).

Adaptive systems: All systems change all the time and recognisably over time. They can amend themselves to changing circumstances to avoid damage or to follow goals (p. 12).

Stocks and flows: The quantity of knowledge, material or content of a system that can be measured is its stock. Also attitudes and behaviours can count as stock, for example goodwill. Changes in a stock are flows, for example success and failure, increase and decrease (p. 18).

Feedback loops: Whether stocks remain at the same level, increase or decrease depends on either balancing or reinforcing feedback. Balancing feedback aims to stabilise a stock and keep it at about the same level, for example if a bank account shows a decrease of money, the account holder might spend less in order to return to the normal level. Reinforcing feedback can amplify, multiply or have a snowball effect. Reinforcing feedback encourages a system's behaviour in one direction, for example if prices rise, wages have to rise, which in turn encourages prices to rise more. Or one child pushes another, and that child pushes back harder until a fight breaks out. Feedback loops are the information parts of the system that shape connections between the parts. They do not always work well, for example when information is unclear or incomplete (pp. 27–34).

Non-linearity: Cause and effect are not in a linear relation and algorithms are not always true. If an activity led to a certain result once, it will not necessarily lead to the same result when repeated, but can result in something different and unpredictable (pp. 27–34).

Boundaries of a system: A system has fuzzy and changing boundaries. If a visualisation of a system shows boundaries, they are only there in the diagram, not in reality, because parts of a system always extend across such boundaries (p. 95).

[12] Meadows is also a co-author, together with Dennis L. Meadows, Jørgen Randers and William W. Behrens, of the Club of Rome's seminal publication *The Limits to Growth*, published in 1972.

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Systems and subsystems: Every system is nested within a larger system. Systems and subsystems exist in every part of life: environment, economy, technology, families, workplaces and social settings. Feedback within a subsystem or a small system is usually very dynamic. Problems often occur in the communication between subsystems. Systems analysis helps to identify and understand the character of relationships and hierarchies, both horizontally and vertically (p. 83).

According to Meadows (2009) a system must consist of three components:

1. Elements
2. Interconnections
3. A function (in non-human technical systems)
    or purpose (in human systems).

Subparts of the system sometimes act towards a particular function or purpose, resulting in an overall system that no one wants, if the purpose of one part causes harm for another part of the system. For example no one wants a society of drug addicts, but different stakeholders pursue different purposes: dealers aim for sales, patients seek quick pain relief, non-addicts seek to protect themselves, and the government makes drugs illegal. In such a system it is difficult to create a drug-addict-free society (p. 15).

One interesting aspect of systems is that they usually survive for long time periods. According to Meadows, this has three causes:

1. Resilience enables a system to return to its shape after being disturbed. This ability to react to disturbing events in order to survive requires feedback loops, through which a system can learn, create and evolve. It can restore itself or even establish more restorative structures that are able to survive further disturbances. An example is the human body, which can fight invading pathogens and repair broken bones. Another example is ecosystems, in which a large variety of species hold each other in check and keep the system balanced. Resilient systems are not static but dynamic, and periodic extreme behaviour might be part of normal conditions (pp. 76–78).

2. Self-organisation is a system's capacity to grow its own structure through continuous learning, diversifying and evolving. It is hard to suppress self-organising systems. Even if there are long periods of suppression, self-organising systems can liberate themselves and survive (pp. 79–81).

3. Hierarchy is a system's structure, its method of relating larger systems and subsystems with each other. An overall system is resilient when each subsystem can manage and maintain itself while serving the purpose of the larger system; simultaneously, the larger system coordinates the operations of the subsystem. This order must balance the welfare, freedom and responsibilities of the subsystems and the overall system. Sub-optimisation occurs when a subsystem thrives at the cost of other subsystems or the overall system (pp. 82–85).

The ability of systems to keep going for a long time was identified as one of the core challenges of this research after analysing the craft for empowerment system and the consolidated nature of its dynamics, shape and relations, which keept the current system going but cause some of its main challenges. These insights on systems thinking placed the research topic in the realm of complex systems and systems change, alongside most development and empowerment concerns.

3.3.2. Complexity and systems thinking in development aid and empowerment

There is no exact definition for complexity. However the Cambridge Dictionary defines it as 'the state of having many parts and being difficult to understand or find an answer to' (CUP, 2021). One characteristic of complexity is wicked problems, which were introduced as a central concern in systemic design in the 1970s. In 1973 Horst Rittel and Melvin Webber formulated ten characteristics of wicked problems:

1. There is no definitive formulation of a wicked problem.
2. Wicked problems have no stopping rule.
3. Solutions to wicked problems are not true-or-false, but good-or-bad.
4. There is no immediate and no ultimate test of a solution to a wicked problem.
5. Every solution to a wicked problem is a 'one-shot operation'; because there is no opportunity to learn by trial and error, every attempt counts significantly.
6. Wicked problems do not have an enumerable or describable set of potential solutions, nor is there a well-described set of permissible operations that may be incorporated into the plan.
7. Every wicked problem is essentially unique.
8. Every wicked problem can be considered to be a symptom of another problem.
9. The existence of a discrepancy representing a wicked problem can be explained in numerous ways. The choice of explanation determines the nature of the problem's resolution.
10. The social planner has no right to be wrong.

(Rittel & Webber, 1973, pp 161–167)

Wicked problems are real-life problems and cannot be simulated in a laboratory or tamed. They involve real people with all their contradictions and unpredictable behaviours. Jeff Conklin later looked at wicked problems in the context of social complexity. He explained the phenomenon of fragmentation, which refers to the large number of components in a wicked problem and the large number of different actors with different expertise and perspectives involved in solving problems. Communication becomes very difficult, for example due to different terminologies used by stakeholders of different backgrounds in a project. Therefore he formulated the need for more conversational work processes and environments (Conklin, 2001, p. 3). Conklin explains that

linear problem-solving processes that follow a pattern of data gathering and analysis are based on already knowing what the solution to a certain situation would be. Addressing wicked problems is a non-linear and unpredictable process, in which solving a problem and learning about it are equivalent. Solutions are opportunity-driven, which means they emerge along the way and are contextual, because what might be possible in one environment might not be in another. Many might consider such processes inefficient, but Conklin says:

> This non-linear process is not a defect, but rather the mark of an intelligent and creative learning process. ... In the current business environment, problem solving and learning are tightly intertwined, and the flow of this learning process is opportunity-driven.
>
> (Conklin, 2005, p. 7)

He further argues that problems might look tame from the outside and only reveal their wickedness once one recognises their nature through engaging with them. People prefer to solve tame problems and are often in denial of the wickedness at hand. This focus on tame problems results in command and control processes:

> The command and control paradigm of management reinforces blindness about the true nature of the problem. Inherent in this paradigm is the idea that a person in charge gives the solution (the right solution, the only solution) to other people, who are in charge of implementing it. To function in such a hierarchy often means to collude in systematic denial of the complex and ill-structured dynamics of wicked problems, a phenomenon dubbed 'skilled incompetence' by Chris Argyris.
>
> (Conklin, 2005, p. 10)

Argyris describes how skilled people with expert knowledge routinely avoid achieving their goals through conflict-avoiding behaviour. Instead of saying what they really think, they say what will not upset others. Avoiding honesty in discussions does not only lead to stagnation and non-achievement of goals, but also to managers covering up real problems. If they did not apply avoidance strategies they would a) uncover more uncomfortable problems, and b) not be able to apply their expert skills, because these skills are not suitable for addressing the newly discovered aspects of the problems (Argyris, 1986, pp. 78–79).

Increasingly, development aid researchers and practitioners locate aid and empowerment within complexity sciences. Danny Burns and Steven Worsley cite the Cynefin matrix by David Snowden, who describes four types of systems: 1) simple, 2) complicated, 3) complex and 4) chaotic (Burns and Worsley, 2015, p. 25). Simple systems feature linear cause and effect relationships. Complicated systems consist of a large

number of cause and effect relationships. Complex systems consist of a large number of non-linear relationships and unpredictable cause and effect. Chaotic systems show no relationships and no cause and effect. For Snowden, the purpose of such a framework is to 'make sense of the world so we can act in it' (2014, n.p.). Burns and Worsley view development aid as a complex system in which cause and effect can usually only be analysed in retrospect but not predicted. This is because stakeholders and situations may behave differently each time, making it difficult to plan successful development strategies (Burns and Worsley, 2015, p. 25).

In *Aid at the Edge of Chaos*, Ben Ramalingam describes a lack of acknowledgement of such complexity in the international aid sector, and cites aid experts who do not view aid as a system at all, but as 'in a wonderfully Orwellian phrase a "non-system"', thus placing aid in the realm of chaos (2013, p. 6). Ramalingam argues that even today development professionals are still merely trained according to Rostow's follow-up principles but not encouraged to see the complexity of aid, resulting in ineffective outcomes for aid projects (Ramalingam, 2013, p. 39). Nonetheless, he concedes that occasionally aid agencies learn from experience and generate lasting change. They benefit from establishing supportive relationships and networks. He further highlights the importance of recognising the process of interaction between different stakeholders regarding a certain aid concern as part of the solution. In order to avoid making premature assessments of a situation, which would consequently inform an implementation strategy that is not feasible in the local context, assessment should involve iterative double

	Conventional Thinking	New Perspectives
Systems and problems	Systems and problems are closed, static, linear systems; reductionist – parts would reveal the whole	Systems are open, dynamic, non-linear systems far from equilibrium. Macro patterns emerge from micro behaviours and interactions
Human agency	Individuals use rational deduction; behaviour and action can be specified from top-down; perfect knowledge of future outcomes is possible	Heterogeneous agents that mix deductive and inductive decisions, are subject to errors and biases, and which learn, adapt, self-organise and co-evolve over time
Social structures	Formal relations between actors are most important; relationships are ahistorical and can be designed; actors can be treated as independent and atomised	Interpersonal relationships and interactions are important: culture, ties, values, beliefs, peers. Informal matters, relationships are path-dependent and historical
The nature of change	Change is a direct result of actions; proportional, additive and predictable; can hold things constant; simple cause and effect	Change is non-linear, unpredictable and with phase transitions

Table 3.2: Conventional thinking and new perspectives in development aid
(adapted from Ramalingam, B., 2014, p. 142)

and triple feedback loops rather than consisting just of a single loop feedback of the stakeholders (Ramalingam, 2013, pp. 40–41). Such a view on development resonates with complexity science, which is concerned with living systems in a variety of disciplines, including social sciences, natural sciences, technology, humanities, liberal arts and the arts. Complexity science itself can be considered work-in-progress, adaptable and continuously emerging, and therefore creating even higher levels of complexity (Ramalingam, 2014, pp. 141–143).

 In the context of this debate on complexity Ramalingam juxtaposes conventional thinking and new perspectives on aid (table 3.2) and considers reductionist approaches, mentioned in the column 'Conventional Thinking', insufficient for addressing real-world problems, which consist of a large number of interconnected issues. In order to understand these problems, alternative tools, techniques and approaches from different disciplines must be used. The points listed in the column 'New Perspectives' see development and empowerment as open-ended processes with no final solutions, and as heterogeneous multi-stakeholder contexts (Ramalingam, 2014, p. 142).

Complexity sciences have provided useful concepts for looking at CFIPs in Pakistan from a systems perspective. The empirical research in chapter 4 revealed that CFIPs are better treated as open-ended processes if they are to have any positive impact instead of terminating with a one-off product exhibition and report to the donor CFIPs also must embrace multiple perspectives and their often unpredictable processes.

3.3.3. Systems behaviour and systems change

Systems are constantly changing, even without any active intervention. Theories of systems change highlight the emergent character when different factors, including multiple stakeholder perspectives, relationships and activities affect each other. Complex living or social systems are consequently impossible to design or control.

> For any objective other than the most trivial, we cannot optimize; we do not even know what to optimize. We cannot keep track of everything. We cannot find a proper, sustainable relationship to nature, each other, or the institutions we create, if we try to do it from the role of omniscient conqueror.
>
> (Meadows, 2009, p. 168)

According to Meadows, one of the most widespread misconceptions is that systems function according to prediction and control, a mindset rooted in the industrial age but inappropriate for emergent ecological and social systems (2009, pp. 166–167).

 Nonetheless, in 'Dancing with Systems', a loose, open-ended list that combines her insights regarding systems thinking, Meadows stresses the importance of engaging with a system in order to be able to observe and make sense of it. She makes suggestions for how to engage with it (table 3.3).

1.	Get the beat of the system	Observing a system's behaviour, for example its history
		Thinking about its dynamics, not static conditions
		Avoiding thinking in terms of solutions, predictions and control
2.	Expose your mental models to the light of day	Remembering that everything you know, and everything everyone else knows, is only a mental model
		Challenging mental models until they get more rigorous
3.	Honour, respect, and distribute information	Remembering that timely, accurate, and complete information helps a system to work better
4.	Use language with care and enrich it with systems concepts	Using clear language by avoiding language pollution and making the cleanest possible use of words
		Expanding and enlarging language to make it consistent with an enlarged understanding of systems
		Example: Talking about 'creating jobs' as if it is something that only companies do might not suggest to people that they could creatively invent their own new jobs
5.	Pay attention to what Is important, not just what is quantifiable	Avoiding obsessions with numbers but paying attention to the quality of a system, because pretending that something does not exist because it is not quantifiable leads to a faulty understanding of systems
		Examples: Variables such as prejudices, quality of life or self-esteem, which cannot easily be quantified but are important for understanding the quality of a system
6.	Make feedback policies for feedback systems	Making feedback loops obligatory through rules and policies, so that feedback becomes an inherent part of a systems change process
7.	Go for the good of the whole	Aiming to enhance overall systems properties, such as growth, stability, diversity, resilience, and sustainability
		Avoiding changing a system's parts in a way that goes against improving the overall system
8.	Listen to the wisdom of the system	Paying attention to the value that is already there in a system
		Encouraging forces and structures that help the system run itself
9.	Locate responsibility in the system	Increasing 'intrinsic responsibility' by increasing responsibilities of each part of a system through immediate direct feedback for each part's decisions and activities
10.	Stay humble—stay a learner	Allowing, admitting and learning from mistakes
		Following intuition as much as rational thinking
		Experimenting and changing course
		Not pretending to know directions and solutions for complex situations
11.	Celebrate complexity	Encouraging and embracing self-organisation, disorder, variety and diversity
		Embracing a messy, non-linear, turbulent and dynamic universe
12.	Expand time horizons	Watching both the short and the long term: systems are always coupling and uncoupling the large and the small, the fast and the slow
		Understanding that taking action now has some immediate effects and some that will radiate out for decades to come
13.	Defy the disciplines	Learning from and together with professionals from other disciplines, not only contributing expertise
		Prioritising solving the problem at hand over being academically correct
14.	Expand the boundary of caring	Not viewing moral and practical concerns as separate, because in systems they are interconnected
		Not only being concerned with a part of the system but the whole, hence taking a holistic approach to tasks and solving problems
15.	Do not erode the goal of goodness	Instilling ideals and morals into a system
		Observing and listening to what would be good for a system's behaviour

Table 3.3: Summary of the text 'Dancing with Systems' by Donella Meadows (2009, pp. 170–185)

Summary of the text 'Dancing with Systems'

The text summarised in table 3.3 provided useful insights into how to synthesise my empirical data through the systems lens and analyse it because systems:

1. Are impossible to design or predetermine a system
2. Focus on emergence and improving dynamics rather than final solutions
3. Endure and embrace an eclectic, messy and contradictory reality
4. Value both quantifiable information and qualities that can be observed but not measured, for example increased confidence
5. Extended scope of time, scale and interdisciplinary engagement
6. Support of self-reliance and simultaneously open-mindedness to new effects
7. Critical reflection of underlying mindsets and ideologies, one's own and those of others, that drive a system
8. Importance of constructive feedback

However, Meadows points out that systems thinking cannot bridge the gap between understanding a system and implementing change. Understanding alone cannot improve how a system serves its purpose, although it is a prerequisite for deciding how to behave in it and contribute to generating change, if desired (Meadows, 2009, p. 185). Meadows suggests possible leverage points, which represent different dimensions and potential for impact. She ranks the list backwards and considers point 12 the least powerful and point one the most powerful leverage point. She acknowledges though that all leverage points can contribute to desirable change, especially if different points are addressed and connected (Meadows, 2009, pp. 145–165).

12. Numbers – Constants and parameters such as subsidies, taxes, standards
  – Definitions of, for example, minimum wages or budgets for governance concerns such as AIDS prevention or emission standards
  > Rather weak leverage points because they just create change on the surface

11. Buffers – The sizes of stabilising stocks relative to their flows
  – Keeping stocks within a range but risking that a system becomes inflexible
  > Can involve high long-term maintenance costs such as administration expenses, which can pose a larger risk to a business than occasional insecurity or loss

10. Stock-and-Flow Structures – Physical systems and their nodes of intersection
  – The physical constructions of a system, for example roads, buildings, schools or airports
  > Low leverage opportunity due to high cost of changing a physical structure

9. Delays – The length of time relative to the rate of system change
  – The time between making a change and receiving feedback, for example

between a new technology being developed and tested and the time when it is commonly available

- – Dangerous impact of delayed feedback, for example when resources finish, or if hurried feedback causes haphazard reactions
- > The leverage potential is strong, but the time for feedback is often difficult to change, because things need as long as they need, for example a child to grow or technological research to be done and tested

8. *Balancing Feedback Loops – The strength of the feedbacks relative to he impacts they are trying to correct*
- – Balancing feedback loops to keep a stock within certain bounds, for example maintaining a certain temperature. This requires a) a goal, for example a specific temperature; b) a monitoring device to detect deviation, for example a thermostat; and c) a response mechanism, for example an air conditioner
- – Necessity of quick and accurate feedback and reaction, for example prices reflect the material and production cost of a product
- – Risk of twisting information, for example when product prices are subsidised or when real information kept from voters on purpose
- > Supporting balancing feedback can have a positive impact, for example introducing freedom of information acts in repressive governments or developing medicine to help prevent the spread of disease

7. *Reinforcing Feedback Loops – The strength of the gain of driving loops*
- – Increasing or decreasing a stock, for example rising birth rates, spreading of infectious diseases, or an increasing gap between poor and rich people through increased interest rates when rich people lend money to poor people
- > Generally speaking, slowing the multiplying character of reinforcing feedback loops usually has a strong leverage quality

6. *Information Flows – The structure of who does and does not have access to information*
- – Communication that includes important information, for example the price of a fish, might be communicated, whereas information about the existing stock of fish and why stocks are increasing or decreasing would be more important
- > Restoring information flows can be a powerful leverage point, because misin formation or hiding important information can be damaging for a system

5. *Rules – Incentives, punishments, constraints*
- – Defined boundaries, scope, and degree of freedom as characteristics of a system, for example a state's constitution
- > Changing rules can be of high leverage, because they affect the behaviour of a system's parts and processes

4. Self-Organisation – The power to add, change, or evolve system structure

- A system's ability to survive by changing itself through the availability of a wide variety of information to choose from, for example a biological system is stronger with a high level of biodiversity
- Risk in human cultures that one culture is considered higher and becomes the model for others to aspire to, causing diversity to decrease and fewer options for experimentation, innovation and changing conditions
- \> Leverage through experimentation and increased variety is neither easy nor popular because it causes a sense of losing control

3. Goals – The purpose or function of the system

- People working in a system are not always aware of its goal, for example employees may think the goal is to increase profits, whereas a company's actual goal is to gain power
- \> Changing the goal is very difficult, because changing parts or actors of a system does not create significant change if they act towards the same old goal. If the actor at the top changes the goal, systems change can happen, but it is not given that this actor can have power over millions of other people

2. Paradigms – The mindset out of which the system, its goals, structure, rules, delays, parameters, arises

- Shared agreements in a society about the nature of reality, for example people who are paid less are regarded as being worth less
- Agreed paradigms as the foundation of a constructed world, but those of one culture can overshadow or suppress those of other cultures
- Changing a paradigm in the mind of one person is easier (it requires an eye-opening experience) than changing the paradigm of a whole society
- \> Leverage at this level would mean creating change by pointing at the failures of the old or current paradigm. It would mean articulating the new paradigm loudly and convincing people who have public visibility and power

1. Transcending Paradigms

- Neutral position towards paradigms without judging one or the other as true or false, as there is no certainty in any worldview
- Accepting one's own worldview as limited in light of a much more diverse universe
- \> Highest order for identifying leverage points, as achieving a mindset of being able to transcend paradigms enables radical empowerment; accepting no paradigm as universally right allows to focus on purpose and identify choices.

Meadows' approach to systems suggests that sustainable change requires leverage activities at different dimensions. The ones low on her list (self-organisation, goals, paradigms and transcending paradigms), she considers the most powerful ones, but

also the ones most difficult to achieve. Other scholars and practitioners of sustainable change include Danny Burns and Stuart Worsley, who are concerned with development aid as complex system, and Frank W. Geels, who has developed a multi-perspective framework of sustainable systems change.

Acknowledging development aid as complex systems, Burns and Worsley outline emergence, attractors and sensitivity to starting conditions as potential starting points for generating change in the aid system (Burns and Worsley, 2015, p. 27):

Emergence happens when the macro-level of a system changes due to changes on micro-levels. When parts of a system change, the overall system changes. Even contradictory trends can emerge in parallel, for example dependency culture. Some people rely on external support and cannot work without it, which reinforces dependency. But under the same conditions there might be people who build resources from initial support and become independent entrepreneurs, thus avoiding dependency (Burns and Worsley, 2015, pp. 30–31).

Attractors are solidified concepts, narratives or attitudes, including for example culture-specific myths, which are invisible and incomprehensible to outsiders. People, relationships and activities accumulate around attractors, which can be visualised as dips into which a ball falls. In order to achieve change in a system, attractors that dominate the current system need to weaken and an alternative attractor needs to become recognisable and attractive in form of another dip. If one imagines a ball being pushed uphill of the dip, an attractor gets weaker. When the ball reaches the height from which it will fall into an alternative dip, that means change in a system will take place. Reaching this height means reaching the tipping point. Changing mental models in a system is at the core of this theory. Reaching a tipping point means that an alternative mental model has attracted a critical mass. According to Burns and Worsley, this kind of systems change is best triggered through identifying where attractors have already started or seem probable to change. Strengthening them offers feasible opportunities for change (Burns and Worsley, 2015, pp. 30–31).

Sensitivity to starting conditions means that even the smallest change can be the beginning of a major systems change. An absurd example illustrated by Burns and Worsley is the butterfly flapping its wings in Sao Paulo, which might change air pressure and cause a hurricane over Miami. This theory shows the importance of paying attention to microscopic interrelations and the fact that microscopic diversity is important for generating transformative change. Elements of equal character do not need to change their behaviour with one another, but such a situation is rare. Diverse characters continuously need to adjust their interaction in order to handle differences, through which new systems dynamics emerge. It is important to remain aware of potential amplifications; for example, climate change might cause people to move to cities because the rising temperatures affect their crops to the point where they can no longer support themselves through agriculture (Burns and Worsley, 2015, pp. 30–31).

Burns and Worsley's systems-change theories highlight the importance of looking for contextual and localised opportunities for generating sustainable systems change:

> Sustainable change does not then come from the transfer of something that is working in one place to another place; rather it lies in the amplification of micro-level interactions. To nurture these we need a) to ensure that there is a diversity at the local level and that an inquiry encompasses the diversity that exists within the system and b) our focus needs to be on the most local level of interactions.
>
> (Burns and Worsley, 2015, p. 30)

Frank W. Geels approaches sustainable systems change by suggesting the need to address a) the interactions between the fields of technology policy / power / politics, economics / business / markets, and culture / discourse / public opinion; and b) structural change through supporting desired change dynamics between different parts of a system. These dynamics are often difficult to change because they manifest through what he calls 'lock-in mechanisms such as scale economies, sunk investments in machines, infrastructures and competencies' (Geels, 2011, p. 25).

Geels introduces the multi-level perspective (MLP), and suggests that sustainable change takes place through the interplay of three macro- and micro-levels:

1. Socio-technical regimes are the mediums as well as the outcomes that shape the mind-sets of actors and rules for activities. Examples are 'cognitive routines and shared beliefs, capabilities and competences, lifestyles and user practices, favourable institutional arrangements and regulations, and legally binding contracts' (Geels, 2011, p. 27). Generally speaking socio-technical regimes are of manifested character. They include technological, political, cultural, scientific and economic dimensions, each of which forms its own sub-systems. Innovation is difficult and occurs through small adjustments. Conflicts can arise between changes in sub-systems and the system as a whole, or they can support each other and lead to greater change.

2. Niches are small alternative approaches to the dominant approaches of a socio-technical regime. They can be spin-offs or start-ups who introduce on radical innovations, hoping that they find a foothold in the socio-technical regime, leading to greater change. It is difficult for such a dynamic to take place because niche approaches might even be contradicting the regime which experiences much more structural support. Niches apply three strategies, namely: articulating expectations and visions; building networks of actors to expand the resource base; and learning processes in different fields, such as technical design, market demands, business models, infrastructure or organisations. Niches strive for a broader acceptance. When niche ideas get more precise they can gain enough momentum to actually achieve change.

3. Socio-technical landscapes are the wider backdrop of the regime and the niche. They include demographic trends, political ideologies, societal values and macro-economic patterns; they form an external context that cannot be influenced by niches and regimes in a short period of time.

Sustainable change takes place through mutual impact between regimes, landscapes and niches (Geels, 2011, p. 25–29). The MLP approach faced several critiques.[13] Rebutting a critique that alleged a bottom-up bias, Geels argues that sustainable change is not one-directional but requires both bottom-up and top-down dynamics. When landscapes, regimes and niches inspire and inform one another across disciplines and sectors, sustainable change can be achieved. This creates a more supportive environment for the desired systems change. He describes four ways of systems change dynamics in socio-technical systems. These four pathways differ in how the regime and the niches react:

Transformation: Actors from powerful socio-technical landscapes pressure the socio-technical regime to alter its activities. Niche ideas are weakly developed and usually only affect a regime in a watered-down form.

Reconfiguration: Niches are more strongly developed and sometimes symbiotic with the socio-technical regime, whose structure changes eventually. Together they have a stronger position towards the socio-technical landscape.

Technological substitution: Multiple niches simultaneously develop strongly. When the socio-technical regime experiences pressure from the socio-technical landscape the niches have the opportunity to gain more influence and replace the regime. Alternatively, niches can gain so much momentum that they replace the regime even without landscape pressure.

De-alignment and re-alignment: Strong pressure from socio-technical landscapes causes some socio-technical regimes to disintegrate. Then different niches emerge and co-exist for a period of time, which causes uncertainty about which one will get a stronghold and form a new regime (Geels, 2011, p. 32).

These theories of systems change by Meadows, Burns and Worsley, and Geels have several aspects in common. For one they do not suggest that sustainable change takes place either top-down or bottom-up but that it emerges through mutual influence between stakeholders of different levels and components of the system. Secondly, sustainable change takes place over long time periods, and therefore the changes cannot be observed immediately after leveraging activity. Thirdly, mind-sets that fuel a system's current behaviour, for example political and economic paradigms or unquestioned lifestyle ideologies, must be critically reviewed and assessed when aiming to generate change. Often these mind-sets are the reason for systems operating in an undesirable way. Changing mind-sets is, fourthly, not

[13] The critiques included: lack of agency; operationalisation of regimes; epistemology and explanatory style; methodology; socio-technical landscape as residual category; and flat ontologies versus hierarchical levels (Geels, 2011, p. 24). For the purpose of t his research it is not necessary to debate them all in detail.

easy and takes a long time. It requires detecting small starting-points where stakeholders in small groups try out alternative approaches. Fifthly, those approaches must be communicated so that they can gain a foothold among more people. Lastly, processes that support sustainable systems change are more successful when they include stakeholders of diverse backgrounds and with diverse positions and ideas — in other words, when they embrace differences.

3.3.4. Relating systems thinking and design in development contexts

The fields of design and systems thinking are not strangers to each other and their relationship is widely acknowledged, explored and debated in design literature (for example Glanville, 2009; Jones, 2014a, b; Nelson & Stoltermann, 2012; Sevaldson, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017a–e, 2018). What makes the connection of design and systems thinking relevant for this research is that the application of systems thinking to design challenges acknowledges the complex character of design problems, which is also true for CFIPs in Pakistan.

Instead of searching for final design solutions, which would falsely pretend that problems faced by CFIPs are simple and ignore their wickedness, linking design and systems thinking provides another trajectory in which design becomes a generative activity towards systems change between multiple CFIP stakeholders.

Extending the boundaries of thought and action is a key characteristic of systems thinking. This means that systemic design exceeds narrow timeframes and short-termism. It also means that it considers larger scales than for example service or experience design, because design solutions of these fields are part of thinking in wider systems and subsystems (Jones, 2014a, p. 93). Systemic design acknowledges the complexity of relationships, as it often involves contradictory multi-stakeholder perspectives instead of focusing only on customers or users (Nelson & Stoltermann, 2012, p. 57).

Peter Jones argues that a system, like a social system, could be considered the object of design in a similar way as tangible objects. However, when the object of design is a social system, the design process moves out of the studio and into the realm of stakeholder interaction. Such a change in design requires a design process different from the known one, and involves social research, process evaluation, systems thinking, stakeholder engagement and design research (Jones, 2014b, pp. 2–3).

Jones provides a chronological overview of the different generations of design methods since the 1960s. This overview reveals a strong relationship to systems thinking, to more general conceptual orientations of different time periods and to key authors and trends that represented them (table 3.4). Design in the 1960s and 1970s was considered a planning discipline and focused on standardisation, guided by rational and pragmatic thought and associated with technical systems, or hard systems. From the 1980s, design shifted towards participation and multi-stakeholder perspectives. Guiding concepts included phenomenological schools of thought and acknowledging the experiences and perceptions of different people. Design in the 2000s increasingly

acknowledged the generative character of systems-oriented design processes, which do not focus on the end product but on open-ended processes towards the improvement of a situation (table 3.4; Jones, 2014a, pp. 98–99).

Table 3.4 shows a gradual shift that can be observed from hard systems (technical systems) to soft systems (human and social systems), from regulation and control to participation and generative change, highlighting the generative nature of systemic and participatory design approaches, as described by Dubberly and Sanders. Experimentation, iteration, collaboration and co-creation increasingly form part of systems approaches in design.

Generation	First 1960s	Second 1970s	Third 1980s	Fourth 2000s
Orientation	Rational	Pragmatic	Phenomenological	Generative
Methods	Movement from craft to standardised methods	Instrumentality Methods customised to context	Design research and stakeholder methods, Design cognition	Generative Empathic and transdisciplinary
Authors and trends	Simon, Fuller, Design Science Planning	Rittel, John C. Jones Wicked problems Evolution	Archer, Norman User-centred design Participatory design	Dubberly, Sanders Generative design Service design
Systems influences	Sciences Systems Engineering	Natural systems Hard systems	Systems dynamics Social systems Soft systems	Complexity

Table 3.4: Generations of systems thinking in design
(adapted from Peter H. Jones: 'Four Generations of Design Methods', 2014a, pp. 98–99)

It is interesting for this design research into CFIPs that the timeline in table 3.4. shows parallels with the dominant approaches in development aid outlined earlier in this chapter. While from the 1950s to the 1970s it was believed that pressing problems such as poverty and hunger could be overcome within a few years through the transfer of knowledge and technology, in the 1970s and 1980s participatory methods were introduced, and the 1980s and 1990s saw the privatisation of services and infrastructure. In all three fields — design, systems thinking and development — one phase did not replace the next, but transitions were fluid, blending conceptual and practical approaches and generating new ones. Therefore, in the 2000s, Jones' design and systems timeline considers the fourth phase as generative and inclusive of the three previous ones (Jones, 2014a, pp. 98–99).

Similar to this fourth generation, in my opinion, the MDGs and SDGs can be viewed as an integration of previous objectives, implementation strategies and experiences of the previous development decades, which is a point of critique for some critics.

For example, Arturo Escobar argues that the SDGs do not generate a paradigm shift because the same Western-dominated international aid organisations plan, implement and assess SDGs top-down through the dispersion of grant schemes. In my view some of the goals appear to serve as compensation for underlying unequal power relations, for example those addressing 'inequality within and between countries' (Goal 10), 'decent work and economic growth' (Goal 8), and 'partnerships for the goals' (Goal 17). Seeing the additional parallel of development to the timelines of systems thinking and design I amended table 3.4 to add a horizontal row for generations of development aid concepts; this amendment became table 3.5.

Generation	First 1960s	Second 1970s	Third 1980s	Fourth 2000s	Fifth 2020s
Orientation	Rational	Pragmatic	Phenomenological	Generative	Pluriversal
Methods	Movement from craft to standardised methods	Instrumentality Methods customised to context	Design research and stakeholder methods, Design cognition	Generative Empathic and transdisciplinary	A void for new design inquiry and practice
Authors and trends	Simon, Fuller, Design Science Planning	Rittel, John C. Jones Wicked problems Evolution	Archer, Norman User-centred design Participatory design	Dubberly, Sanders Generative design Service design	Arturo Escobar
Systems influences	Sciences Systems Engineering	Natural systems Hard systems	Systems dynamics Social systems Soft systems	Complexity	Autonomy
Development aid	Technical Engineering	Partnership and participation	Privatisation	MDGs SDGs	Normative

Table 3.5: Generations of systems thinking in design with row 5 and column 5 complemented by the author (adapted from Peter H. Jones: 'Four Generations of Design Methods', 2014a, pp. 98–99),

Vertically too I see the possibility for adding a fifth generation when placing systems thinking and design next to a development context. The fourth generation acknowledges the complexity of systems but does not stress the power relations inherent to development contexts and hence to design activities in such contexts. In addition to the non-linearity and unpredictability of cause and effect that characterise complexity, the inherent unequal power relations in the MDGs and SDGs are a crucial additional factor that must be addressed when designing in development contexts and applying systems thinking.

The empirical research in chapter 4 and the systems analysis and synthesis in chapter 5 revealed that unequally distributed levels of consciousness, voice and decision-making in the craft for empowerment system were significant challenges for CFIPs. Those are not unique to this research on CFIPs but concern many design

projects in development contexts. My observation is that questions of power inequality are increasingly gaining awareness among designers, and other stakeholders, including development experts.

The already mentioned Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar, whose work focuses on analysing the relationship between design and development through a lens derived from the dependency theory. In his book *Designs for the Pluriverse* he argues:

> The entire project of development, in which the industrialized countries were to aid poor countries to adopt strategies for 'modernization' and, eventually, join the ranks of the First World, was an immense design project. For seven decades, development discourses and strategies have kept in place the idea that much of Africa, Asia, and Latin America is underdeveloped and that it is the duty of well-intentioned governments and institutions to help them develop and modernize. That this dream turned into a nightmare for many has been sufficiently shown.
>
> (Escobar, 2017, p. 59)

The book hit a nerve with many who design in the Global South, often in development aid settings, and feel irritated and unseen when presented with already planned design strategies by designers from Europe and North America. Without being categorically against everything brought from the West, they see shortcomings on many levels and have started to articulate them. Escobar differentiates three dynamics of cultural dominance from a systems perspective and argues strongly for the third one:

1. Ontonomy, when cultures are closed, norms and practices are established from tradition only, from within, and do not accept any external influences

2. Heteronomy, when norms are established through external expert knowledge and institutions, and through political negotiation

3. Autonomy, when conditions exist within a culture that allows for assessing and redefining norms, including changing some, maintaining some and inventing new ones as needed (Escobar, 2017, pp. 172–176)

Here I see the emergence of a fifth generation (table 3.5): global aid politics are still steered by normative ideologies and strategies that are defined by powerful countries of the Global North. In contrast the systemic influences on design are informed by striving for autonomy — besides cultural, economical, political autonomy, autonomy of implementing design in developing contexts. This aim for autonomy can be characterised by the ethical direction of pluriversal design: a system in which different realities exist simultaneously, are valued equally and exchange at eye level. The contradiction occurs when the main development paradigm remains normative to top-down strategies such as standardisation, replication and scaling-up, which represent the opposite of autonomy, not matter if their goals are genuinely positive.

Inevitably the striving for autonomy means that both those in weaker positions and those in stronger positions must generate a more equal co-existence together through active engagement with one another. This resonates with the centre–periphery model of development.

How to translate such concerns into new design practices is still a blank space, a void, in the methods row of the added fifth generation column (table 3.5). This is a conceptual space for the exploration of and experimentation with applied design methods that support autonomy in design projects concerned with development aid. In my view it would be constructive if such new methods of design are not isolated from international discourse and practice while first and foremost the focus is on the relevance and sensitivity to the contexts and societies in which they are applied. If such contextual relevance can be developed and established by designers, development aid practitioners and target groups of aid, such mehods can help to address the problem of the normative values and implementations strategies of development aid.

The momentum for this fifth generation can be recognised in small buds springing up in different parts of the world nowadays in the form of small experimental design projects exploring and developing new methods, and in the form of emerging debates about how to support more equality through design. Those emerging practices and debates generate a direction of design towards increased autonomy. Pluriversal in this regard has become a new orientation. Today it can almost be considered an umbrella term for design that strives for equality and embraces differences beyond the field of design in the Global South. It spans a wide spectrum of concerns such as political activism, diverse cultural knowledge systems, decolonial and anti-colonial debates, race, gender and queerness, disability and more.[14] Realising and formulating this void of the added fifth generation, where methods and strategies for supporting autonomy are lacking, was one important inspiration for conceiving the coalescence frame-wrok and the lab concept.

While such ontological debates are advancing, what in my view remains a void is how they inform design practice, and design cannot exist without practice. Practical examples are difficult to come by, but this opens up an interesting and exciting new space for inquiry and exploration.

An interesting design approach that possibly comes closest to working on filling the void identified in the fifth generation's methods row is the transition design framework, developed by design

[14] Indicators for how this newly introduced fifth generation of design and systems thinking towards autonomy is gaining momentum are the numerous design conferences and events that focus on equality and reduced power imbalances. A few recent ones include 'RSD9 – Systemic Design for Well-Being: From human to humane' by the Systemic Design Association and the National Institute of Design in Ahmedabad, India (https://rsdsymposium.org/rsd9-proceedings); or the Pivot conference 'Dismantling / Reassembling – Tools for Alternative Futures' by OCAD University in Toronto (https://pivot 2021conference.com).

educators at the Carnegie Mellon School of Design. This framework explicitly aims to give the design profession direction towards more equality and sustainability. It approaches complex environmental, political and societal challenges at a systems level, acknowledging that systems always change, and therefore are in transition, but with an understanding that for achieving a more sustainable and equitable future, transitions can be supported by ethical values guiding design. The transition design framework builds on a strong theoretical basis regarding future visions, systemic change, design practices and most importantly the required change of mindset regarding economics, collectiveness and respect for others (Irwin et al., 2015, pp. 5–7). Transition design aims to generate new paradigms across system scales, from global to local, acknowledging that existing paradigms do not allow for addressing underlying pressing, complex challenges (Irwin et al., 2015, p. 8). Transition design does not explicitly aim at development concerns in the Global South, but it is obvious that the transition design framework is applicable to such challenges. It is not surprising that Escobar cites transition design as a promising pathway to more pluriversal designs (2017, pp. 147–158).[15] The question that remains for me — hence my use of the term 'void' — is how such ontological approaches can be translated into design practice to fill this conceptual void between the aim for a more pluriversal and equal world while development aid still applies normative top-down implementation strategies.

Bringing together systems thinking and design with the added challenge of the development context led to the question of how designers should proceed. The identified void regarding the methods of the added fifth generation provides a space where design for the craft for empowerment system can be located. Autonomy here means identifying trajectories for CFIPs that are more contextually relevant and sensitive, and involves striving for more conceptual and financial autonomy from donors or convincing donors of better practice. But it also means aiming for the autonomy of craft producers within local initiatives through strengthening their voices and their ability to plan and participate in craft value chains.

3.3.5. Cybernetics and design

Design has long been associated with cybernetics. Cybernetics, generally speaking, is concerned with observing a system and steering its processes. MIT mathematician Norbert Wiener coined the phrase of 'control and communication in the animal and the machine' (Wiener,

[15] The other one he recognizes as an appropriate design framework is Ezio Manzini's framework of emerging design cultures (2015, pp. 40–51), which I will outline later in this chapter.

2019) with the result that cybernetics is often viewed as a technology and engineering science. But this is misleading. Cybernetics is applied in a wide range of disciplines, including the humanities, the natural sciences and the arts, often in interdisciplinary constellations. Wiener's later book *The Human Use of Human Beings*, published in 1950, suggests a, as Ranulph Glanville calls it, 'way of thinking and a way of being in the world' (Glanville, 2014, video, min. 6–6.51). The book is concerned with ethical aspects of communication between humans, between humans and machines, and of humans as part of society.

Second-order cybernetics is especially relevant for this research, with its focus less on control than on ethical ways of steering CFIPs. In first-order cybernetics, a system with its parts, interactions and processes is observed and described by an external observer who can regulate the system, and these approaches were often, though not always, of a technical nature, for example thermostat regulation (Glanville, 2003, pp. 3–4). In second-order cybernetics, the observer is no longer neutral and detached from the system but part of it, so the system is no longer an observed system but an observing system (Glanville, 2003, p. 3). With parts being observers, there is more than one observer. In other words, in a social system, actors (or participants) and observers are identical. This change of perspective has significant implications for ethical behaviour and how people take responsibility for their actions within social groups — considering the well-being of themselves as well as the whole group — an idea that can also be translated to stakeholders who work on craft projects in grassroots empowerment. In order to better grasp cybernetics, a brief overview of selected concepts follows.

Variety and Viable Systems Model

A system is always exposed to change and disturbance, and the more options it has to react, the better it will be able to adapt to those changes. The psychiatrist Ross Ashby coined the term 'requisite variety' for this theory (Ashby, 1957, p. 215). He notes that in order to control external disturbance, the number of variables has to be reduced or the internal regulation mechanism of the system has to increase its own variables in order to become stronger than the external threats; in management scientist's Stafford Beer's words, 'only variety can absorb variety'. Beer gives two examples. The first is an insurance company, which can never offer a product customised for each customer, which means that customers are reduced to limited variables and put into categories. The strategy works, but to some extent customers remain unsatisfied since they would ideally prefer to be served according to their exact individual characteristics. The second example is a department store that ideally would have as many salespeople as customers, a ratio of 1:1. Of course that is not possible, so the number of salespeople is reduced to a point where customers still feel comfortable with the service they receive (Beer, 1973, pp. 18–29). While the insurance company reduces the variables of the environment (the customer characteristics) the department store reduces its own variables (number of salespeople). Such decisions require at least some prediction, in order to define and set useful variables. Beer, referring to an example from daily life, says: 'In the process of putting the children to bed we need several variety amplifiers at

our command; but we also need to know (as we do, but let's make it explicit) the likely behaviour pattern of the children.' (1973, p. 30)

Requisite variety is relevant to CFIPs in more than one way. Vocational training must consider the variety of skills and abilities that producers require in order to satisfy customers. The pool of customers itself must be diverse; they must be looking for different quantities and qualities if CFIPs are to involve craft producers with different skills and skill levels. Besides achieving sufficient product variety, requisite variety may also apply to services and activities offered to address customers' needs and wishes, for example conducting workshops or consultancies for potential customers.

Central to Stafford Beer's work was the development of the 'viable systems model'. It is based on the idea that a system can survive if it is able to balance out changes in the environment so that it can continue to function and even develop its capacities further. The system not only becomes resilient to challenges from the environment but gradually also stronger and able to operate proactively in it.
Beer developed the viable systems model as a management strategy to distribute stewardship across five tiers of a system, for example in a company or even a state. The goal is to prevent authoritarian top-down management on the one hand, but also total chaos on the other. Beer conceptualised five tiers within such a system, comparing them to the human body:

1. ***The limbs and organs,*** which react quite immediately to circumstances in the environment
2. ***The spinal cord,*** which enables fast communication between limbs and organs so that they can coordinate their actions
3. ***The pons, medulla and cerebellum of the brain,*** which monitor the limbs and organs
4. ***The diencephalon, basal ganglia and the third ventricle in another part of the brain,*** which connect the three lower tiers with the fifth tier, the main management, determining which information needs to be sent upwards and which downwards to the system parts
5. ***The cerebral cortex as the main management level,*** which connects all information

The first three tiers should operate autonomously but inform the fourth and fifth tiers, the management level, through vertical feedback loops so that management can ensure the stability of the overall operations. This system's underlying goal is to democratise management structures (Medina, 2011, pp. 34–39).

The concepts of the viable systems model and requisite variety correspond insofar as they show that if many subparts of a system function well, the overall system can still operate if one of the parts weakens or fails. If the overall system is managed in a top-down manner, the risks are that a) the subparts do not take on responsibility and are less motivated to expand their capabilities, and b) that the whole system stops functioning if the top management faces problems.

Black boxes, trivial and non-trivial machines

In systems theory the black box is an imaginative device or mental construct that helps to understand change. It is not an actual physical object. Wherever a change of status before and after a transition is observed, a black box can be inserted, for example in nature, in a company or in a social setting. The input into the black box and output from it can be observed and described. The processes inside the black box are unknown. But in order to understand change processes and how they can be influenced, it is desirable to understand them as much as possible. Observing inputs and outputs is a way to predict what happens inside the black box. It allows purpose to be defined and gives an input that can be predicted to lead to the purpose (Achterbergh & Vriens, 2010, pp. 41–46). A system can have as many black boxes as there are changes taking place. The more black boxes in a system, the more complex it is. Sometimes it is easy to predict a black box's behaviour, but often it is not.

A related concept is Heinz von Foerster's trivial or non-trivial machine — again not a physical machine but an imaginative tool to perceive how a system operates. A trivial machine is predictable: it does not depend on its history, but input and output are always the same, for example when turning an electric switch on. An observer can determine and implement a desired output. In a non-trivial machine, individual histories of its parts play a significant role. We live mostly with and within non-trivial machines such as animals, humans, departments or organisations. Parts of those non-trivial machines, for example people, have a memory of their individual history. These personal experiences affect their actions. A non-trivial machine is unpredictable. Acknowledging this changes the role of the observer, who cannot predict or determine outcomes. The aim of achieving a particular purpose is based mainly on hypotheses about the system's parts and potential outcomes (Achterbergh & Vriens, 2010, pp. 80–85).

These concepts helped with picturing individual CFIPs or even the whole craft for empowerment system as a combination of black boxes and/or non-trivial machines. What input is necessary in order to achieve self-sustaining sustainable value chains? The empirical research showed that the common approaches of vocational training (input) often remain behind expectations in terms of sustainable results, the output of capacity-building, self-organisation and value chain establishment. The concept of the black box invites to conceptualise different activities, perhaps in a more experimental, open-ended and iterative way.

The black box or non-trivial machine assumes an external observer, whereas one approach to understanding the processes involved is to participate in them. This is where second-order cybernetics gains relevance.

Second-order cybernetics

In second-order cybernetics, the position and the perception of the observer change. They would now be considered a part of the system instead of only an external observer. In second-order cybernetics, everyone is both a part of the system and an

observer of the system; this confers a high level of responsibility on each person to reflect and ideally act for the betterment of the overall system instead of their own benefit. Ranulph Glanville describes anthropologists Margret Mead and Gregory Bateson, among others, as precursors of such a view. Mead's views stem from her experience of doing research as a participant observer. She suggests viewing societies as systems, in which participants adopt a reflexive practice of seeing, being and acting in an environment (Glanville, 2003, p.5). For Bateson, cybernetics is an epistemological framework, reaching across disciplines. To him access to information makes all the difference to a system's behaviour (Bateson, 1951). This points at the importance of distributed information for a system to progress. When the observer is a participant who provides and receives information. Expanding on Mead's and Bateson's epistemological views, Heinz von Foerster also sees the activity of living in a system as an epistemological act. Being in it means experiencing, observing and acting in it, and this is where ethical responsibility emerges, because the betterment of the whole system becomes important (Glanville, 2003, pp. 7–11). Another concept in second-order cybernetics is 'autopoiesis', which neuroscientist Humberto Maturana described, based on the observation that a system reproduces itself. While such a system might recognise external information, its organisation remains focused on its independence (Glanville, 2003, p. 13).

From a systems design perspective, second-order cybernetics is often used to describe the design process as a conversation between the different participants in a system, of which the designer is one. The conversation or interaction between participants generates change in this social system, because they always affect one another. The design process itself is therefore a participatory conversation among different people, rather than the designer observing from an external position and being in conversation with themself, for example through sketching new products (Glanville, 2003, p. 22; Dubberly & Pangaro, 2015, p. 4).

Conversation and learning are democratising and reflective processes. Fostering them becomes the design task. Questions regarding ethics and values emerge, because everyone who is part of the design process, the conversation, assumes responsibility for their own behaviour and its consequences for other participants. In that sense, the aim of second-order cybernetics is to support democratisation, transparent communication across hierarchies, and ideally the lowering of hierarchies.

Second-order cybernetics differs from first-order cybernetics in that it accepts and embraces the fact that some complex systems are not manageable: they cannot be controlled entirely, only influenced without knowing the exact outcome. Glanville sees this as the essentially interesting task:

> Normally, cybernetics is interested in systems which conform to its one universally accepted law, Ashby's law of requisite variety, thus being manageable. In contrast, I propose we should develop an interest in the unmanageable: a form of anti-cybernetics.
>
> (Glanville, 2009, p. 10)

And in von Foerster's words 'The hard sciences are successful because they deal with the soft problems; the soft sciences are struggling because they deal with the hard problems' (1972, p. 191).

After the empirical research revealed the eclectic and complex character of craft for empowerment in Pakistan, it became clear that no roadmap or guideline could solve the wicked challenges CFIPs are faced with.

However, applying the second-order cybernetics lens when aiming to democratise the craft for empowerment system has limits. Assuming that systems change will unfold in an ethical way presumes that there is a power balance in this conversation — here considered the collective design process — between all craft-for-empowerment stakeholders. This is not the case in development contexts. Craft producers in particular can be characterised as the subalterns of the system, lacking the platform and the voice to articulate their own position and ideas regarding CFIPs, and also lacking the exposure to potential markets where they could see what kind of products sell well and that would enable them to develop feasible ideas. Therefore a conversation in the second-order cybernetics manner would require other stakeholders to actively include producers. The power gap is already so extreme that the task of all stakeholders involves being mindful of their own power, ensure that the voice of the less powerful increases, and that everyone moves respectfully forward together.

So, what would be ethical and useful methods for triggering such a process? Here again the void of the fifth generation in table 3.5 lies bare. As a reminder: an orientation towards pluriversal design, as outlined by Arturo Escobar, is currently gaining momentum in the design field. This orientation is guided from a systems thinking perspective by the aim for autonomy for weaker parts of a system, which in the context of development aid can be considered poor countries that receive aid, and within development aid projects the aid recipients, such as in CFIPs the craft producers. But also local stakeholders such as NGO managers, academics or designers can be considered weaker parts in the craft for empowerment system in relation to international donor agencies and their imposed strategies in return for grants. These stakeholder relationships will be outlined in detail in chapter 5. The added development aid perspective still displays a normative approach, aiming to align local practices and conditions to international standards. In the case of CFIPs vocational trainings are expected to integrate craft producers into value chains within short time spans but the applied startegies have often proven unfeasible under local geographic and demographic conditions. Here design and system thinking have the potential to add value though suggesting more contextually relevant approaches, but the void remains when defining appropriate methods. This space must be filled in order to support CFIPs through democratisation and a fairer distribution of power, and this can only happen when stakeholders are less alienated from one another's realities than they are now, as chapter 4 and 5 will show. This is where the idea for the framework designing for coalescence and a collaborative format took shape.

3.4. Craft and Design in South Asia

Understanding different perspectives on crafts is important not only because this research is located in Pakistan's craft sector but also because crafts in South Asia play an important role in development aid and in design practice and education.

The following section briefly outlines different perspectives on crafts. It then looks at the historical and cultural meanings of craft in South Asia, and further discusses the role that craft-making plays in the South Asian approach to design.

3.4.1. Perspectives on Craft

The Oxford Dictionary defines the term 'craft' as 'an activity involving skill in making things by hand' (Oxford University Press, 2022d).

Niedderer and Townsend consider 'craft' a term that 'is nearly always defined by what it is not rather than by what it is' (2014, p. 626). Craft is commonly connected to art and design but remains difficult to distinguish clearly from both of them. It is usually perceived as inferior in status: inferior to art because of the lower economic value of its products and an assumed lack of intellectual and conceptual effort, and inferior to design because of lower standards in terms of technology, mass production, economic value and functionality (Niedderer & Townsend, 2014, p. 267).

Richard Sennett, however, positions craftspeople outside the realm of production of objects. He places a carpenter in the same category as lab technicians conducting research on animals or the conductor of an orchestra. The important aspect is that each of them is performing a task with dedication. Many professionals can fulfil necessary requirements of their jobs so that customers, researchers or concert audiences do not complain, but Sennett considers that only engagement beyond a measurable return is a characteristic of a craftsperson (2008, p. 20). The widespread perception that craft traditions are preserved through passing them on from generation to generation is in Sennett's view false. It ignores the fact that techniques have always adjusted to and made use of emerging opportunities; for example, pottery changed when the rotating stone disc was invented. Emergence of a new craft technique is similar to that of a new computer programme. Crafts, like Linux programming, are generative and open-ended and can be contrasted to closed knowledge systems, such as a bureaucracy that does not allow anything to be started before everything has been mapped out (p. 26).

3.4.2. Craft in South Asia

Craft-making is an important component of South Asian cultural identity and played a vital role in India's struggle for independence during the first decades of the 20th century. Ananda Coomaraswamy, a philosopher and art historian during the early twentieth century, saw the rural craftsman as a symbol for authentic and pure Indian life. He attributed spiritual characteristics to the craftsman, not in a religious sense but as a figure that represented 'ideals of eternal beauty and unchanging law' (Coomaraswamy,

1909, p. 75). Coomaraswamy viewed crafts and especially craftsmen as symbols of cultural stability (Mathur, 2007, p. 45). He described how the craftsman, despite being of lowest rank in society, was valued highly, because of his services to an agricultural village that could not exist without the contributions of carpenters, tailors, leather workers and others. The Indian society was based on personal relationships and duties, not on contracts and competition. Craftsmen were not paid only in money; indeed, money was the least important source of income for them. More importantly, they were paid in kind or through gifts of land. Wealth was measured by having enough food growing for the years ahead (Coomaraswamy, 1909, pp. 2–4).

Before the colonial period, the maharaja of a region would purchase large quantities of crafts from craftspeople of his kingdom, and the same craftspeople would also sell their wares in local markets. While not free of social hierarchy and inequality, this system offered basic economic security to all community members. When the British East India Company reached the subcontinent in the seventeenth century, it soon expanded its trading from spices to exquisite crafts such as fine silk and cotton. These handmade goods were exported to England, where they were industrially copied and their authentic appearance modified for English lifestyles. These industrially produced goods were exported back to India and sold for low prices. This practice not only weakened the economic situation of craftspeople but also fragmented the social structure of communities irreversibly, because craftspeople, now without sufficient commissions, moved away from their communities and families to work in factories in large cities and sent money home (Imhalsy, 2002, n.p.; Kulick, 2013, p. 298).

During the colonial period, England organized large fairs, for example the Great Exhibition in Crystal Palace in 1851, where exquisitely made crafts from the colonies were displayed. But the Crystal Palace exhibition also served the purpose of showing England's technological superiority. The large building, made of glass and steel, demonstrated the most innovative construction possibilities of the time, while handmade exhibits from the colonies displayed inside were used to represent technological backwardness (Balaram, 2011, p. 44). For the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, native craftspeople were brought from the colonies and displayed (Mathur, 2007, pp. 56–79). They were objectified and presented, displaying British ownership over territories, people and cultural artefacts. The Indian craftsmen were viewed with a mix of fascination and condescension. Despite their exquisite craft skills, they represented pre-industrial backwardness (Mathur, 2007, p. 50).

During the nineteenth century four colonial art schools were founded, in Chennai, Calcutta, Mumbai and Lahore, where students were trained to replicate exquisite craft items for export, for the British living in India, and for the Indian middle class working for the British administration (Kantawala, 2012, pp. 211–216; Vyas, 2000, p. 32). This approach to art education received a lot of criticism and counter-movements formed, for example the Bengal School of Art and the Indian nationalist *Swadeshi* movement that promoted the use of traditionally produced, simple, authentic products like hand-spun and hand-woven fabrics, *khadi*. Mahatma Gandhi adopted *Swadeshi* because it

resonated with his non-violence and non-cooperation movement, boycotting imported goods and instead promoting the use of homemade products (Mathur, 2007, pp. 22 and 43–44). *Swadeshi* means self-reliance, and extended into the political movement *Swaraj*, which means self-rule, or, in the context of the independence process in India, self-reform (Veeravalli, 2011, pp. 67–68). Both played vital roles in achieving independence in 1947. This example shows how closely product culture, consumption, craft and politics were intertwined in India. Who cannot picture Gandhi in his white *dhoti* (loincloth) made from *khadi* (handspun and handwoven fabric) behind a *charkha* (spinning wheel)? Gandhi himself, *khadi*, and the *charkha* remain national symbols of freedom and non-violence in India. Artisan organisations today promote the positive values of crafts as ethical modes of production and merchandising. But they also aim to improve the often ignored negative sides of craft-making, such as health concerns about the use of chemicals or unhealthy physical posture, especially in metal crafts, pottery or block-printing (All India Artisans and Craftworkers Welfare Association, 2010, 2013).

In Pakistan, craft traditions are equally rich and similar in character to India, but theses traditions do not receive the same widespread support. My interpretation is that *Swadeshi* and Gandhi's *khadi* campaign are viewed as symbols that India uses for communicating its national identity, symbols that are perceived in Pakistan as carrying a whiff of nationalism and separation. In perpetual political conflict with India, Pakistan seems to be hesitant to use craft traditions for the communication of its national identity. Nonetheless, especially among educated and culturally interested people in Pakistan, acknowledgement of and pride in craft traditions are widespread. As a result many attempts are being made to revive and promote local crafts and utilise them for contemporary product designs. This is in fact one of the common points of departure for initiating a CFIP.

3.4.3. The relationship of craft and design in South Asia

Unlike in the West, design in South Asia is not predominantly associated with industrialisation. Instead a more anthropological view is taken of design. This view considers primeval human activities, such as the ability to make fire or develop tools, shelters and communication strategies, as early forms of design. This primeval ability to modify the natural environment in order to survive is considered similar to the skills modern designers require to develop innovations (Ranjan, 2009, pp. 4–5; Vyas, 2006, p. 29).

Another important aspect for understanding the relationship of craft and design from a South Asian perspective is a centuries-old concept of making called *kala*. It unifies the fields of art, craft and design, and it integrates technology, science and artistic practices. Recognising, reflecting and making are considered continuous iterative processes. Initially *kala* was used for both fine arts and applied arts without differentiating them; for example, the same craftsmen decorated temples and produced everyday objects like wooden spoons. Decoration and function were not separate issues; the understanding of mechanical function extended into spiritual and atmospheric

experiences that foster wellbeing. Later *kala* gradually separated into *charukala* and *karukala*, a division similar to that between fine arts and applied arts (Vyas, 2000, pp. 36–38; Balaram, 2011, p. 44). This might have come about in part because of the British art schools that followed the South Kensington curriculum[16] (Kantawala, 2010, pp. 210–213). The reflective practice of perceiving and making inherent to *kala* was also disrupted when craftsmen began to work in factories (Imhalsy, 2009, n.p.).

Today in South Asia art and design are seen as different subjects, just like in most parts of the world. However, *kala's* integrative spirit can still be recognised in how design is viewed, practised and taught. Integrating research and practice of traditional craft techniques and how these techniques can be translated into contemporary design remains part of design curricula across South Asia (CEPT University, 2013; Das, 2013, pp. 169–171; Kulick, 2017, pp. 63–66; Rutschmann, 2017, pp. 85–90). Design programmes involve design for large-scale industry and for craft-driven cottage industry; the two are not considered mutually exclusive.

Despite this research focusing on Pakistan, it makes sense to review the role of craft in design education in India after independence, firstly because cultures in both countries are very similar. Faculty members from both the National Institute of Design (NID) in Ahmedabad, India and the National College of Art in Lahore consulted with teachers from the Indus Valley School of Art and Architecture in Karachi when it was founded in the early 1990s (Bilgrami, 2003, n.p.).

When India became independent in 1947, only a short time after World War II ended, the Cold War loomed, and India remained non-aligned. As part of its attempt to find a third way between capitalism and communism, the government's five-year plan included extensive support for the craft sector. India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, embraced industrialisation as one way to eliminate poverty, involving both large-scale industry and cottage industries (Chatterjee, 2019, p. 205; Sethi, 2019, pp. 103–114). Embedded in this modernisation programme was the founding of the NID in Ahmedabad in 1961, and Nehru took special interest in it, because it would train designers who could design for the needs of the people. The Sarabhai family, among India's most influential industrialists, pushed for the establishment of the NID. Mobilising their international network, Ahmedabad, alongside Chandigarh, became one of the hubs of international modernism in India,[17] reflecting the mood after independence. The American designer couple Charles and Ray Eames were invited to travel through India and suggest a design curriculum based on their

[16] The South Kensington curriculum involved perfectionising skills to draw ornaments and produce objects for the British market.

[17] The Swiss architect Le Corbusier designed the public administration buildings in Chandigarh; after partition the Indian side of the Punjab province required a new capital because the previous one, Lahore, was now in Pakistan. In Ahmedabad internationally acclaimed architects such as Le Corbusier, Louis Kahn, Charles Correa and Balkrishna Doshi designed a number of public and private buildings, for example the Indian Institute of management (Kahn); CEPT University (Doshi); and the museum at Gandhi's Sabarmati Ashram (Correa). Le Corbusier designed the Mill Owners Association Building, the city museum called Sanskar Kendra and the private residence of the Sarabhai family (Fanelsa et al, 2015).

observations. In a document entitled *The India Report* (1958, pp. 8–9) they took the example of the *lota*, a multi-purpose archetypical vessel, and listed the many disciplines involved in the process of designing it. They shifted the design perspective from engineering, as the government had expected, to one that integrated engineering with cultural history, science and traditional techniques.

The NID became a hub for international design exchange. Students were sent abroad and international lecturers invited, including from the Royal College of Art in London and the HfG Ulm. International designers consulted, taught and conducted workshops and still do today.

Design discourses in Pakistan relate not only to the region but also to global debates. While the German HfG Ulm (Ulm School of Design), is little known in Pakistan, it plays a role because it impacted design curricula globally and had a close relationship with the NID. Important is that the HfG Ulm (1953–1968) pioneered a curriculum that aimed to foster critical thinking in order to make students aware of the social effects of products, communication systems and spaces. The curriculum design was rooted in the HfG Ulm founders' personal experiences of the horrors of the fascist period in Germany.[18] In order to shape a society that was less receptive to ideological brainwashing than during this fascist period and the time leading towards it, subjects such as economics, philosophy, psychology, sociology, politics and systems thinking were part of the design curriculum in Ulm to encourage critical thinking among students and faculty (for example: Spitz, 1997, pp. 30–32; Lindinger, 1991, pp. 9–12).

The NID and the HfG Ulm both viewed design education as closely entangled with political and societal concerns in their respective local contexts, while keeping global developments and perspectives in mind. Their engagement with crafts in design education represented different positions, each typical of their national and regional design concerns at the time. India, after gaining independence, referred strongly to its craft traditions and the cottage industry, which had become a symbol of that independence and a significant part of India's national identity. At the NID, founded in those early years after independence, craft played a vital role in design education. Students documented craft traditions and learned those techniques — something that is part of the NID curriculum until today. In Germany during the fascist Nazi period, folk art and crafts had been utilised to propagate German identity and nationalism. In response, the HfG Ulm did not see promoting crafts as a priority in design education. Historically in Germany design was also associated more with industrial production and less with craft making since the time

[18] Graphic designer Otl Aicher and his wife Inge Aicher Scholl experienced the horrors of the fascist regime in Germany first hand when Inge's siblings Hans and Sophie, who had been members of a student resistance group, were arrested and executed.

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of the Werkbund around the early 1900s and the Bauhaus in the 1920s, where the relationship between industrial and handmade production modes had been debated and negotiated. During academic exchanges between the NID and the HfG Ulm in the 1960s, the different attitudes to crafts irritated faculty members in the two institutions (Kulick, 2017, p. 30; Spitz, 1997, p. 146).

While the HfG Ulm closed in 1968, its ideas spread across continents where faculty members and graduates continued to educate designers (for example, Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, 2017; Brandes, 2008, pp. 417–418). The NID developed into an institution that continues to drive design discourses and practices that focus on integrating local needs and expertise with global concerns.

In Pakistan, in the early decades after independence, design education did not experience the same momentum and official support as in India, where the NID was founded. The Mayo School of Art was founded in Lahore in 1875 as one of the four colonial art schools in India. After independence it was transformed into the National College of Arts between 1956 and 1958, and is since then one of Pakistan's leading institutions for the arts. Since the 1950s, NCA students and faculty have documented and compiled the crafts of different regions, such as Swat and Cholistan. Some of these documentations are stored in the Lok Virsa Museum, established in Islamabad in the 1970s, and serving as Pakistan's archive and research institution for folk art. Since the 1960s, faculty from the NCA have applyied craft techniques to contemporary interiors (App 1A-1).

Besides the NCA and the Indus Valley School of Art and Architecture, in 2003 Beaconhouse National University (BNU) was founded in Lahore, and its School of Visual Arts and Design (SVAD) includes programmes in fine art, visual communication, textiles, jewellery, accessory and fashion design. The negotiation between traditional and contemporary modes of making shaped the curriculum of SVAD, and some of the empirical research activities of this research project took place at BNU and in collaboration with faculty members and students while I taught there.

Despite crafts not experiencing the same public support as in India, in most of Pakistan's design programmes, the engagement with traditional techniques of arts and crafts plays a vital role. Especially in the fields of textiles, fashion design and jewellery design, students develop products that integrate traditional techniques, often in direct collaboration with craftspeople. Further, students are concerned with promoting the country's cultural heritage also through adopting vernacular visual language in other subjects such as visual communication design. It is also considered important to engage students in questions of cultural identity, as there is a widespread sense of loosing ones own culture and identity due to dominating Western influences and globalisation. In my observation such concerns are given a bigger space in design curricula in Pakistan and in other postcolonial countries than in Western countries. Especially Germany has a conflicted relationship with expressing national identity through folk art due to its misuse as propanganda during the fascist period in its history.

In Pakistan's design programmes, craft engagement fulfils objectives such as familiarising students with cultural heritage and also with aspects of social responsibility,

because craft projects are often part of social innovation projects aiming to increase income opportunity for craft producers. Craft producers usually live in less privileged circumstances than design students, in poor urban neighbourhoods or remote rural areas. Engaging with craftspeople involves visiting these communities, which for many design students is a culture shock. Facilitating these outreach projects is not an easy task for faculty members or project partners from NGOs because it involves coordinating people with very different educational, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. It means considering and dealing with demographic gaps, usually characterised by extremely different living conditions and perspectives regarding many aspects of life, and inherent power inequalities.

As such engaging with craft in design programmes in Pakistan offers a broader spectrum of learning beyond formal or technical aspects or the understanding the historical meaning of motifs but extends into complex social, economical and educational questions. Expanding into those fields is important because some design students choose to continue to engage with crafts people in their professional careers.

However design faculty members as well as professional designers are often not trained in social work and unfamiliar with sociological theories and development aid practices. The engagement with those fields often begins as a learning-by-doing experience once they engage in craft projects, whether in their own practice or when facilitating outreach projects at universities. With craft projects being of such interdisciplinary character, spanning the humanities, technological sciences and the arts it is impossible for designers and design teachers to become experts in all those fields.

Therefore fostering collaboration between different disciplines and different sectors, such as the NGO sector, civil society, the industry and academics is one promising way to integrate the different expertise needed. The following sections, on design and crafts in contexts of development, and on design's role in social innovation clearly highlight the importance of collaboration. While in the Western world this is a relatively recent discourse of the past around twenty years, early vanguard projects from the 1970s from the Global South integrate stakeholders from the economy, management, technology and design are also outlined in the next sections.

3.5. Design for Development

Since the 1960s, design historians and researchers have extensively discussed how design became an important profession for national and international development aid agendas (Balaram, 2009, pp. 54–62; Clarke, 2016, pp. 43–57; Er, 1997, pp. 293–307; Fathers, 2012, pp. 56–175; Margolin, 2007, pp. 111–115; Saad, 2009, pp. 187–191; Saad, 2013, pp. 62–76). The International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (ICSID)[19] formed a working group to discuss the role of design in development (Margolin, 2007, p. 112).[20] The conference 'Design for Need' took place at the Royal College of Art in London

in 1976 and provided a platform for discussing the potential of design in development. Victor Papanek, author of 'Design for the Real World', suggested designing low-tech products for marginalised communities, an approach that became known as 'appropriate technology' (Margolin, 2007, p. 112; Oosterlaken, 2012, p. 29). Gui Bonsiepe, a designer in Argentina at the time, discussed the role of industrial design in contributing to local needs rather than the consumerist aspirations of developed countries or small groups of wealthy people in developing countries. Instead he suggested that industrial design should contribute to the development of facilities that support the wellbeing of the larger part of the population, for example solar energy devices or agricultural equipment. He argued against a patronising perspective of design <u>for</u> dependent countries,[21] and suggested seeing it as design <u>in</u> or <u>by</u> dependent countries, using locally sourced materials and developed technology in order to become less dependent on other countries' economies, while not neglecting external input where it could activate local capacity. Besides designing objects, designers should also engage in training people to produce things they can use, or through evaluating on policy levels whether technological patents are useful. He suggested that designers could link different sectors, such as local communities, the government and the economy, focusing on people's needs and viewing their environments as systems (Bonsiepe, 1977, pp. 17–18).

The NID, with its origins in a national development agenda, its dynamic international network, and its dedication to integrating local cultures of making with the latest technology, unsurprisingly played a vital role in bringing debates on design and development to the forefront. In 1979, under the directorship of Ashoke Chatterjee, the NID partnered with the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation and the The International Council of Societies of Industrial Design to organise a conference, Design for Development, which was hosted by the NID in Ahmedabad and the International Design Centre in Mumbai (Balaram, 2009, p. 58; Das, 2013, pp. 151–158). Designers from 25 countries participated, and the majority were from India, with others from countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia (Clarke, 2015, pp. 47–50). One important outcome of the conference was the Ahmedabad Declaration, in which the participants suggested the establishment of a design ecosystem that would include:

1. Design institutions, centres and associations of professional designers to spread methodologies, awareness and consciousness
2. National design awards, exhibitions, documentation and publication programmes to communicate design
3. Links with private and public industry, large- and small-scale
4. Government support through financial and other support of designers to act as trainers and catalysts

[19] ICSID, founded in 1957, has operated as the World Design Organization since 2017 (WDO, 2020).

[20] An extensive collection of ICSID documents and correspondence of this time period is accessible in the Design Archives at the University of Brighton (Design Archives, n.d.).

[21] He himself uses the term 'dependent countries', which resonates with the dependency theory of international development aid explained earlier in this chapter.

The Ahmedabad Declaration clearly puts design on the international and national development aid agenda. It recommends active cooperation between developed and developing countries and among developing countries. It encourages organisations in the field of design, such as ICSID, and in the field of development, such as UNIDO, UNESCO and others, to provide support. It recommends acknowledging traditional knowledge as well as utilising the latest science and technology when addressing contemporary needs. Most importantly, design is defined as a value system that informs design practice:

> Designers in every part of the world must work to evolve a new value system which dissolves the disastrous divisions between the worlds of waste and want, preserves the identity of peoples and attends the priority areas of need for the vast majority of mankind.
> (National Institute of Design, 1979, pp. 1–2)

These are timeless values. Ashoke Chatterjee highlighted their topicality, especially in the light of the SDGs:

> The Ahmedabad Declaration was a declaration of a value system. And design as a value system. Not as technology and skills, but as a value system that uses technology and skills for human betterment. That was the kind of message. Along with the declaration was a set of recommendations. That what do governments, industries, educational institutions in the so-called developing world, what do they need to do in order to foster the profession of design? Now, 40 to 50 years later, we look back at that. The Ahmedabad Declaration is absolutely up to date, because you can link the Ahmedabad Declaration to the Sustainable Development Goals. Because the first ethic of the Ahmedabad Declaration is for designers to declare war on waste. And also for designers to indicate that identity is important. Design is not mimicry. Design is choosing things, which are relevant to your society, to your needs. What you see around India today is that design is understood as the shopping mall, and as the fashion industry. So we have come right back to what the Ahmedabad Declaration was warning us not to do.
> (Ashoke Chatterjee, 2017, min. 12:41-14:37 (App 1A-2)[22]

One remarkable aspect of the conference is that designers from developing countries initiated it and steered the discourse. This was very different from the common practice of the global aid sector, in which experts from developed countries define values and implementation strategies. In the design field there was a different tendency. Design professionals from Asia, Latin America and Africa led debates on design for development during the 1960s and 1970s. These professionals belonged to the cultural

[22] Interview conducted during the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation's summer lab 2017, *Between Chairs*, which examined the relationship between the HfG Ulm and the NID.

contexts and societies that were targeted by the aid agenda. They had intimate cultural and practical knowledge of demographics, cultural sensibilities, policies and rules, and were aware of the possibilities and limitations of design strategies. Their experiences of daily life, societal changes and design practice were authentic. While they did receive funding from the UN, for example, they took the lead in initiating and shaping discourse, practice and exchange with colleagues from around the world, instead of being recruited as local experts into projects that were already defined by Western experts, which remains the typical situation in international aid (Balaram, 2009, pp. 55–60; Clarke, 2015, pp. 47–50; Kulick, 2017, pp. 25–27).

3.5.1. Early design for development from the 1970s

Approaches of design for development in the Global South and the underlying debates in the 1970s covered a wide thematic and methodological spectrum. Concerns included poverty alleviation, social security, communication technology, appropriate technology and more. Some of these early design projects that addressed these concerns of development in countries of the Global South can be considered vanguards for the field of design for development. In fact design approaches in all parts of the world that aim to address economic, societal, ecological and political concerns today can learn from the decades long experiences of design for development projects in the Global South that were initiated since the 1970s. They remain models for holistic and interdisciplinary approaches and are by no means outdated, and therefore I want to summarise two of them here.

Cybersyn was a project in Chile in 1972 and 1973 during the presidency of Salvador Allende and his socialist government. Cybersyn combined computer programming with new management strategies from the field of cybernetics to establish a real-time control system for the Chilean economy. The intention was that data from production facilities across the country would be sent to each another and to a central management location in the capital, Santiago, so that the government could make informed and speedy decisions. (Medina, 2011, p. x)

The Cybersyn project integrated economics, management and interface design. Stafford Beer, the British management theorist and cybernetician, was asked by the Chilean socialist government under president Salvador Allende to develop a system to manage the national economy. Cybersyn was based on two cybernetic concepts: requisite variety, by W. Ross Ashby, and the viable systems model by Stafford Beer, both outlined earlier in this chapter. The government believed that being aware of information as immediately as possible provided the best opportunity to make decisions that were beneficial for the country's economy. One of the goals was to stabilise the economy through democratising flows of information. Feedback loops between different stakeholders across the country, for example production facilities, would enable them to make decisions and take responsibility for their production facilities, and would provide the government with information that would shape federal decisions. Cybersyn

was meant to balance responsibilities between a centralised management, which was common at the time, and de-centralised or distributed management, which would be a newer form of participation in a more democratically managed economy, a visionary concept at the time. This vision remained unrealised at the time due to technological restrictions, but from a political and economic point of view it had radical repercussions, because it challenged the dominant growth-oriented values of state economies and aimed to dissolve the polarity between centralised and de-centralised management (Bonsiepe, 2009, pp. 38–43; Medina, 2011, p. 70). Supporting the country's economy in becoming less dependent on global aid and exploitative trade dynamics, through enabling factory owners and managers to make informed decisions, also resonates with the centre–periphery model of development, Escobar's theory of autonomy in power relationships and Maturana's concept of autopoiesis.

Project Cybersyn consisted of the four parts: Cybernet, a network connecting the factories through 500 existing telegram computers; Cyberstride, software programs to process production data; Checo, a simulator calculating the potential consequences of economic decisions; and the Opsroom, short for Operations Room. The latter was the main domain of the design team. It was the room in which government representatives would meet to receive incoming data from the production facilities and make decisions based on that information. The Opsroom featured a futuristic sci-fi aesthetic and was designed as an interface by applying technical and conceptual avantgarde design features. Gui Bonsiepe, one of the team's leading designers, detailed those in 2009, as did informatics researcher Eden Medina in 2011 (Bonsiepe, 2009, pp. 38–43; Medina, 2011, pp. 114–128). Features that contributed to making data accessible and hence would have contributed to more democratic processes included:

The room: Seven seats were arranged in a circle facing each other for a relaxed atmosphere with no priority position for any participant. Information displays on the walls would serve different functions in implementing Beer's management model, including an animation of the five-tier Viable Systems Model itself.

The seats: Each armchair was revolving and had a display with geometric-shaped buttons built into the armrest which participants could use to navigate the information display, obviating the need to get up and walk to a central keyboard. With everyone staying in their seats the conversation could become more relaxed and focused.

Data visualisation: Data was visualised in diagrams on five displays. In order to make data accessible as fast as possible, using the technology available at the time, received data was translated into diagrams by hand, then photographed and projected as slides onto the displays in the Opsroom the next day.

The absence of facilities: It was a part of the design concept to not include typical features of management centres of the time, for example shelves with folders and papers, in order to discourage overly bureaucratic processes, such as writing and filing reports.

The Opsroom was the centrepiece of the Cybersyn project, because it provided the interface to its strategic concept to make information fast and easy accessible. The Opsroom made data usable for Chilean industry stakeholders. Its democratic character

is reflected in design details, for example the geometric shapes of the display buttons and the meanings assigned to them, so that government officials and factory workers alike could participate in conversations about the data.

The overall implementation of the Cybersyn project did not happen, because Salvador Allende's government was overthrown by a military coup. The Opsroom, which had already been built, was destroyed by the new dictatorship (Bonsiepe, 2009, pp. 45¬–60; Medina, 2011, 114–128).

Jawaja was a collaboration lasting more than 40 years between the Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad (IIMA), the NID, and the government of the Indian state of Rajasthan. In the 1970s Ravi J Matthai, the director of the IIMA, asked himself how management knowledge could be applied beyond large-scale industry to meet the needs of the people in poor rural communities and how they could become self-reliant. He asked: 'Can people do something for themselves tomorrow that others are doing for them today and they should be released of that dependence?' (Jongeward, 2003, n.p.). Matthai invited the NID faculty, and its director at the time, Ashoke Chatterjee, to join him in a region called Jawaja, which was one of the poorest in rural Rajasthan. It consisted of about 200 villages and 80,000 people (IIMA Archives, 2020). One of the key objectives was to identify design opportunities that would enable the people in Jawaja to address the challenges in their communities, above all extreme poverty, without becoming dependent on the IIMA or the NID. It turned out that the people in Jawaja had skills in leather making and weaving, but not at a level that would allow for the production of high-quality goods that could be sold at a high-enough price. Therefore they collaborated with producers to improve technical skills and product designs. One of the objectives was to bypass middlemen, who usually pay very low prices for such products. Therefore the craftspeople were supported in selling their products directly to markets at decent prices, and the design innovations led to the creation of products that were not what customers in the middlemen's low-priced markets demanded. Instead the product designers focused on markets where people appreciated different types of products and were willing to pay appropriate prices. Designers had to work within certain limitations and respond to the people's skill levels instead of just sending them designs. Through such collaborative processes the weavers and leather makers of Jawaja developed ownership of their work (Jongeward, 2003, n.p.).

The Jawaja project was much more than a craft project, however. The main objective was to support people in gaining self-reliance and to address extreme poverty by using the skills and opportunities already present in the community as points of departure. Matthai and his colleagues and students made numerous unexpected observations, which they could not have made without their dedicated long-term engagement. They gradually understood the operational character of local institutions and services, for example moneylending and banking systems or schools, but also dependence on certain suppliers, to whom people in Jawaja were indebted. Over the years they formulated key requirements for working in poor communities such as Jawaja, including the need to integrate economic and educational activities and to

pass on knowledge to other villagers and villages once the initial communities had established successful processes (Ram Mohan, 2011, pp. 225–233).

Initially, one of the main goals was simply to enable the people of Jawaja to have two meals a day instead of one every two days. The principle was to engage them from the beginning in developing strategies for self-reliance, and one early idea was a tomato business, because they first suggested that as a possibility. Craft became the main activity eventually because the people in Jawaja already had weaving and leather making skills (Das, 2013, pp. 164–168; Jongeward, 2003, n.p.; App 1A-3). Besides economic empowerment, the project consisted of non-formal education centres, based on the idea that people can become self-reliant through a learning-by-doing approach. There was no fixed curriculum, but inhabitants would come together to share concerns about their environment. They would debate and share ideas about how to address these concerns. Working together on such community concerns became the vehicle for the journey towards self-reliance (Rural University Man, 2007, p. 1).

Over the years the people of Jawaja and the project team were faced with many foreseeable and unforeseeable challenges, which demanded to transcend the prevailing idea of design as either product design, marketing or branding but involved to also use design expertise for managerial tasks. One barrier for achieving self-reliance and the elimination of poverty was that stark caste hierarchies dominated the social and professional organisation of the communities in Jawaja. Upper-caste middlemen not only exploited the weavers and leather makers by paying them very low wages but also had control over community infrastructure, for example the village well. These aspects needed to be considered by the project team. For example, when the people of Jawaja were asked to train people in other villages, one reason for their initial resistance was that they were confronted with caste boundaries and old conflicts (Jongeward, 2003, n.p.). The NID and IIMA team gradually gained the trust of the Jawaja people and let them know that they respected people of all castes in the same way. One NID designer describes a small example in which he was thirsty and didn't hesitate to drink from the same lota as one of the weavers, who would be of a lower caste. The weaver could not believe it, but through such actions bonds and trust were established (Das, 2013, pp. 164–165). Ashoke Chatterjee in 2017 (App 1A-4) described the current concerns and opportunities of the Jawaja communities. The younger generation is familiar with technology and fewer of them are interested in working with crafts. But the Jawaja products are nowadays well known internationally and there is steady demand for them. Questions being discussed now are how technology can contribute to marketing the products, which remains a crucial task. Other questions include intellectual property protection; if, for example, the Jawaja products were certified as Geographical Indication (GI), that would make them national products of India. Are the people of Jawaja interested in that? Would they benefit from it? Could they handle the responsibilities that came with it? As the project continues, questions continue to emerge. The achievement of the project so far is that the people of Jawaja are better able to face, debate and decide with customers how to go about a product design or an order, albeit still sometimes assisted by external consultants and long-term affiliates (App 1A-4).

Project Cybersyn and Jawaja differ in their cultural contexts, concerns, applied methods and outcomes. However they show interesting parallels, which provide indicators of what is important for design projects in the context of development:

1. They assigned design an important role when intervening in existing systems such as a centralised state economy (Cybersyn) or an informal economic system that reinforces poverty and exploitation (Jawaja).
2. They embraced interdisciplinary collaboration between professionals from design and other fields, especially management and business.
3. They went beyond designing products or communication tools, but integrated their development into holistic design strategies.
4. They aimed to foster participation and multi-stakeholder approaches.
5. They aimed to democratise processes by improving the distribution of information and increasing feedback, so that those lower down the hierarchy are involved in decision-making and able to make informed decisions.

In a way both projects intervened in systems that had come into existence for different historical and political reasons: the processes of a state economy in Chile and poverty and marginalisation in rural areas in India. Both projects aimed to contribute to a sustainable systems change, by applying systems theory more explicitly (Cybersyn) or less explicitly (Jawaja). Both adopted a multi-stakeholder approach, aiming to create awareness about concerns and choices. They introduced more effective feedback loops: between factories and the government, and between leather craft producers, customers, product designers, marketing experts and other community members. Such design for development vanguard projects focus on supporting distributed decision-making, especially for those people who are usually excluded from it, by making information transparent.

3.5.2. Design and development today

Since the early debates and practices in the 1960s and 1970s, design approaches in the context of development continue to diversify under different names, such as humanitarian design (for example Schwittay, 2014; Schwittay & Braund, 2017) or designs for the pluriverse (Escobar, 2017). While the first refers generally to addressing development concerns, the latter adds the dimension of global power inequalities and the need to search for ways to create more autonomy for countries and societies of the Global South.

Design for development has blossomed from a niche profession to widespread international recognition in the past two decades. In 2007 the exhibition *Design for the other 90%* was held at the Cooper Hewitt National Design Museum in New York. It displayed design projects that focused on basic needs such as access to clean drinking water,

communication technology, affordable transport, shelter and housing, and safety. Examples included easy-to-use and cheap water filters, solar energy solutions, and affordable devices for internet access. In 2011 a second exhibition, Design with the other 90% / Cities, at the UN headquarters in New York, focused on urban planning and informal settlements. Both these exhibitions aimed to show that designers who apply their expertise to designing consumer goods for those few of the world's population who can afford them are actually well equipped to address the needs of the majority of the world's population, the 'other 90%' (Smith, 2011, n.p.).

Approaches of applying design expertise to development challenges today are manifold. Developing appropriate technology has not lost its topicality. Emily Pilloton and her firm Project H redesigned the heavy vessel in which people in many African villages carry water on their heads from distant sources to their homes, often for many hours each day, causing spinal injuries. The redesign involved turning the vessel around, so that it can be pulled behind, and raising money for its production and distribution. Despite being widely praised for its simplicity, feasibility and impact, the project faced criticism, and Pilloton herself noted that the design process did not involve the users enough (Pilloton, 2010, n.p.). Another example is the Warka Water Tower, first developed in an Ethiopian village by Italian architect Arturo Vittori and his firm Architecture and Vision team. It is a vertical structure made from mesh that collects moisture from the air and transforms it into a minimum of 25 gallons of water every day. Over time, other community issues such as housing, sanitation, electricity, food, gardening, income through craft, and transport were also addressed. Tradition and modernity are not treated as opposites. Traditional housing is used, but opportunities to use contemporary technology, for example the delivery of medicines via drone, are also explored by Vittori and his team. Throughout the project the local population is involved in developing ideas, construction and other activities. The Warka Water Tower has been built in different African countries and in Haiti (Warka Water Inc., 2021, n.p.).

The field of information communication technology for development (ICT4D) has gained importance in the past decade, in line with the rapid development of communication technology in general (Erumi, 2016; International Telecommunications Union (ITU), 2018). The international design firm GRID Impact developed guidelines for the Pakistani organisation Karandaaz, which provides mobile banking services to customers who are often illiterate or semi-literate. One important feature of this app is a character that guides users through the menu. The design was developed in a participatory process, including testing prototypes with the users (Fiorillo, 2016, n.p.; Kulick, 2017, pp. 415–417).

Many of today's design projects in development contexts begin when companies, NGOs, foundations or government departments seek design input. Institutions that previously were not aware of design's potential to assist their objectives are now acknowledging that potential. In Pakistan one of the institutions that has collaborated with the government, NGOs and designers on development concerns is the Innovation

for Poverty Alleviation Lab at the Information Technology University in Lahore (IPAL, 2020, n.p.). One project example is a vaccination booklet for illiterate parents, in which colour codes are used to help them identify which body part the vaccine is for. For parents who do not know their child's exact age illustrations indicate the developmental stage of a child, for example the age when it can lift the head (Kulick, 2017, pp. 415–417). More recently the intertwining of design and development was fuelled by the popularity of the SDGs; for example the World Design Organisation — formerly the ICSID — subscribed to support the SDGs (WDO, 2020). SDGs are not limited to developing countries, because environmental, societal and economic issues transcend national borders. SDGs articulate the desire to strengthen inclusiveness and diversity, but do not address the dominant top-down implementation strategies that have already informed global aid politics since decades through grants and programmes that also affect design engagement.

Today design in the context of development is often embedded in innovation programmes created by governments, private foundations, companies or aid agencies and mainly focusing on social and technological innovation. Aid agencies such as the GIZ or USAID apply design thinking and human-centred design, for example in the field of health (GIZ, n.d.; GIZ, 2019; USAID, 2018). In the UK DFID maintains its own innovation hub, i-Hub, through which it collaborates with the non-profit wing of the California-based design firm IDEO and runs the open innovation platform Amplify. Designers are invited to pitch ideas for addressing certain development challenges. A few are selected for a training boot camp and receive DFID funding and IDEO design support (Schwittay, 2017, p. 3; Pflanz, 2015; IDEO, n.d.). A wide spectrum of projects have been supported to date, including different types of education for women, from vocational training to higher education, healthcare projects such as an improved service for emergency transportation, or solar-powered street vending carts (IDEO, n.d.).

The spectrum of topics as well as the increased number of stakeholders sparked debate about appropriate and ethically sound methodologies for designers and their partners across sectors when addressing development challenges. Additionally the profession of design has expanded beyond the design of objects and graphics. It is widely acknowledged today that designers develop strategies that contribute significantly to shaping companies' and organisations' objectives, outlook and operations, and that they design experiences, services and systems. I will not further detail these debates on the design profession, because they have already been widely covered elsewhere (see for example Buchanan, 2001, pp. 10–13; Danish Design Centre, 2001, 2015, n.p.). But it is not surprising that in the past two decades, while the field of design in development gained momentum, the popular design thinking process was applied to this field of design practice. Its standardised steps — empathise, define, ideate, prototype, test — have been introduced by the Stanford D-School and by the design firm IDEO to sectors usually not affiliated with design, such as businesses, foundations and governments (see for example Hasso Plattner Institute of Design at Stanford, 2010;

IDEO, n.d.). The benefit for the design profession is that design has moved onto these sectors' radar, because it promises them solutions for long-standing problems. In the years since the five steps became popular, the model of the design thinking process has diversified; some steps have been added and others modified by different design researchers and practitioners. Rather than explaining these in detail here, it is sufficient to understand it as a streamlined iterative process. One reason for design thinking being welcomed with open arms by stakeholders in the aid sector is that applying design thinking suggests that wicked problems of development aid can be solved. But one should be wary of such promises and see the oxymoron, because wicked problems by definition can neither be defined nor solved. Design thinking narrows wicked development challenges so that design solutions can be developed and implemented. Numerous examples can be found on the web page of IDEO's non-profit wing, ranging from mobile apps for refugees to business consultancies in the Democratic Republic of Congo and more (IDEO, n.d.). While these projects might withstand impact assessment and prove helpful for solving concrete challenges, they contribute little to changing the global and local economical and political systems in which the problems are rooted.

So what can design bring to the table beyond such design solutions? Here I refer back to the section about systems thinking in development and in design. For this research, craft for empowerment in Pakistan was extracted as a system in its own right based on viewing empirical data from a bird's eye perspective, and its dynamics and relationships were analysed. Leveraging into this system's structures, processes and mindsets might not be possible in a pragmatic planned way, neither could design solutions bring results that are fast and easy to recognise. But it appeared to be the only justifiable and honest direction, despite the risk that it would be difficult to test and argue in the same way as a solution to a tame problem.

This direction is neither naïve nor hopeless, and currently similar insights are debated by different researchers and practitioners who work at the intersection of design and development. In October 2020 Giulio Quaggiotto, head of the UNDP Strategic Innovation Unit, gave a keynote lecture at the conference Relating Systems Thinking and Design 9. Quaggiotto used his years of experience in the field of innovation in development to present a framework which juxtaposes two approaches to innovation in development contexts: funnelling and layering. Funnelling he describes as a process in which complexity is eliminated by narrowing down and defining problems in order to develop solutions. This is desirable because it is considered efficient. Interactions have the quality of transactions and networks are reduced and simplified. Layering, on the other hand, is described as effective and sustainable over time because it enhances systemic effects. It is coherent with the problematic situation, which is complex — not tamed in order to find a solution — and the improvement grows organically over time. One important difference is that funnelling focuses on destination and layering on direction. Funnelling aims for termination while layering is an open-ended process. In terms of design in development contexts, the pressure to achieve presentable results by a given deadline justifies the funnelling approach, which results into quick fixes or design

solutions but lacks holistic and long-term perspectives. According to Quaggiotto, one important lesson is that problem identification already involves taming and hence points toward funnelling in anticipation of a solution, but that a better approach would be to start by looking for opportunities and visualise and frame them. Quaggiotto points to the need for abstraction and for viewing challenging development situations through diagrams and maps, which reveal connections and potential ideas for leverage possibilities beyond tamed problems and obvious solutions (Quaggiotto, 2020, min. 17:32–35:36). This is valid for CFIPs when focusing on the integration of objectives such as cultural heritage preservation, social justice and poverty alleviation. Extracting the craft for empowerment system and defining it as the object of design for this research was one step in this direction.

3.5.3. Craft, design and development today

The Jawaja project can be considered a vanguard in the field of craft, design and development, because its holistic approach integrated craft-making, product design, strategic design and the goal of independence and agency for the people of Jawaja. The field has not lost its topicality among researchers, educators and practitioners, who continue to explore it from different angles. It is notable that most research done in this field begins with the researcher's own practical experience of engaging in craft projects. I began my engagement in a similar way, through an opportunity to develop products with craft producers based on their craft skills, aiming to market the products for income opportunity and added values of cultural and social awareness. Further research usually is motivated by the urge to understand the context and related factors when it becomes clear that many projects do not seem to achieve their anticipated impact (for example Fathers, 2012; Kaya, 2011; Mazarralla, 2018; Miettinen, 2007; Mirza, 2020; Nugraha, 2012; Reijonen, 2010; Venkatesan, 2009; Wongtanasuporn, 2010).

The connection with wider development discourse has already been discussed. Eeva Katriina Reijonen critically links craft development to Amartya Sen's capability approach. She concludes that while individual capabilities often improve, there are still constraints that stem from framing craft projects as low tech, which limits thinking about them as a pathway to innovation (Reijonen, 2010, p. 22 and pp. 192–193). James Fathers discusses the question of participation in development and design, including the criticism that participation is often misunderstood as a form of inclusion in mainstream processes. On the other hand, participation has positive potential if it involves critically reflective practices (Fathers, 2012, pp. 119–130).

A recurring concern when exploring craft in relation to design and development is the authenticity of the craft products. As mentioned above, craft is associated with cultural identity, especially in those regions that have been colonised and which continue to search for their own identity after independence. A sense of liberation represented though craft can be observed but also backwardness, because the ones who are making crafts are usually poor and marginalised people not yet considered part of the modern Westernised world – even though they themselves would perhaps aspire

to such a lifestyle, which they associate with better living standards. Here research often negotiates and links together product innovation, cultural values, fighting poverty and inclusion in markets. Different aspects of this have been researched by scholars in the field of craft, design and empowerment, such as exploring opportunities for crafts in the tourism industry in Namibia (Miettinen, 2007), links with industry in Indonesia (Nugraha, 2012) and craft's role in building and communicating cultural and national identity in India (Venkatesan, 2009) and in Thailand (Wongtanasuporn, 2010), also in regard to the global market.

Generally craft projects in design and development contexts focus on learning and capacity-building, but while craft products form the point of departure, researchers and practitioners have extended their focus beyond the narrow realm of the craft producer and the product, and for good reason. One oft-cited challenge is to identify qualified trainers who work with craft producers regularly in their communities. One strategy to tackle this challenge is the concept of 'training the trainer'. This trainer from within a craft producer community may act as a design mentor to the craft community, as an important part of the capacity-building strategy (Fathers, 2012, pp. 336–337). Researchers who engaged craft producers and designers (including themselves) in co-creative processes highlighted the value of social learning in addition to product development (Miettinen, 2007, pp. 193–195; Mirza, 2020, pp. 177–181).

The necessity and importance of establishing supportive networks for and with craft producer groups is a central aspect of debate, stemming from experiences and research results that demonstrate the challenge to achieve sustainable impact on craft producers after time-limited workshops. Some researchers highlight the need to involve different stakeholders, especially those in more powerful positions who plan craft projects, such as aid organisations. Francesco Mazzaralla suggests forming service networks with supporting stakeholders and a focus on contextual needs, which he terms a 'middle-up-down support system (2018, pp. 251–253). For Seher Mirza, whose recently published research is concerned with craft production in Sindh in the south of Pakistan, power inequalities between stakeholders are a central aspect. She proposes a concept that distinguishes between silent power signifiers that refer to a person's background, such as family, ethnicity, religion or education, and active power signifiers, which are activities in craft projects that aim at empowering stakeholders with less power, usually the craft producers (2020, pp. 171–173).

The role of the designer can take different forms. In the broadest sense, designers act as facilitators of different craft- and-design related activities, from product design workshops and participatory and co-creative events on different themes to larger network building and service design strategies. Çiğdem Kaya has elaborated on the role of designers in craft projects as change-makers and enablers who seek to turn the disadvantages faced by craft producers in precarious and marginalised circumstances into advantages by supporting their links to the industry, whose positive response is necessary for the craft producers (Kaya, 2011, pp. 27–29). One area of debate is the fact that designers often visit a craft community for short periods, often not allowing them to understand craft producers' circumstances sufficiently (Mazzaralla,

2018, pp. 251–255 and 288–289). Another is the common strategy of applying a toolkit that is already prepared before arrival but often turns out to be unsuited to the experiences and skills of the people concerned (Mazzaralla, 2018, pp. 55, 255 and 301).

Storytelling is a method that can be used to allow craftspeople to develop a critical awareness of their current situation and articulate tacit knowledge so that it can be used for developing better strategies for craft projects (Mazzaralla, 2018, pp. 103–110). In other projects, craftspeople integrate stories about their daily lives and personal histories int o the products. This is often the case with embroideries (for example Miettinen, 2007, pp. 37–38) and has also been used as a form of embodied practice in order to stimulate conversations about power relationships with craftswomen who otherwise lack the professional language to articulate such concerns. Through embroidering everyday impressions, women could express their thoughts without facing the challenge of being influenced by a designer-facilitator in a conversation (Mirza, 2020, pp. 212–134). Storytelling was also observed to be a frequently used method in many projects of the empirical case study.

Many aspects of this rich body of existing research about crafts in the context of design and development resonate with my own research insights. These insights extend beyond craft-making activities and suggest including aspects of power.

This research project brings together different dimensions from global aid politics to craft producers on the ground and the stakeholders collaborating directly with them by establishing the craft for empowerment system as the object of design rather than developing yet another toolkit or set of guidelines. It analyses the distance between stakeholders as a form of privileged or underprivileged marginalisation from the field of action — ethical craft value chains — and from each other. The empirical research in chapter 4 and the systems analysis in chapter 5 show that all stakeholders need empowering experiences in order to create an empowering craft ecosystem for craft producers, challenging the idea that only craft producers have to learn and become fit for adjusting to what is common now in the aid sector and in the craft market. In order to generate systemic change towards more contextually relevant approaches, powerful stakeholders have to learn more about grassroots reality in order to make useful decisions about their aid programmes, and customers need to learn more about the possibilities and limitations of ordering from craft producers. And of course the craft producers also need to learn the skills and knowledge that will enable their fruitful participation in value chains.

3.5.4. Critiques and potential directions of design for development today
Generally, most critics do not doubt the good intentions of designers engaging in development but locate their critiques within debates about larger ideologies such as neo-imperialism and neoliberalism. Critics consider these concepts either the cause of the malaise in developing countries or at least supportive of processes and decisions in politics and the economy that perpetuate conditions of marginalisation and exploitation.

Such critiques are directed at development aid as a whole and show parallels with the dependency theory, which is why such critiques concern design that is embedded in development aid projects.

For Cedric Johnson, 'Neoliberalism has its genesis in the Cold War. It was conceived in the lecture halls of the industrial North, but the Third World served as its laboratory' (2011, p. 450). According to him one widespread argument for poor nations' lack of progress is that they were not able to adapt to political, economic and social institutions that would have benefited them, because they were culturally backwards, struggling with religious fundamentalism and ethnic conflict. This interpretation of the situation in many countries of the global South legitimated the strategy to teach people in those countries the skills needed to participate in global bourgeois neoliberal lifestyles (Johnson, 2011, p. 451). This led to entrepreneurial approaches and to favouring individual benefit over political activism aimed at creating holistic wellbeing in society. While Johnson regards design as an important component in the emerging coalitions between humanitarian organisations, private companies and institutions, he criticises the fact that designers in this scenario mostly develop technological and entrepreneurial design solutions for problems that are rooted in larger structural problems. Those design solutions, however, increasingly replace state social services and contribute to what he terms 'grassroots privatisation', which is supported by governments, for example through acquiring aid grants and using the money to outsource government responsibilities such as the provision of healthcare and education.

These approaches make the poor responsible for solving their own problems, such as poverty. These are usually problems the poor have not caused; they are structural problems and should be addressed through better governance. Technological and entrepreneurial design solutions provide an immediate remedy for a particular problem but often do not lead to wider transformation and structural change (Johnson, 2011, pp. 454, 460 and 463; Schwittay, 2014, pp. 29 and 43). Bruce Nussbaum similarly cites a well-intended project called 'One laptop per child' run by the MIT Media Lab. When these laptops were distributed in India in order to provide internet access to children in poor villages so that they could educate themselves, the project was rejected by the Indian establishment as inappropriate technological colonialism that cut out those responsible for education in the country — policymakers, teachers, curriculum builders, parents' (Nussbaum, 2010).

The main critique of design in development contexts is that designers often act within and support the twin frameworks of neo-imperialism and neoliberalism. In order to achieve more radical and sustainable change, some argue that designers would need to operate outside those frameworks or at least be critically aware of them (Ansari, 2018; Escobar, 2017; Johnson, 2011; Nussbaum, 2010; Schwittay 2014; Schwittay & Braund, 2017; Tunstall, 2013; and others). However, the increased popularity of design for development can also be viewed as a response to neo-imperialism and neoliberalism. Johnson suggests that it is part of the movement countering corporate

globalisation and global capitalism. Firstly, design for development generates opportunities for designers with progressive ideas to enter debates with established institutions such as the World Bank. Secondly the anti-globalisation movement exposes environmental and social abuses, and design can contribute to creating alternatives through partnering with NGOs who work on such issues (Johnson, 2011, pp. 455-456).

Anke Schwittay and Paul Braund, scholars at the intersection of anthropology, ICT4D and development, studied the platform Amplify, mentioned above. Over a period of two years they interviewed managers of DFID and IDEO and participants in the Amplify challenges, and reviewed secondary material such as blog posts, online talks and business plans (Schwittay & Braund, 2017, p. 3). Findings showed that the winning teams from the Global North, which were few in number, were often not familiar with the local context for which they developed their design idea. Winning teams from the Global South, mostly from East African countries, had close connections to the Global North, mostly the US; according to the IDEO toolkit, IDEO experts from the US trained those winners using the IDEO toolkit. Schwittay points out that these design approaches show continuity with conventional development approaches and the critiques of those approaches. Western expertise and technology continue to be thought to hold the solutions for the world's problems, as 'it is Silicon Valley's techno-utopian and libertarian values that shape Amplify's operations and thereby seep into broader international development efforts' (Schwittay & Braund, 2017, pp. 5-7).

In addition, poor and marginalised people as the target group of development aid, are often confronted with already-implemented solutions, but their needs and opinions are not taken into account during the planning process and therefore they lack opportunities for participation. This is where Schwittay and Braund see design's potential to make a meaningful contribution, since designers are used to researching users' needs, experiences and ideas (Schwittay, 2014, p. 32). Further, Schwittay cites designers' ability to rapidly gather ethnographic information and engage in participatory design; she draws parallels with Robert Chambers' rapid rural appraisal and participatory appraisal, outlined above (Schwittay, 2014, p. 36). Schwittay and Braund (2017, p.7) suggest further exploration of some aspects to identify opportunities for design and development, and one aspect is the importance designers attach to experimentation in the design process, including the mantra 'start small, test, fail early'. But this has ethical implications when engaging with vulnerable users and partners, who have 'little room for creative destruction' (Schwittay & Braund, 2017, p. 7). Another insight was that designers in search of marketable solutions paid less attention to holistic aspects, such as financial sustainability and organisational culture. Another recurring concern is the question of participation and who leads the design process. While the Amplify programme claimed that everyone, including target groups, have design skills, the design experts remained the IDEO team, who approached other countries' problems from a North American perspective and transfer their North American design thinking process for example to the Kenyan team. Greater participation of people with local expertise is needed,

because in current project hierarchies it is often difficult for these people to articulate perspectives that are unknown to external design consultants (Schwittay, 2014, pp. 31 and 37–39; Schwittay & Braund, 2017, pp. 5–8). A third aspect, scalability, is debated in the light of the fact that the design ideas submitted to Amplify were of such small scale that DFID would not usually fund them as part of its bilateral aid programmes. These design ideas' advantage is that they address the needs of individuals and communities through immediate solutions. They do not intervene at an infrastructural or government level, and they do not aim to. Finally, the often-condemned absorption of humanitarian design into neoliberal market strategies might be explored further in terms of ethical and results-oriented limits but also regarding its potential (Schwittay & Braund, 2017, pp. 7–9).

Debates about how to decolonise design became more widespread in the early 2010s. Decolonising refers to the process of liberation from the effects of colonial suppression, but today it also includes Western ideologies and paradigms that affect all parts of private and public life and culture, including the way institutions are established and managed and how knowledge systems are shaped and transferred. Decolonising design involves questioning value and belief systems rooted in the Western understanding of modernity that informs these processes, often subconsciously and in eclectic combinations. Decolonising design debates locate the design profession's origins in industrialisation and the capitalist economy, which today dominate design approaches the world over. Designers calling for decolonisation of design advocate acknowledging more pluralistic value and knowledge systems (Ansari, 2018, n.p.; Tunstall, 2013, pp. 233–235; Rattan, 2017). Decolonising design is introduced as a mindset and an open-ended process that involves identifying not only methods, techniques and concepts of making but also communal, managerial, economic, pedagogic and other practices in local cultures (Ansari, 2018; Tunstall, 2019). The idea is not to establish binaries between global Western dominated design approaches and local ones, but to enable more equal acknowledgement and use of peripheral knowledge.

Part of decolonising design is therefore acknowledging power imbalances, which continue to exist and even worsen due to internal and external political and economic influences and dynamics. Countries in the Global South cannot revert to pre-colonial conditions, but, similar to Freire's and Spivak's concepts of empowerment, ways forward that amplify weaker voices must be found. It is also important to understand the value of peripheral knowledge to the world as a whole. Escobar, whose critique on development and three power dynamics of cultural change was outlined earlier in this chapter, suggests working towards a wors in which multiple worlds and worldviews can exist, respect and cross-fertilise each other. His perspectives resonates with and encourages decolonial voices in the fields of development and design:

> A decolonial perspective on development is thus essential for approaching co-design with subaltern groups in ways that strengthen, rather than undermine, their collective autonomy.

> Only by attending to the entrenched geopolitics of development knowledge can de-signers become more critical of how design operates within unequal world orders and in the borderlands of the modern / colonial world system and become a force for change alongside those groups most negatively affected by modern designs, grand or small.
>
> (Escobar, 2017, p. 62)

What the debates around decolonising design and pluriversal design have in common is that they aim to unravel the dominant Western power hierarchies and development ideologies that affect much of today's development work (and therefore also design) in development contexts. It is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve equal acknowledgement of different cultural environments and concepts of advancement. No single or simple design solution can solve such complex intertwining of ideologies that reflect in the implementation of development aid projects. It is very difficult to define individual problems without expanding into historical and current demographic, cultural, political and economic dimensions that impact those problems. Therefore projects similar to those resulting from the IDEO and DFID collaborative platform Amplify might be useful for tame problems, especially when those are pressing and call for an immediate solution, but these projects do not contribute significantly to addressing underlying dynamics such as structural inequality and injustice.

Such deeper understanding the relationship of design, craft and development clarified and solidified the direction of this research. It became clear that the entrepreneurial approach cannot be separated from aspects of learning and inclusive communication between stakeholders of diverse cultural, socio-econmic and demographic backgrounds when decision-making regarding ethical craft businesses is concerned.

3.6. Design as collaboration and participation

The empirical research revealed the importance of creating opportunities for CFIP stakeholders from diverse backgrounds to come together, exchange practical information, learn from one another's perspectives and experiences, and collectively develop new plans for craft businesses. The analysis of the craft for empowerment system revealed a strong top-down power dynamic that poses challenges for CFIPs. Therefore this research sought to develop strategies for more democratic processes and structures and to empower all stakeholders: those who are naturally viewed as the target group of CFIPs, the craft producers, but also to empower those in powerful positions to make better-informed decisions, for example when defining grant schemes or placing orders. Only when all stakeholders gain a better understanding of the overall dynamics

of the system, especially the perspectives and needs of the craft producers, does it become possible to establish supportive networks.

Therefore the following section elaborates on design in democratisation and participation processes; collaboration and participatory methods; concepts of social business and social innovation; and formats for collective learning-by-doing activities, such as living laboratories and Communities of Practice (CoP).

3.6.1. Design for democratisation

Developing design strategies that support democratisation and create empowering processes for CFIP stakeholders was the motivation to seek clearer perspectives on design and democracy. Victor Margolin (2012) defines three dimensions through which design and democracy are entangled:

1. ***Design of democracy*** is concerned with procedures and institutional structures, such as governments and their institutions, for example courts. While designers might not be experts in politics, they design services through which institutions interact with citizens (pp. 5–7).
2. ***Design for democracy*** is concerned with transparency and participation as key factors of a democratic society. Through transparency, citizens are informed about the goals and decisions of their elected representatives as well as about the activities of other entities, such as the judiciary or military. Opportunities for citizen participation in government debates requires such information transparency. Designers can support such 'informed citizenry' by creating access to information, for example through data visualisation (pp. 8–11).
3. ***Design in democracy*** is concerned with the goals of a democracy, including social and environmental concerns. Access to healthcare, education or shelter can be supported through design (pp. 14–15).

These three dimensions demonstrate how the democratic character of an environment affects the ability of individuals to participate in shaping it by making informed choices. Margolin considers democracy to be both a condition and a system of governance. As a 'condition', it is the result of a governance process that is based on citizen participation, fairness, and justice. As a 'system of governance', it consists of institutions and procedures that define our personal and collective spheres of action (2012, p. 2).

He further refers to political theorist Charles Tilly, who explains that states can democratise or de-democratise, and therefore a state's democratic status cannot be taken for granted. A state de-democratises if, for example, it excludes people from voting, decreases social welfare, denies basic healthcare or allows financial institutions to operate solely for their own benefit (Margolin, 2012, pp. 17–18). Pointing out that state violence is executed even by states that are considered democratic, Bonsiepe writes that 'in the name of democracy, colonialist invasions, bombardments, genocides,

ethnical cleansing operations, torture and breaking of international laws have been — and are — committed' (Bonsiepe, 2006, p. 29). To him, in line with Margolin, a democracy creates the conditions for dominated people to transform themselves into self-determined people. This transformative process aims to achieve emancipation from external powers. In neoliberal democracies those powers involve the state and the market, which govern relations within and between different societies. Privatisation of public goods and services is an example of de-democratisation, because it divides a population into those who can afford those goods and those who cannot. The move to privatise basic goods and services in development politics has been evident since the 1990s. Regarding the task of design in this scenario, Bonsiepe introduces the concept of 'design humanism', which is concerned with the needs of the underprivileged: the excluded, the discriminated-against and the economically weak; in other words, the majority of people on the planet. Design humanism has an emancipatory character and therefore aims to foster critical consciousness (Bonsiepe, 2006, pp. 29–30).

From another perspective, Pelle Ehn explains the Scandinavian tradition of participatory design as a negotiation between centralised governance in a socialist–democratic state and the urge to improve the individual's scope to participate in improving the immediate environment. In the 1980s, Ehn and his team focused on workplace conditions in the light of emerging technological developments, which led to the degradation of work, the deskilling of workers, and pay cuts. The team together with the government and local trade unions worked on counterstrategies such as seeing technology as something that can be designed in participatory processes with workers. Rather than reacting to new technology as a threat, they would design it (Ehn, 2018, pp. 56–60).

The different positions show parallels; some reflect Freire's concept of the critical consciousness. Ehn directly cites Freire's idea of participation that moves from the immediate local experience towards larger-scale governance and policy. Bonsiepe notes that fostering critical consciousness is part of an emancipatory act. Both consider participatory design strategies vital if people are to become active subjects rather than passive objects. Both view the task of design as supporting democratic processes as well as people in their immediate environments, which might have an impact on larger political and economic structures. Margolin refers mainly to existing institutions and processes that shape a state's democratic character. However, all three acknowledge the interplay of bottom-up and top-down dynamics.

3.6.2. Collaboration and participatory methods

Involving a range of stakeholders in design processes is considered useful for developing sustainable design strategies for products, services, systems and shared activities, especially in social settings. Already in the 1970s, John Christopher Jones, who was part of the design methods movement, envisioned design as a profession that designs communities and involves different stakeholders in the design process:

It is unlikely that design participation, the sharing of the process of design with those affected by its results, will make much difference until the nature of designing is itself changed, e.g. by transferring responsibilities from designers to makers and users … I believe that this big shift in the responsibilities of composers, performers, and audiences is a good model of what is needed now in design: a change from the specifying of geometry, physical form to the making of a context, a situation, in which it is possible for others, for us all as users, makers, imaginers, to determine the geometry ourselves. It requires a new tradition, a new sensitivity, and much learning by everyone.

(Jones, 1970, 1981, p. xxx)

This early statement stressed the importance of multi-stakeholder involvement and participation and relates design to processes of democratisation. Today design practices, such as co-design and co-creation, are acknowledged fields in design and design research.

Liz Sanders and Jan Pieter Stappers (2008) define co-design as a specific kind of co-creation, or the process of creating anything tangible or intangible, including material or spiritual outcomes. According to them the co-design process of designers and non-designers originated in the business sector of the early 2000s, when co-creation processes between designers and customers were initiated to prioritise customer experience over firm-centric product development. While some co-design approaches involve collaborating with so-called 'lead users', Sanders and Stappers suggest that participatory design practices are antithetical to consumerism, because they cater to people's needs and wants, which cannot be catered to through consumption and designing products for users only. Instead already in 2008 they pointed out the importance of 'designing for the future experiences of people, communities and cultures who now are connected and informed in ways that were unimaginable even 10 years ago (Sanders & Stappers, 2008, p. 10). Users, researchers and designers are viewed as participants who become co-designers of the design process. Participatory design is practised not only in companies or between businesses but also in communities, by government agencies or in development challenges (Sanders, 2013, p. 64). Sanders and Stappers define four design phases in an iterative design process: 1) pre-design, 2) generative, 3) evaluative and d) post-design, with the last one leading to the pre-design phase of a new project (2014, pp. 8–12).

Participatory methods applied by different scholars and practitioners can be summarised as probes, toolkits and prototypes. Probes or cultural probes are helpful in the pre-design phase, when the design focus still needs to be defined. They provide insight into people's lives and concerns which are collected, for example, by designers who provide equipment such as cameras, workbooks or diaries. Toolkits are predominantly applied in the generative phase and consist of a set of tools and materials that

can be used to play through scenarios and generate ideas for design strategies. This process requires facilitation. Prototypes can take physical or digital forms and are developed in the evaluative phase. They are mock-ups of design projects and can be modified during testing. Making, telling and enacting are activities that designers and other participants engage in together in order to define meaningful design strategies (Sanders & Stappers, 2014, pp. 7–11). Parallels with craft projects in the context of design and development are recognisable here. Making is one of the core activities in CFIPs, not only the making of craft products but also the establishment of value chains. Therefore a better understanding of participatory design, and realising the importance of designing with people rather than for them, are vital when thinking about sustainable design strategies for CFIP.

3.6.3. Social business and social innovation

CFIPs aim to create ethical craft value chains, creating social businesses that include economic and social benefits for craft producers and fair standards. Participation as active business partners is important to craft producers.

The clearest definition of a social business was formulated by Nobel Prize laureate Muhammad Yunus, who in the 1970s began providing loans to poor people in villages when he realised that, rejected by traditional banks, they were forced to depend on exploitative loan sharks (Yunus, 2007, pp. 45–46). In 1983 he founded the Grameen Bank, the first microfinance bank,[23] based on the belief that financial services can be provided to the poorest people under reasonable conditions, which will help them improve their socio-economic situation through establishing their own small businesses. As of 2015, the Grameen bank had eight million borrowers, most of them women (Volkmann & Wirtz, 2015, p. 5). Using the experience of Grameen Bank, Yunus developed further business strategies with a focus on eliminating poverty. The concept of social business is based on clearly defined principles. The main objective is not to maximise profit but to overcome poverty and address health, education, technology or environmental issues. It should be financially sustainable. Investors, business owners or shareholders get their invested money back but no share of any profits. Profits are reinvested in the business. Fair wages and working conditions, and a gender-sensitive and environmentally friendly attitude are further characteristics of social businesses. Two types of social business were defined: 1) businesses that sell a product that caters to a need of the poor at a price they can afford; and 2) businesses that are owned by the poor,

[23] In Pakistan the microcredit bank Kashf Foundation was based on the Grameen model. Kaarvan Crafts Foundation, one of the four core case projects in the empirical research, was developed as a spin-off.

so that they can support themselves from the revenues (Volkmann & Wirtz, 2015, p. 4). For CFIPs, the second type is relevant insofar that in order to earn money, craft producers and their communities must be involved in managing a craft business, which might not be possible at the initial stage. Craft producers may require assistance, as the case study showed, but over time they can learn how to manage a craft business more independently.

Social businesses have an open-ended character, require collaboration between partners who share ethical values, and of course pursue the objective of achieving social benefit (Yunus, Moingeon and Lehmann-Ortega, 2010, pp. 312–318).

While social businesses focus on the business component, social innovation views entrepreneurial approaches and social concerns from a multi-stakeholder perspective. It proposes forming supportive networks:

> Specifically, we define social innovations as new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously meet social needs and create new social relationships or collaborations. In other words, they are innovations that are both good for society and enhance society's capacity to act.
>
> (Murray, Caulier-Grice and Mulgan, 2010,
> cited by Manizini, 2015, p. 11)

Social innovation integrates the global and the local, and public and private stakeholders. The key lies in combining their complementary expertise and resources, because single organisations or experts in separate disciplines can address challenges less effectively due to their complex nature. Therefore social innovation is considered part of the social economy, shaped by networks between markets, states and the grant economy (Murray, Caulier-Grice and Mulgan, 2010, cited in Manzini, 2015, pp. 14–15).

What can designers bring to these networks? Ezio Manzini defines a 'design mode' as a combination of abilities: critical thinking, creativity and a practical skills. He highlights the importance of design experts and non-design experts designing together. Where the diffuse design skills of non-expert designers are insufficient for finding a design strategy, expert trained designers can bring tools and a culture of critical inquiry to the table, improving situations through explorative activities and practices. Further, Manzini locates the activity of the design profession more towards the realm of problem-solving when it is concerned with physical and biological environments, and towards sense-making when it is concerned with social conversations and the formation of meaning. Both design directions aim for the betterment of situations and conditions. These two dimensions — diffuse design versus expert design and problem-solving versus sense-making — form the basis for his design mode map. Manzini visualises it along two axes, of which the vertical refers to competences and has two end points named 'diffuse design' and 'expert design', and the horizontal end points, referring to actors, are

'problem-solving' and 'sense-making'. The diagram then consists of four fields: grass-roots organisations, cultural activists, design and communication agency, and design and technology agency (Manzini, 2015, pp. 29–41). Located at the centre of this map is what he calls emerging design cultures (fig. 3.1), acknowledging that today the purpose of design is not either problem-solving or sense-making but always a combination of the two; for complex problems there is never a single solution. In this emerging design culture, designers become place-makers rather than makers of objects. Place-making concerns the design of communities and organisations, and therefore designers apply their problem-solving and sense-making skills to design processes and services for and with local communities. In this design mode map, experts and non-experts move closer to one another. Non-expert designers contribute valuable expertise about a context, with expert designers adding their design knowledge. Manzini suggests moving towards distributed systems of design, production and entrepreneurship in order to support the well-being of local communities around the world (2015, pp. 43–47).
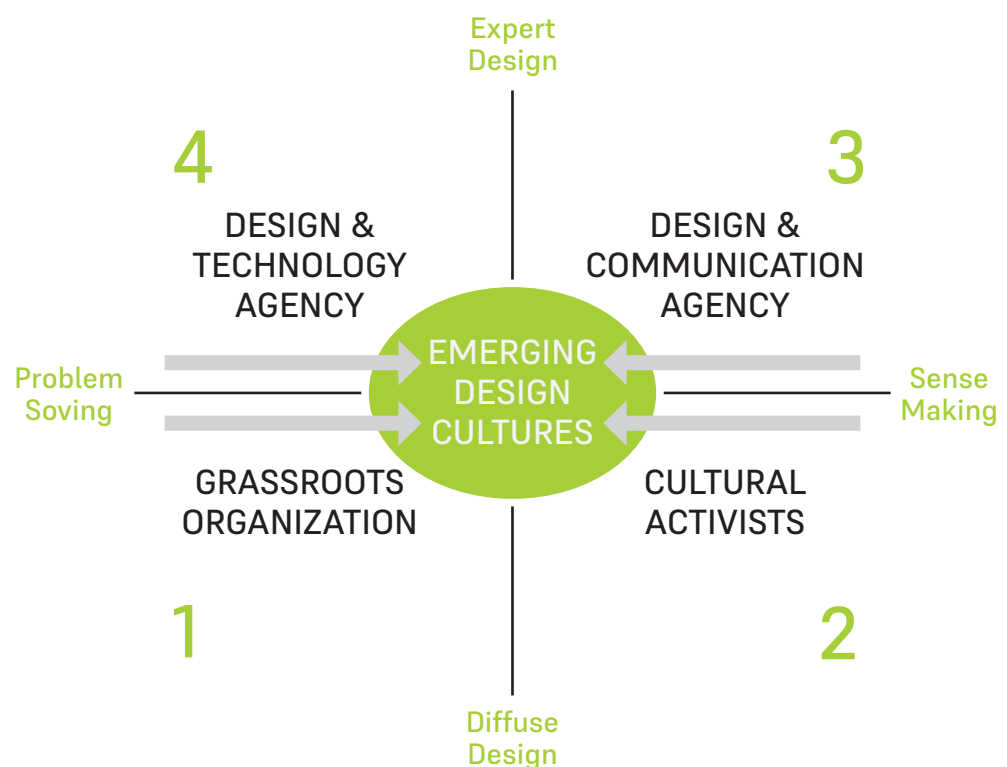
Fig. 3.1: Design cultures (adapted from Manzini, 2015, p. 44)

Against this backdrop, Manzini describes how meaningful collaboration can be enabled through forming coalitions (fig. 3.2) between all kinds of initiatives, even in uncoordinated ways, and at times even conflicting with one another. Coalitions are similar to networks but are more committed to sharing the same goals. Part of a design strategy is the process of forming design coalitions. These coalitions can be established with members or partners vertically across hierarchies or horizontally among peers and can involve expert and non-expert designers (Manzini, 2015, pp. 49–51). While Manzini's

framework does not explicitly refer to development contexts, it is useful for this field of design because many challenges in development are complex and wicked. One important aspect is the potential to scale up. Here Manzini's approach to distributed innovation, locating productive, creative and entrepreneurial activities in different places, seems viable to me, with less focus on replicating particular project details but rather on the idea of forming contextually relevant coalitions.
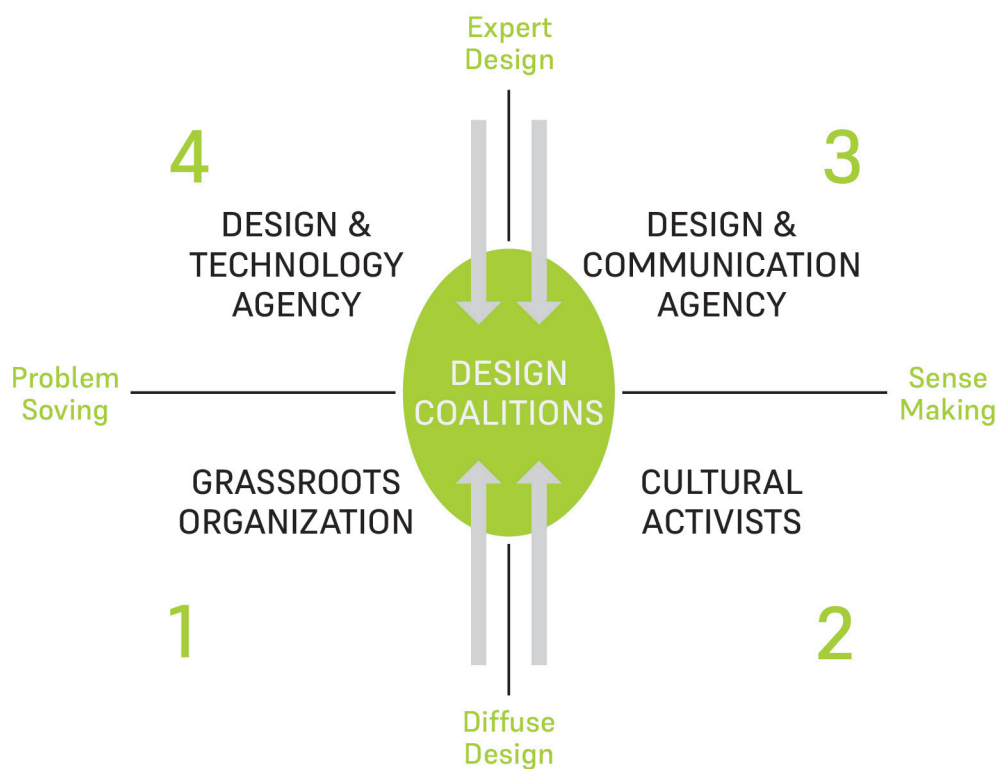
Fig. 3.2: Design coalitions (adopted from Manzini, 2015, p. 50)

3.6.4. Living laboratories and communities of practice

It was important for this research to identify concepts of how collective participatory activities such as co-design and co-creation can take place constructively. It was also important to address both the craft producers' main motivation, to earn money, and the objectives of other CFIP stakeholders: for example, design course leaders might want to introduce their students to traditional craft techniques, or fashion designers might wish to outsource handcrafted parts of their collections.

Two frameworks for collective learning and achieving common goals were identified as interesting: living laboratories and communities of practice.

Living laboratories or labs are, according to the European Network of Living Labs (EnoLL), 'user-centred, open innovation ecosystems based on a systematic user co-creation approach, integrating research and innovation processes in real life communities and settings' (ENoLL, n.d.). Living labs are real-life environments in which

innovations can be studied by living with them and trying them out. Living labs can be experimental and make no claim that they can develop permanent solutions. ENoLL considers living labs to be 'intermediaries among citizens, research organisations, companies, cities and regions for joint value co-creation, rapid prototyping or the validation to scale up innovation and businesses' and defines five common elements: 1) co-creation, 2) active user involvement, 3) a real-life setting, 4) multi-stakeholder participation, and 5) a multi-method approach (ENoLL, n.d.).

Living labs are often used to explore technological innovation for sustainable lifestyles, for example in smart cities and smart homes, where practices and objects can be developed and explored in action. The sustainable living lab (SLL) approach is based on observing social practices while innovations are applied. SLLs focus on user behaviour, identifying routines and disrupting them if they do not have the expected sustainable effect (Hasselkuß, Baedeker & Liedtke, 2017, pp. 24–26). The role of living labs for developing business models has been widely discussed, for example by Rits, Schuurman and Ballon, who noted that the components of business models have usually already been defined before the user research begins. Researchers seldom consider the living lab activity itself to be the process that generates the business model or idea. The authors propose including the users in a co-creative process at different stages in the business model generation, including business idea generation. This would be beneficial for a business' success because users' demands can better understood (Rits, Schuurman & Ballon, 2015, pp. 20–25).

Communities of Practice (CoP) is a framework based on seeing apprenticeship as a learning model. Instead of a clear hierarchy between apprentice and master, it was observed that learning relationships are more complex, especially among advanced apprentices and journeymen. The community acts as a 'living curriculum', and in this community everyone learns, not only new members (Wenger & Lave, 1991; Wenger, 1998). CoPs are not a newly invented format but a phenomenon that has always existed and is present whenever people learn together at home, at work or through leisure activities. Articulating it makes it more workable, however (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015, pp. 3–4). Three main characteristics define a CoP:

The domain is a shared interest that shapes the identity of the CoP. A group of friends or a loose network of people is not a CoP. Shared commitment to and competence in a specific field of interest distinguishes CoP members from non-members.

The community describes the shared activities and discussions of the CoP members in order to engage with the domain and actively share information about it. In contrast, students at the same school do not automatically form a CoP. Only when they actively learn together do they form a CoP.

The practice indicates that CoPs are not only based on the exchange of theoretical knowledge interests. The members are practitioners and share their repertoires of resources, such as experiences, stories, tools, and ways of addressing recurring problems (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002, pp. 29–40; Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015, p. 2).

CoPs can be found in businesses, organisations, governments, educational institutions, associations and online forums. Some of the benefits of CoPs are that practitioners assume collective responsibility; there is a direct link between performance and learning; tacit aspects of knowledge creation and sharing are addressed; and CoPs are not limited to known organisational structures. CoPs are characterised by autonomy, informality and boundary-crossing, features that traditional, hierarchical forms of organisation find challenging. CoPs are for example very useful in government organisations, although the latter's bureaucracy poses a challenge. Applying CoPs in educational institutions challenges the core of their existence, because conventional institutions approach learning as leading to an end product, such as a degree, equipping students with what they need in the job market. The challenge is to foster in students and teachers an interest in lifelong learning, also acknowledging that knowledge always evolves while work realities are often stuck in static processes and mindsets. From this perspective, schools become parts of much larger learning systems (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015, pp. 4–5). CoPs can benefit the aid and non-profit sector, where learning is recognised as central, 'in the non profit world, for instance, foundations are recognising that philanthropy needs focus on learning systems in order to fully leverage funded projects' (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015, p. 5).

Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2015, pp. 6–7) point out common misconceptions about the theory of CoPs. It is often assumed that CoPs are self-organising, but facilitation and active cultivation are usually necessary to experience and recognise the benefits of participation. Another misconception is that CoPs are of informal character, but this is not true. If used as a strategy, for example in an organisation, they must be formally recognised, established and managed. CoPs are also not always harmonious. More important than participants agreeing is a culture in which differences are respectfully and constructively debated. CoPs aim to generate something new, they are practice-driven, and their objectives reach beyond knowledge exchange. There is no particular technology that is best for a CoP. It depends rather on the frequency and quality of its usage, for example in digital forums. Lastly, CoPs are not a replacement for other collaboration formats, such as networks, teams or joint venture enterprises. Those have their own purposes. One challenge in regards to CoPs is that it is not easy to measure their impact on those who participate in them or the overall situation they aim to improve. Both, qualitative and quantitative data can show how participant practice changes over time and how value is created through changed practices (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015, pp. 6–7).

　　There is also a possibility to distribute practices across different locations. While most CoPs start in one location, a CoP can be cultivated across several sites if regular interaction is maintained (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002, pp. 24–27).

An underlying theory of CoP is 'situated learning' from Lave and Wenger's early apprenticeship research (1991). It is concerned with the 'relational character of knowledge and learning, about the negotiated character of meaning, and about the concerned

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(engaged, dilemma-driven) nature of learning activity for the people involved' (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 33). In other words: who learns what, why, how and where? What relevance does it have to the person and their context? Consequently, there is no activity that is not situated. General knowledge is often passed on in an abstract and decontextualised way, but knowledge is meaningless without a context to apply it to, and even abstract principles result from specific circumstances (Lave & Wenger, 1991, pp. 33–34). Central to situated learning is the theory of learning as legitimate peripheral participation. It is not a pedagogic strategy or teaching technique but rather a perspective on how situated learning takes place. Lave and Wenger describe legitimate peripheral participation as a form of immersion of newcomers into a CoP. Peripheral — in other words — new learners become increasingly involved and move from partial to full participation, receiving an empowering experience through a transformational learning process. Important here is the notion that full participation does not mean reaching the centre of a CoP or acquiring a particular set of skills and knowledge but rather to establish diverse relationships within a CoP (Lave & Wenger, 1991, pp. 35–37).

In my view, the resonance with the centre–periphery model of development is obvious and is here translated into the field of pedagogy.

3.6.5. Coordinating design collaboration

What remains is to explore multi-stakeholder collaboration, locating this final section in the realm of managerial strategies, especially those aiming to foster lower hierarchies and more distributed decision-making. By the time I came to look into these, I had decided that this research would partly result in a theoretical design framework that could help to improve collaboration in CFIPs (and perhaps grassroots empowerment more generally) and a lab concept in which different CFIP stakeholders with different motivations and expertise could come together for open-ended learning-by-doing activities. But how could such a lab format be steered? What would be the principles of an underlying framework for this?

I was not interested in defining a detailed management structure for a lab in the craft sector. The point was not to conceptualise another top-down managed entity — where CFIP stakeholders are already often struggling with top-down advices — but rather to create an open-ended format at the intersection of holistic learning, inclusive communication and sustainable business in the craft sector, similar to a CoP or a living lab. Therefore, rather than engaging in detail with management theory, I wanted to investigate how to begin such an initiative, keep it alive and generate beneficial impact, and also how to assess its impact on different participants. The latter, the assessment, is the most difficult part because the lab is conceptualised as a systems intervention. It can take a long time for systems change to become recognisable, and some changes might not easily be measurable. Two topics emerged when developing a lab format: reflective practice and low hierarchies.

Most famously, Donald A. Schön coined the term 'reflection-in-action' to refer to an activity in a generative and iterative design process. He viewed this process as a

conversation with a situation. Rather than dwelling on solutions for problems, he made a case for continuous reflection, including on the definition and framing of the problem while working on it (Schön, 1983, pp. 102–104). Schön differentiated between two schools of management. One viewed management as a technical planning profession, the other acknowledged uncertainty, instability and uniqueness of situations as the actual management circumstances which can only be dealt with in the management process. The first is based on rationality and has been extended beyond industrial production to controlling budgets and people. The second acknowledges an irrational dimension in the management task: the need to repeatedly engage with unforeseen and unique situations. A critique of the latter is that it is difficult to apply and measure with rigour, though Schön argued that if the rigour is directed towards the management style itself and to the situation, then it is of much value (Schön, 1983, pp. 236–241). Structures and behavioural relationships form an organisational learning system in which collective reflection-in-action reveals the challenges and differences in an organisation (Schön, 1983, pp. 241–243).

The affiliated concept of knowing-in-action is relevant for this research. Schön describes knowing-in-action as a repetitive activity that practitioners become skilled in through experience. The problem is that practitioners become so used to performing the activity that they miss opportunities for critical reflection, hence the need for reflection-in-action (Schön, 1983, pp. 59–62). In organisational learning, single- and double-loop feedback define the flexibility of an organisation when responding to change. While single-loop learning reflects on the successes, challenges and other aspects of a company's strategies in relation to its overarching goal, double-loop learning includes critical reflection on the objective or even the reason an organisation exists, reflection that might even lead to changing the organisation's goals (Argyris & Schön, 2008, pp. 35-40)

Reflective practices today have found entry into a wide array of theories and strategies concerned with group coordination. Frederic Laloux (2014) introduced the concept of teal organisations, which are characterised by self-management with hierarchies as low as possible; a striving for wholeness, in the sense that individual employees are valued and supported beyond pure job tasks; and evolutionary purpose, which explicitly encourages businesses and organisations to review and modify their own reason to exist from time to time. For the purpose of this research, the concept of teal organisations reaffirmed the need to combine craft business with learning and communication opportunities. Self-management of an organisation relies on a set of teams without hierarchies and without standard HR and finance departments. Coaches consult with those teams but let them make their own decisions (Laloux, 2014, pp. 65–78). Wholeness values the personal development of the people in an organisation, offering safe spaces for employees to open up about insecurities; learning, well-being and balancing personal and professional life such as family and work, for example can be fostered through childcare facilities, further education opportunities and individual and peer coaching activities (Laloux, 2014, pp. 146–158). The last, evolutionary, purpose, (Laloux, 2014, pp. 230–232) resonates strongly with this research, which

began with the idea of developing strategies for sustainable craft businesses in order to support craft producers economically but then took a turn towards an open-ended multi-stakeholder approach. Another stong theme that emerged during the course of the research is that profits will follow from an emerging authentic purpose — here the empowerment of craft producers and other CFIP stakeholders. The view of the organisation as living organism, in which strategies emerge from the collective intelligence of its members (Laloux, 2014, pp. 220–224), shows parallels to the concept of CoPs, which are not necessarily organisations or businesses but groups of shared interests, as outlined above.

Forming and maintaining — or managing — CoPs is also closely associated with design, and one of the main questions is how to design for organic growth with a dense dynamic and liveliness, which is vitally important for a CoP's beneficial impact on participants (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002, pp. 49–51). If nothing happens in a CoP, people will not participate, and if they do not participate, they do not benefit. This focus on creating fruitful and constructive energy resonates strongly with CFIPs and the idea of developing a framework and implementation strategy for open-ended collaboration. The systems analysis revealed that stakeholders, such as craft producers, CFIP managers and customers of craft products, lose interest or struggle to continue if too little activity takes place, such as too few order placements. Additionally, the lab format resulting from this research aims to benefit different participants in their respective work environments. Therefore it is important to achieve density and richness through the lab's activities, which participants will largely develop and implement themselves. Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002) formulate seven helpful principles for a CoP, which later helped me in anticipating the lab format, resulting from this research project:

1. ***Design for evolution*** is concerned with physical as well as organisational structures. What these structures consist of depends on the community's purpose and the stage it has reached, for example whether it is new or established. Architectural structures can offer an invitation to mingle through different entrances and spaces; regular meetings invite participants to return for further exchange (pp. 51–54).
2. ***Open a dialogue*** between inside and outside perspectives values the external perspectives that inside participants can include into their dialogues and activities and which they would otherwise remain unaware of (pp. 54–55).
3. ***Invite different levels of participation,*** including the leadership and the core group, who are mostly responsible for activities. An active group and a peripheral group participate with different levels of frequency and intensity, and so-called 'intellectual neighbours' are people with related interests who do not belong to the community but have an interest initsob serve its activities and observe. These roles in CoPs are fluid and can change according to purpose and project (pp. 55–58).

4. ***Develop both public and private community spaces***. This focuses on the relationships within a community, acknowledging that informal relationships between members who are not part of public and formal events shape the community's core (pp. 58–59).

5. ***Focus on value,*** which is often not easy to communicate but must be experienced through day-to-day experiences and personal relationships. This focus develops over time, but it can be enhanced through reflective discussions (pp. 59–61).

6. ***Combine familiarity and excitement*** is concerned with fostering divergent thinking through providing advice and feedback from community members without the pressure of immediate implementation. Creating a routine for such opportunities is considered helpful (pp. 61–62).

7. ***Create a rhythm for the community***. This attempts to generate density and frequency of activities. An annual meeting is not enough to generate active energy (pp. 62–63).

To conclude, the main threads connecting the theories of living labs, CoP, reflection-in-action, teal organisations and CoP are low hierarchy and learning-by-doing processes, which is closely related to the ability to reflect critically on a regular basis. However, what is not been discussed is how to apply these theories in the context of extreme inequality, as seen for example in the craft for empowerment system in Pakistan and the global aid system in general. Generating frequent activities with stakeholders who work in international politics as well as those who live in remote areas with little mobility remains the main challenge, but the greater inclusion of craft producers is one of the main goals of this research.

3.7. Concluding remarks on the contextual review

The contextual review covered many theories, concepts and methodologies from different disciplines and professional fields. The fact that it does touch upon such rich and diverse content, and not always very much in-depth, is representative of the topic of this design research project, in which different disciplines and professional fields such as development aid, economics, pedagogy, cultural history, management and systems theory are linked to design. Typical for design research is also that relevant information and research methods were borrowed and modified from different fields and combined with research through design practice, especially in the action research project. Therefore not one single theory formed the basis for investigating my research interest and for developing and proposing the theoretical design framework 'Designing for coalescence' but rather thematic red threads that run through the diverse topics that I outlined.

One is the continuous dialogue between the big picture and small concrete activities, in this research resulting in the establishment of the craft for empowerment system by using the empirical data. This is informed by systems thinking and the question of how to leverage into a system through small activities that might generate larger systems change. Similarly, Ezio Manzini's design cultures, Giulio Quaggiotto's abstraction and visualisation methods, the community of practice (CoP) concept and reflective practices towards empowerment as outlined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Paulo Freire point in the same direction of linking concrete activities at a feasible scale to processes of change in a larger scenario or system.

A related topic is the dynamic between the centre and the periphery and the relationship between them, in global politics but also in CoPs and management theories. This is a central concern for CFIP managers in relation to donors from the global aid sector, but also for the relationship between marginalized craft producers and their advisers and consultants from less precarious backgrounds within Pakistan. The centre–periphery model also translates into values that currently drive the craft for empowerment system. While some inclusion in the mainstream is necessary when aiming for craft producers to be partners in value chains, training and communication methods might have a better impact when conceptualised and implemented with more contextual awareness, which can only be achieved by involving craft producers and their communities from an early planning stage. Small steps in this direction were seen to be beneficial in the empirical research and suggested the need for more distributed planning and decision-making, especially in those CFIPs that depend on top-down distributed grants.

Similarly the topic of pluralism and diversity in relation to inequality, or in today's debates the pluriverse, appeared in different corners of development theory, in topics related to craft and design in contexts of development, and in systems theory. Those debates encourage critical reflection on mainstream development ideologies and the unravelling of contextually relevant and sensitive knowledge in order to support local CFIP stakeholders in gaining a voice through creating opportunities to meet and exchange. The value of diversifying the experience of learning and collaborating was also observed first-hand in the empirical research, when some of the privileged CFIP stakeholders reflected on their enriching learning experiences from working with marginalised craft producers. However, such experiences must be supported in the opposite direction as well, so that marginalized stakeholders gain more from the collaboration.

Earlier in this chapter I explained the parallels between design and related systems thinking influences, described by Peter Jones. I added another parallel for development and a column for a fifth generation, after the first (1960s) was characterised as rational, the second (1970s) as pragmatic, the third (1980s) as phenomenological and the fourth (2000s) as generative. The added fifth one I characterise as pluriversal and consider it to be emergent. The systems principle in the added column I defined as 'autonomy' or the aim for independence, while the development paradigm remains

normative to mainstream values, for example standardisation, replication, appropriation and scaling-up. The design methods in this space in my view need to bridge the gap between normative development aid strategies and the striving for plurality. Here I identified the space for a new theoretical design framework that could guide activities, more pluriversal yet collaborative, in the future.

Topics such as conversation between the larger picture and concrete activities, centre–periphery dynamics, and pluralism and diversity in relation to inequality and normative aid emerged as central for this research. These topics supported my observations from the empirical research and from data synthesis and analysis through the systems lens. The resonance between the different parts of the research helped define the research objectives:

1. To create a more democratic craft for empowerment system
2. To generate empowering experiences for all CFIP stakeholders as part of craft producer empowerment

It became clear that my research goal is neither developing a new management strategy nor a business concept, because knowledgeable and dedicated CFIP managers are already working on these aspects. Both must rather become part of a larger theoretical design framework that helps to address consolidates or locked-in structures, processes and underlying mindsets in Pakistan's craft for empowerment system.

Design for more autonomy with beneficial impact on the groups concerned is already part of emerging design debates and practice, though implementation strategies still call for more exploration from a design perspective. This research aims to contribute to this further exploration with a focus on Pakistan's craft sector, and the topics discussed in this contextual review helped on levels of understanding the status quo better, on gathering, synthesising and analysing data, and on conceptualising and proposing the theoretical design framework guided by the coalescence-paradigm and a collaborative lab format as one implementation possibility of this framework.

4. Empirical research

The empirical research was motivated by an interest in understanding the realities of CFIP stakeholders in Pakistan better. It consisted of three parts:

Part A: A case study of CFIPs in Pakistan in which craft production is used for income generation and extended social, cultural and human empowerment.

Part B: Action research project in the form of a self-initiated CFIP with a group of women in a village in close proximity to the university where I taught.

Part C: Two focus groups on the topic of sustainable craft business models, with participants who have different roles in CFIPs and participated in Part A and Part B.

Parts A and B took place in parallel and inform one another, whereas part C builds on the findings and CFIP stakeholder contacts from A and B. However, data gathering, and structuring and formulating findings were not linear processes but guided by the bricolage methodology.

My research position deliberately differed in each part. In part A I investigated the experiences of people responsible for CFIPs predominantly from the outside, though I oscillated to the inside view occasionally through small collaborations with some case study projects. In part B I was responsible for a project and experienced it from the inside. Part C was a dialogue that I moderated but also participated in.

4.1. Part A: Case study about CFIPs in Pakistan

4.1.1. Case study method

Bill Gillham views a 'case' as 'a unit of human activity embedded in the real world, which can only be understood in context, which exists in the here and now, and that merges in with the context so that boundaries are difficult to draw.'

A case can be an individual, a group, an institution or a community. A research project can study single cases or multiple cases (Gillham, 2000, p.1). Gillham suggests that starting a case study with a literature review might not be the most insightful way, because the case(s) will demonstrate highly specific characteristics, for which the literature might be irrelevant. More helpful is a dialogic parallel process of case study investigation and review of relevant literature as the need occurs (p. 15). Gillham also recommends starting a case study investigation with a broad aim (p.16), keeping the mind as open as possible (p.18). How to structure and report the findings depends on the aim of the research and on the discoveries made in the process. It is likely that discoveries made early in the process will affect the next case study investigation steps (p.96).

Terminology

For clarity the following terminology is used for the description of this case study:
- – Case study: The overall method of investigating different case projects
- – Case project or project: A CFIP in form of an initiative, enterprise or any other activity using craft skills in order to address any dimension of economic, human, social and / or cultural empowerment
- – Case set: One main case project and its affiliated case projects, since only few of them exist in isolation

Case project selection criteria

The case project selection criteria were simple and included organisations, enterprises or other initiatives conducting craft projects with:
1. Objectives related to any dimension of empowerment
2. Ethical ambitions, addressing exploitative practices of the craft sector
3. Attempts to include professional design expertise

The case selection process followed the snowball principle. Visits to temporary craft fairs, called *melas*, and serendipity when someone pointed out an interesting project for me to investigate, also proved useful. When new thematic focuses emerged in the research process, further cases were sought more specifically. For example, projects working with diverse kinds of producers were included to start with, from specialised artisans with established workshops, for example block printers or weavers, to home-based women workers who had not used thier skills to earn money yet. Initially there was neither an explicit focus on women nor on textiles or embroidery, but women with embroidery skills emerged as the central target group in the empirical process.

Whether a case was a public or private initiative was not important, and neither were scale or location. More CFIPs around Lahore and Islamabad were investigated than around Karachi, which is about 1,300 km away. Included were large internationally funded aid schemes, small private initiatives, designers who collaborate with craft producers, craft labels, community development projects, social entrepreneurs, individual micro-entrepreneur producers, and university outreach projects. I do not claim that the pool of investigated case projects is complete; that would be impossible, because craft projects keep emerging and disappearing. Trying to cover everything would be like tilting against windmills.

There are also cases that initially did not fulfil the selection criteria, but later did, such as the organisation Behbud, which is one of the oldest organisations in this field, but did not show significant design engagement at the time of the empirical research but has recently changed its position. Such cases were not included.

The process of data gathering and analysis went hand in hand throughout the research and cross-fertilised one another. Once data was collected, new ideas emerged that informed further, more specific, data collection activities.

Cases were investigated through predominantly qualitative methods, including interviews, conversations, field visits, partial collaboration and observations in the field. Detached observation was not easy to maintain in cases where I had been involved before and during the research process. However, I considered this partially internal view beneficial for a deeper understanding of those cases. Interviews and open conversations were mostly conducted with CFIP project managers, initiators or business owners, and where possible with designers and craft producers. Interviews did not follow an identical canon of questions, but varied according to context and thematic research interests that changed in the research process.

The aim of the case study was to unveil motivations and objectives for initiating CFIPs: underlying concepts and ideologies; different stakeholders' backgrounds, perspectives and tasks; relationships with one another; personal and professional affiliation with crafts; methods for designing, producing and merchandising craft products; organisational structures and processes; financial situations and business concepts; successes, failures, challenges, and their strategies for addressing them; and anticipated future directions.

Around 20 case projects were investigated with differing intensity (App 2A-1).[24] Some I only visited once. Others I visited several times over the course of this research period. Sometimes I only

[24] The exact number is difficult to determine because some case projects are so closely entangled that is it is difficult to decide whether to count them individually or together.

spoke to one stakeholder, sometimes to several. Not all were followed up. However, all case projects' information contributed to understand the field of CFIPs better and enabled me to establish the craft for empowerment system as the object of design in chapter 5.

Data analysis and formulation of findings
Making sense of the abundance and diversity of data proved to be challenging. I applied the following steps to describe the caste study:

      Step 1 – Formation of four core case sets
      Step 2 – Description of each core case set
      Step 3 – Definition of three typical CFIP types
      Step 4 – Typical scenarios of those three CFIP types

4.1.2. Case study data description
The data about the case projects mostly covers the time period from 2011 to 2017, though some were followed up afterwards. But the analsysis I had to draw a line and stop including more data.

Step 1: Formation of four core case sets
Four core case sets of CFIP were formed, each consisting of one main case project and its affiliated cases, such as organisations, companies, institutions or individuals. Some partnerships between the main case and its affiliated cases were established over long periods of time and are quite stable, whereas others keep changing. Therefore it is not claimed that the case sets are complete or static in nature. Showing these affiliations is important, though, because a key insight is that no case project operates in isolation. A case set can even have fuzzy boundaries itself, for example if one key person engages in several different projects. Seeing affiliations also helps to understand how the sector forms strategic partnerships and the quality of those partnerships.

      The four case sets were chosen because a) they appeared typical for the ethical craft sector, b) they aligned with the research focus, c) their stakeholders were interested in reflecting critically on their approaches, and d) it was possible to collect sufficient data. The following four CFIP core cases and their affiliations were chosen for more detailed investigation:

1. Thatta Kedona: Community development project with a craft component
2. SABAH: NGO aiming to establish a social craft business
3. Kaarvan Crafts Foundation: NGO aiming to establish a social craft business
4. Shubinak: Craft brand conceived as a joint venture between a community-based organisation (CBO) and an industrial textile company

Step 2: Descriptions of four core case sets
The descriptions on the following pages consist mainly of a general and historical overview, and an outline of the conceptual approach of each core case set.

Case Set 1: Thatta Kedona – The Toy Village of Pakistan

Affiliations:
- AFA (Anjuman-e-Falah-e-Aama): local NGO registered in 1992 for coordinating the village project
- DGFK (Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Kultur e.V. / German Society for the Promotion of Culture): Organisation registered 1972 in Berlin to support cultural projects; since the 1990s increasingly active outside Europe, including in Pakistan
- AFWA (Al Firdous Welfare Association): small NGO in Bhara Karu, a small town near Islamabad

Interview partners:
- Senta Siller: Initiator, manager, volunteer
- Norbert Pintsch: Initiator, manager, volunteer
- Farzana Zahoor: Manager
- Farukh Ahmed: Manager
- People of Thatta Ghulamka Dhiroka

Research activities:
- Repeated visits between 2004 and 2015
- House visits and interviews with village population (2011)
- Formal interview with Senta Siller and Farzana Zahoor (2015)
- Informal unrecorded conversations with Senta Siller and Norbert Pintsch between 2004 and 2020

Data:
- Documentary film by Joachim Polzer: Thatta Kedona – The Toy Village of Pakistan Part 1 / 91 min and Part 2 / 92 min, 2005 (Polzer, 2005)
- Recorded interview with Senta Siller and Farzana Zahoor, 2015
- Informal conversations with Senta Siller and Norbert Pintsch between 2004 and 2020 (unrecorded)
- Investigation through house visits, and interviews with village population, in 2011
- Observations during visits to the village, 2004–2015
- Casual conversations with volunteers in the village, 2004–2015 (unrecorded)
- Photographs taken during visits, 2004–2015

Description

Thatta Ghulamka Dhiroka is a typical Punjabi village of about 1200 people, located about three hours' drive south of Lahore (fig. 4.1). In 1990, Senta Siller, a graphic designer and former director of the vocational art and design institute Lette Verein in Berlin, accepted the invitation of her Pakistani exchange student, Amjad Ali, to visit his village, Thatta Ghulamka Dhiroka, for a cup of tea. Her husband, architect and professor of architecture Norbert Pintsch, joined her.
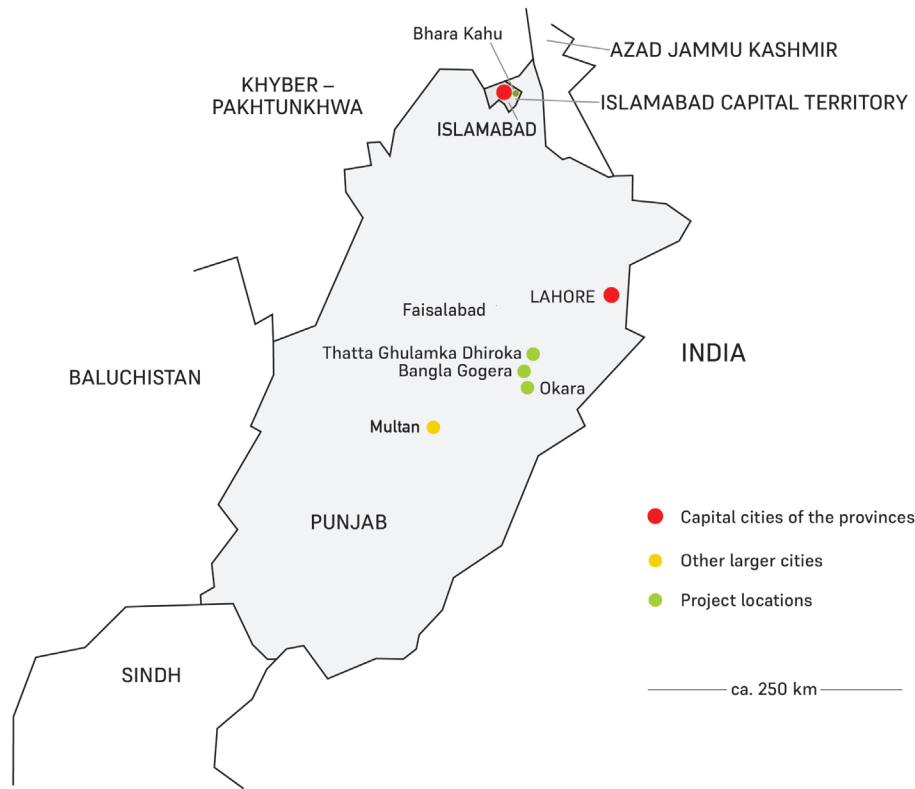
Fig. 4.1: Important locations of the case set Thatta Kedona

The village, with its poverty, its lack of schools or sewage system and general infrastructure, but also its lived traditions such as the construction of mud houses, left a deep impact on them. They decided to return, make a film and use the money from its screening to build a school in the village (App 2A-2). Senta remembers meeting Farzana's grandmother:

> She said 'We have no future here.' And so I get still now goose bumps. I asked 'Here they have no future?' No school, no road, no electricity, no clean water. But the school was the most important. No school for so many children. Twelve hundred inhabitants, but no school ... But Norbert, my husband, he said, 'we come back in half a year and we make a film.' And then we came back after half a year and made a film. And this film we showed in Germany, in Babylon Uraufführungstheater [a cinema in Berlin] to all the people we knew

or have known. And each person who wanted to see the film about a Pakistani mud village must pay five [German] marks. And from that we could supply the village with the money for a school building, which the farmers built by themselves. Only two rooms with bricks, brick walls. And so the whole adventure started.

<div align="right">(Siller, 2015, min. 1:54-4:39, App 2A-3)</div>

The money was raised and a school was built. In 1991, Senta and Norbert's daughter, a young doctor, decided to open a clinic in the village, which meant sitting under a tree and treating fifty people a day. When the daughter left after 18 months, Senta took early retirement in Germany and moved to Thatta Ghulamka Dhiroka with the idea of training teachers for the school. The lessons began in November 1993. Senta tried to teach the women about the cultural history of the region, such as historic motifs but they did not show much interest and wanted to learn more tangible skills in order to earn money.

Eventually, under Senta's guidance, they began to produce small pieces such as tiny sachets with an embroidered flower and stuffed dolls, which Senta sold at a Christmas bazaar in Lahore's International Club, where expatriates often spend their free time. The women received their first payment, which created a sensation in a community that relied on barter more than on money. Upon being asked what they used their money for, the young women replied that they gave it to their brothers, who wanted to go to a funfair. A discussion followed on how to handle the earned money, and it was suggested they should give no more than half of it to the family, ideally the mother, and save the rest. Some women opened bank accounts in the nearby small town of Gogera (App 2A-3). The payment model from these early days remains the same today:

– 30% for the producers as payment
– 30% for new material
– 30% for the establishment and maintenance of the Women Art Centre
– 10% for expenses in the community

<div align="right">(Polzer, 2005, min. 12:06-13:18App-2A-4)</div>

In the following years the design and production of the dolls was perfected, dressing these dolls in traditional costumes of the Pakistani provinces. Other toys include wire deer and tin rickshaws, made by the men of the village (fig. 4.2, fig. 4.3 and fig. 4.4). The village started to be known as 'Thatta Kedona — The Toy Village of Pakistan'.

In 1993 Senta bought a plot of land, on which the Women Art Centre, renamed in her honour as the 'Senta Siller Art Centre' in December 2016, was established in 1995 (fig. 4.5) (Thatta Kedona, 2016b, n.p.). With a grant from the Japanese embassy, solar panels were installed on the roof, which was very innovative at the time (Shirazi, 2012, p.115).

Senta lived in the village for five years. The Women Art Centre and the school are only two parts of a holistic community development project that takes an open-ended and integrative approach. It does not make sense to examine these projects in isolation,

because a community operates on many levels. Health care, education, infrastructure, arts and culture, technology, agriculture are other aspects to consider (Thatta Kedona, 2012, n.p.). More than 40 international volunteers, many of them retired professionals from Germany, undertook activities. A retired doctor trained midwives and established a health centre. A gardener tried growing cornichons, which is not common in that region. A pottery teacher taught ceramics to young people. An education student taught at the village school for a year. Infrastructure projects included building a sewage system, installing solar panels and experimenting with a village radio. Norbert, who still visits regularly, initiated the revival of mud architecture, which is the traditional building technique of the region but continues to loose popularity. In a climate that can get extremely hot, up to 50° Celsius in the summer, but in the winter falls to lows of 2° or 3° Celsius at night, mud buildings balance temperatures better than those of brick or concrete (Shirazi, 2012, p.37). Mud buildings require extensive maintenance and renewal work, however, especially after heavy monsoon rain (fig. 4.6). Many villagers aspire to a brick house, which requires less maintenance and represents a higher social status. But because they do not have the same climatic benefits as mud houses, the next step is to want an air conditioner, which does not make much sense given the lengthy electricity cuts that regularly occur across Pakistan, especially in rural areas. In order to encourage mud architecture, an annual competition took place for many years, encouraging people to renew and decorate their mud houses using traditional techniques (fig. 4.7).[25]

Top / Fig. 4.2:
Dolls and other products made in Thatta Kedona

Bottom left / Fig. 4.3:
Wire deer

Bottom centre / Fig. 4.4:
Tin rickshaws in the making

Bottom right / Fig. 4.5:
Women Art Centre,
now Senta Siller Art Centre

The overarching goal in Thatta Kedona is to improve living conditions in rural areas and counter the widespread perception that rural life is primitive and urban life is advanced. Many people in Pakistan's villages aspire to move to cities, but cities cannot provide sufficient jobs, housing, food, schooling and general infrastructure for a large influx of people. Positive aspects of rural life are that food comes directly from the fields and is thus cheaper, and people have their own small homes instead of living in urban slums, but people do not view rural lifestyle as something positive. What is missing in rural life is infrastructure such as sanitation, education, health care and transport, plus income opportunities beyond agriculture. People moving to cities hope for all this but discover that life there is not easier. They find jobs as underpaid servants or no job at all. Life in urban slums and low-income neighbourhoods is precarious, no better than in villages.[26]

The Thatta Kedona project can be seen as a living laboratory. It does not follow one project proposal meticulously step by step until completion. Instead it develops organically, though not thoughtlessly or without guidance, through continuous reflection on what activity

[25] Unrecorded conversations with Norbert Pintsch and Senta Siller during informal meetings and site visits between 2004 and 2020

[26] Ibid. Unrecorded conversations, 2004–2020

Top / Fig. 4.6:
Mud houses during maintenance

Bottom / Fig. 4.7:
Mud houses for the competition

would make sense and is achievable in the given circumstances (Thatta Kedona, 2012, n.p.). Somtimes the village people were even willing to challenge social constraints. During some summers Senta and one of the volunteers took young village girls on a retreat in the mountains in Pakistan's Northern areas to learn English. It is not common for young women from rural areas to travel without a male family member chaperoning them. While such activities require convincing seniors in the village, they become more accepted once the benefits are seen. More independence and better communication skills help the women develop, produce and sell products.

Thatta Kedona is a project in flux, in which cultural heritage and technological innovation, for example mud architecture and solar energy, are not considered opposites. It is open-ended, collaborative and integrative of traditions and contemporary developments. It makes an effort to overcome isolation and stay open to opportunities arising from other places and people in Pakistan and beyond.[27]

In order to gradually establish ownership of the community development among the people of the village it was important to involve them in project management and planning right from the start. Farzana Zahoor, the sister of Amjad Ali (who made the original invitation to Senta), and Farzana's husband Farooq Ahmed play a central role. Farzana was in her twenties when Senta moved to the village. She had just completed vocational training in painting, leatherwork and sewing in Lahore. Today she continues to manage production and sales at the Senta Siller Art Centre and at larger craft fairs across Pakistan. Her tasks include coordinating commissioned production as well as maintaining a stock of products, keeping payment cards for each producer with products and payments, sourcing the right materials for the dolls and other products, and motivating the girls and women who are producing dolls and other products (App 2A-5, 2A-6). In 2017 Norbert introduced her to the Punjab Small Industry Corporation (PSIC), a government organisation in Pakistan's Punjab province that supports the craft sector by providing consultancy and financial services, as well as documenting and researching traditional crafts of the region. She is now able to transfer the experience and knowledge gained over more than two decades to a government organisation as a employee.

In 2015 the Thatta Kedona-based NGO AFA (Anjuman-e-Fallah-e-Aama) and AFWA (Al Firdous Welfare Association), which is a small private school in the village Bharu Kahu near Islamabad (fig. 4.1), with little financial resources, commenced on a collaboration.

[27] Ibid. Unrecorded conversations, 2004–2020

AFWA asked Senta to support them in developing upcycled products. The novel aspect in the context of grassroots empowerment and development aid is that the main consultants are local people from a similar village background instead of foreign experts: Farzana and Farooq from Thatta Kedona, assisted by Senta and Norbert. The goals of the cooperation between AFA and AWFA are self-help activities at grassroots level, empowerment of women, income generation, literacy and vocational training (Thatta Kedona, 2015, n.p.).

Beyond sharing knowledge about products and production management they pass on their experience of administration and infrastructure, including workspaces and potential living spaces for expert volunteers. Such peer-to-peer consultancy is uncommon in grassroots projects. It is a relatively novel approach towards more self-reliance and less dependency on the top-down implementation strategies of the aid sector (Thatta Kedona, 2015, n.p.). Farzana can be considered a role model not only for peer-to-peer communication but also for cross-peer communication, from a bottom-up perspective, when she consults for a Punjab government organisation.

> In my view this is the special aspect ... if I think of how it was three or four years ago – and how it is now with this cooperation. The assistance does not come from the city, but from NGO to NGO. That was not bad.
>
> (Pintsch, 2015,
> min. 34:50-35:16, App 2A-7) [28]

Besides highlighting who is transferring knowledge to whom it is important to understand the kind of knowledge that is transferred. The aim is not to replicate Thatta Kedona activities in another environment. Often that is the goal in aid projects as part of their strategy to scale-up their impact. However in this case the knowledge transfer focuses on fostering abilities such as identifying and reflecting on the opportunities of each individual community in which a project is initiated. Norbert and Senta view themselves as volunteers who assist people in becoming more self-reliant. They do not consider the Thatta Kedona project a pilot project that will be completed at a certain point and can be replicated multiple times. It is not possible simply to reproduce the Women Art Centre or the health station in other communities, because circumstances differ in each environment. Senta and Norbert would reflect upon the situation of a community, taking a holistic view and sensing concerns, changes and internal challenges, and opportunities. Their bird's eye perspective

[28] Original quote in German, translated to English by the author

encompasses the larger context of Pakistan and even global discourse and developments, which people from the village might not be so aware of, even though some have travelled abroad to sales events.

Through being aware of emerging opportunities and through fostering synergies between internal and external stakeholders with different skills, it is possible to experiment with different emerging opportunities. Examples could include selling products or developing new ones, and exploring new possibilities through emerging technologies, such as solar energy or the village radio, or inviting volunteers who bring in interesting, albeit context specific ideas. In their entirety, in a cybernetic sense as outlined in chapter 3, an increased requisite variety strengthens the project in relation to threats (Ashby, 1957), such as others copying products. If one activity is weakened or becomes oudated, others will carry on the overall project and new activities can be invented according to new circumstances. Activities in Thatta Kedona cannot be looked at in isolation. The village project does not focus separately on craft, or women's empowerment, or education, or health care, or alternative energy, or traditional architecture, or any of the many other projects. All of these are integrated, cross-fertilise one another, and create an ecosystem with some of the characteristics of a living lab.

What other communities can learn from Thatta Kedona is how to develop the skills of critical reflection, sensibility and creativity in order to connect visionary ideas to realistic opportunities and implementation strategies. Conveying the importance and the skill of a critically reflective practice is challenging for Farzana when she consults in Bharu Kahu. After all she learned it in a process of more than two decades and still gets support from Norbert and Senta. She needs to communicate not the specific knowledge of how to design dolls as in Thatta Kedona but the wider knowledge of how to sharpen one's critical awareness regarding what makes sense to do, what does not, what is realistically possible, what social, traditional, or practical constraints might stand in the way, and if and how those could be challenged. Learning how to assess opportunities critically is important, because some opportunities look beneficial on the surface but in reality are not. In a way Farzana's consultancy in Bharu Kahu could be described as a real life implementation of Paulo Freire's critical consciousness approach (1970, pp. 113-116), or even Amartya Sen's theory of development as a set of freedoms (2000, pp. 37-38).

Thatta Kedona's approach is open-ended, non-linear, experimental, integrated, activity-dense and highly contextually rooted. Its character and impact cannot be achieved through a roadmap or step-by-step plan. What matters is to understand the village and its development as an open ecosystem or laboratory into which value-based activities are introduced, activities that foster sustainable and contextual independence from values, paradigms and management imposed from above.

There are certainly challenges when communicating the values of a project such as Thatta Kedona to outsiders, but it seems that awareness among the village population is not widespread either. In a series of interviews conducted with villagers in the autumn of 2011, many showed little awareness of the activities that had taken place

over the previous 20 years. However, it is not entirely clear whether this impression stemmed from a lack of awareness or the inability to articulate the nature of the projects and their own opinions about them. Two native speakers with many years of professional experience in working at grassroots level assisted me and were also confused. It can be argued that the priority of such a project is for people to experience better living conditions, and gaining awareness and articulacy are secondary. In response it can be argued that awareness and articulacy enable people to become more self-reliant. This is also in line with the theories by Paulo Freire on critical consciousness (1970) and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak on the challenges faced by subaltern people (2008).

Recently one focus of Norbert and Senta was on transferring more responsibility for and coordination of the project to the people of the village. This included connecting them to the authorities of the region that have already acknowledged the achievements in Thatta Kedona. The Chief Minister of Punjab, Shahbaz Sharif at the time, and district managers of the village's region discussed how they could further support the village, for example through involving students and faculty of Punjab University and the Energy Department of the Punjab Government. The Punjab Small Industries Corporation (PSIC) also signalled their interest in declaring Thatta Kedona a Model Craft Village (Thatta Kedona, 2016a), where Farzana could be employed to share the expertise she has gained over more than 25 years.

Case Set 2: SABAH – South Asian Business Association of Home-based Workers

Affiliations:
- Sungi Development Foundation: Development and humanitarian organisation, registered in 1989
- SEWA – Self Employed Women's Association: Trade union of poor and self-employed women workers, founded in India in 1972
- HomeNet Pakistan: A network of organisations concerned with the rights of home based workers since 2005; member of HomeNet South Asia
- Humnawa: Translates as 'our combined voices'; 2011–2012 collaborative project between SABAH, Sungi, Bunyad Foundation (education NGO) and faculty and students of Beaconhouse National University in Lahore

Key interview partners:
- Samina Khan: Initiator of Sungi's craft development activities since 1994, executive director of Sungi and coordinator of its craft enterprise segment since 1997; co-founder, chair and board member of SABAH Pakistan
- Asma Ravji: Project coordinator of Sungi's craft development 1998–2012; in charge of the activities since 1994,
- Kulsoom Akhtar: Sungi coordinator during the Hamnawa project
- Aleema Khan: Owner of Cotcom Sourcing Pvt. Ltd.; SABAH chair from 2013 to 2015
- Saamia Ahmed Vine: SABAH country manager at time of interview, 2015
- Ume-Laila Azhar: director or HomeNet Pakistan

Research activities:
- Interviews with SABAH and Sungi project managers
- Attendance at Gender Action Learning System [GALS] session at Pakistan's craft museum Lok Virsa in Islamabad
- Coordination of the collaborative project Humnawa between Sungi, SABAH, Bunyad Foundation and BNU's Department of Textile Design and Fibre Studies and Department of Jewellery and Accessory Design
- Visit to SEWA head office and Trade Facilitation Centre in Ahmedabad, India
- Visit to Potohari Craft Village in Islamabad
- Reflective discussions with BNU faculty after project completion

Data:
- Recorded interviews with Samina Khan, Asma Ravji, Aleema Khan, Saamia Ahmed Vine, Kulsoom Akhtar and Ume-Laila Azhar
- Recorded group discussion on Humnawa with BNU faculty members
- Field notes from visit to SEWA in Ahmedabad
- Photographs from GALS training
- Emails with numbers of registered training courses

Description

SABAH was founded in 2009 as a non-profit company. The Sungi Development Foundation, an NGO focused on community development, took the lead in its conception and received a grant from the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC)[29] Development Fund.

Fig. 4.8: Important locations of the case set SABAH

[29] Member states:
- Afghanistan
- Bangladesh
- Bhutan
- India
- Maldives
- Nepal
- Pakistan
- Sri Lanka
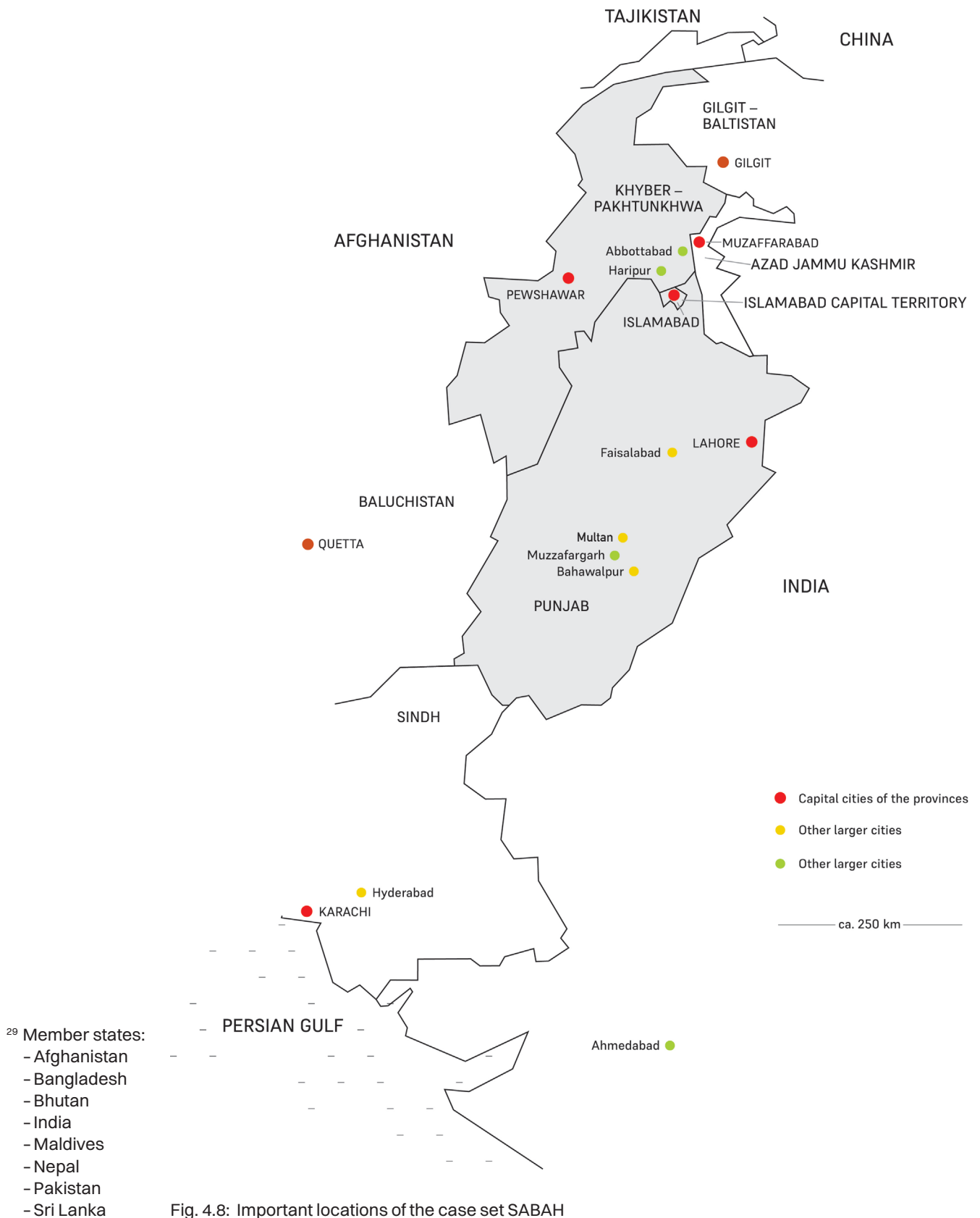
SABAH compiles craft producer profiles in a directory usually home-based women workers from across Pakistan, often those who have participated in training offered by SABAH or other initiatives. It aims to facilitate market linkages for these women workers, either through referring potential customers or through ordering from them for SABAH-owned shops in Lahore, Islamabad and Abbottabad. Products include mostly accessories and shirts with the distinctive geometric *jisti* stitch (fig. 4.9 and fig. 4.10), typical for the Hazara region around Haripur (fig. 4.8), but also block-printed textiles and pottery. Potential customers range from large textile companies and individual fashion designers to individuals who place orders. SABAH also offers the service to manage the production for these customers (SABAH Pakistan, n.d.).

In order to understand SABAH's approach, it is helpful to look into Sungi's history. It was founded in 1989 as a non-profit NGO by politician Omar Asghar Khan to focus on the rights of marginalised communities, working closely with those communities and with the government and policymakers. The initial focus was environmental issues such as deforestation in the Hazara district in Northern Pakistan. After a flood in 1992, Sungi became more concerned with environmental friendly behaviour and lifestyles and with sustainable community development. In the late 1990s a four-year Hazara Integrated Rural Development Programme commenced, and in the early 2000s this was expanded into the 15-year Sungi Strategic Plan, focusing on three areas of social mobilisation: 1) need-based capacity-building, 2) promoting and protecting local natural and human resources, and 3) awareness of rights and rights implementation through advocating at state level. Environmental concerns, food security, labour rights, peace, and democratic and transparent community development remain Sungi's focus areas today. Women's empowerment was an integral part of Sungi's work, encouraging women to take part in the work force, political activism and in elections (Sungi Development Foundation, 2019, n.p.).

Samina Khan, a graduate in social work and political sciences from Kinnaird College in Lahore, was one of the founders of Sungi's craft enterprise programme, and since 2009 she has played a vital role in establishing SABAH. In the early 1990s she volunteered in the villages where Sungi was active, asking women to show her their embroideries.
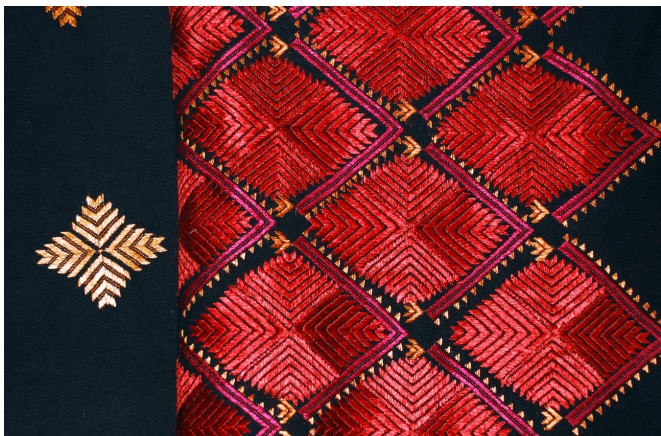
Fig. 4.9: Geometric *jisti* embroidery

Fig. 4.10: Accessories with *jisti* embroidery

She was interested in them because of her fond childhood memories of traditional embroideries from that region. She ordered some pieces and sold them successfully (App 2A-8). In 1997 Samina took charge of a new programme, 'Craft Promotion for Income Generation', a formal Sungi programme. In 1998 she was joined by Asma Ravji, also a home economics graduate, who had earlier volunteered in Sungi's craft related activities. The programme was renamed 'Craft Promotion for the Empowerment of Rural Women' and later became the 'Enterprise Development Programme'. Craft components were embedded in Sungi's larger scope of programmes towards sustainable community development. Objectives included the preservation of traditional craft techniques but also economic empowerment of home-based women workers and advocating for their legal recognition and labour rights. Since 2007 Sungi has been involved with the government in formulating a policy for home-based workers, which addresses the pressing concerns of the informal economy, in which home-based workers are mostly engaged and where they are inevitably vulnerable to financial exploitation and unstable work conditions (App 2A-9). Sungi is also a member of Home Net Pakistan, a network of organisations concerned with the legal rights of home-based workers since 2005 (Sungi Development Foundation, 2019, n.p.).

Sungi collaborated with HomeNet South Asia on founding SABAH through a fund granted by the SAARC Development Fund (SDF). Support for the establishment of SABAH in several South Asian countries was linked to the aim to replicate the Indian trade union SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association), which was founded in the 1970s by lawyer Ela Bhatt. SEWA now has almost one million members, most of whom are home-based women workers who self-organise as cooperatives (SEWA, 2020, n.p.). SEWA is widely recognised in South Asia and beyond as the mother organisation or model of home-based women worker enterprises.

Sungi and SABAH have worked on establishing producer groups, called 'independent business groups', usually within a community and consisting of five, ten or even 20 women. They select a leader to be responsible for facilitating production, customer communication, order distribution, quality assurance and product delivery. By 2012 Sungi and SABAH had trained more than 5,000 women in 400–500 independent business groups (App 2A-10)

I first contacted Samina when I heard that SABAH was about to be established. At that time I was consulting for an embroidery project with young women in minority community centres — Christian, Hindu and the ethnic minority Hazara[30] — in Quetta, in Balochistan province

[30] One must distinguish between the Hazara district north of Islamabad and the Hazara tribe; it is not the case that in the Hazara district most people are of the Hazara tribe.

(see prologue). The project was about to conclude, but it was not clear how the young women would be linked to markets where they could sell their embroideries. I had heard that SABAH aimed to follow the SEWA model, which I was familiar with, and thought the women from Quetta could become members. This indeed worked out for some of them.

In 2011 Sungi pitched a project proposal to the Punjab Skills Development Fund for its programme 'Skills for Employability', funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID). The goal was to train around 200 women in the four poorest districts of Punjab: Lodhran, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur and Muzaffargarh (fig. 4.8). The idea emerged to involve textile, fashion and jewellery design students of the School of Visual Arts and Design at BNU, where I taught in the Department of Visual Communication Design. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, Samina and Asma had mentioned earlier that embroidery skills of home-based women workers are usually very good, but the design of marketable products is difficult. It is also difficult to find designers prepared to work in this field, because of the many inconveniences involved, such as arduous travel to remote areas with poor infrastructure. So the goal was to add product design expertise to the usual pure skills training in areas such as colour, quality, and finishing. Secondly, while craft projects in grassroots empowerment are common, students of textile, fashion, and accessory design do not regard this sector as a potential career path, preferring instead to enter Pakistan's fast fashion and textile industries. Igniting their interest in this alternative field by integrating it into their curriculum was another objective. I prepared a grant application with my colleagues from BNU and the Sungi team led by Samina and Asma. The project was called Humnawa, which translates as 'our combined voices' or simply 'companions'. Sungi, as the lead organisation, brought in SABAH, which had been inaugurated two years earlier. The idea was that after completing the training the participating women would become members of SABAH, and SABAH would help customers place orders for the women's products. Sungi also brought in the Bunyad Foundation, which was already concerned with education projects in the targeted districts and was able to identify suitable participants for the training courses. The project application process took place in summer and autumn 2011, implementation commenced in spring 2012, and the project concluded with a product exhibition in the autumn of 2012.

A total of 207 women in the Muzaffargarh district were trained. Courses took place in centres where the Bunyad Foundation ran literacy programmes. Most participants improved their embroidery skills, and many became SABAH members. Training segments included the refinement of traditional craft techniques such as embroidery and basketry, group management and, together with the design students and faculty members, product design and colour harmony.

For the design students and faculty the project left lasting impressions. Travelling to a poor rural area ten hours from Lahore, staying in very simple conditions for a few days, seeing existing craft skills and utilising these in the development of new products; these were experiences that triggered critical reflection among course leaders on outreach projects as part of design programmes and encouraged ideas for further

projects. For example one insight was that it needs to be clear at the start of a project to whom the training participants will sell after the project finishes (App 2A-11). One idea was to create a mentoring programme, in which a craftsperson is paired with a faculty member as mentor to learn from one another (App 2A-12).

Being confronted with immense poverty was not easy for students and faculty, most of whom are from a middle-class background. Surprises happened when a student, who otherwise was not very invested in his studies, emerged as a driving force. He later was hired by other NGOs as a consultant for their craft projects (App 2A-13). Students also had to deal with the fact that participants could not differentiate between visitors from one of the NGOs — Sungi, SABAH and Bunyad — or from the university. Training participants confronted them with complaints and concerns that were far beyond the students' remit, such as late payment for products. Besides craft exposure, the project provided an intense learning experience far beyond students' comfort zone of designing products in university studios. They experienced and discussed complex processes and acquired a very different perspective of grassroots reality[31].

The project received an honourable mention in the MacJannet Prize 2013, which is awarded for civic engagement and social responsibility in higher education[32]. However, this award triggered an internal faculty debate regarding how such a success might trickle down to the craftspeople. How could they benefit from such recognition (App 2A-14)?

SABAH took over the tasks that originally Sungi did in its craft enterprise components, including training courses and production (App 2A-15). I continued to follow SABAH's activities. In 2012 Asma left Sungi after more than 13 years, but she began consulting with SABAH again in 2017. Samina remained involved throughout but took a smaller role, and is now on the board of SABAH again. As of 2017 the board consisted of twelve people, out of which seven were home-based women workers from Sukkur, Khairpur, Quetta and Mansehra. One of those is Rukhsana, a woman from the Hazara community in Quetta whom I referred to SABAH in 2010 (App 2A-16). Gohar, one of Sungi's first trainees in the 1990s, and other home-based workers on the board are in a good position to work out the value chain and manage their own producer groups. They know how many producers can produce a certain quantity of a craft item in a given time frame. Gohar is successfully facilitating even large order placements. Being from the community, she knows the priorities: the home-based women workers produce to earn, and if they have to wait for too long for

[31] Unrecorded conversation with Sungi project manager at the time

[32] Awarded by The Talloires Network, an international university association for civic engagement

payment their motivation shrinks. Samina Khan explains how Gohar worked out a routine: on certain weekdays she couriered completed work to Lahore, where it was received a day or two later by the customer, a large textile company. After assessing the work, the customer would transfer payment one day later via a mobile banking app to Gohar, who would then go around and distribute the payment to the individual producers in the surrounding villages (App 2A-17).

While some women from the early training courses, such as Gohar, have become skillful entrepreneurs, this is not true of them all. Some women might still require assistance in product design and negotiation skills with customers, for example. Experienced women, who participated in training courses ten to fifteen years ago, are expected to pass on skills to the less experienced, but circumstances and the required knowledge change over time and they are not always able to keep up with the changes. SABAH therefore started to go back to these groups and conduct refresher courses for those who need it and courses to younger ones, who were teenagers at the time of the earlier training and did not participate then (App 2A-18). Another challenge is that some producer groups are simply too poor to invest in new materials to make new products and have to wait for SABAH to place an order and provide materials (App 2A-19).

SABAH registers many previous trainees as members by making profile cards for each of them in a directory. The cards contain information regarding skills, payments made and personal data, for example number of children (App 2A-20). In 2015 there were 3299 profiles in the directory. As of 2013 SABAH had registered 1897 members and placed orders with 921 of them (App 2A-21).[33] There are also independent business groups, which get orders from places such as local bazaars and individual customers (App 2A-22). SABAH facilitates larger order quantities from individual designers, fashion labels, and large fashion and textile companies. Aleema Khan, a craft aficionado and owner of a large textile export and buying company since 1994, was SABAH chair from 2013 to 2015. She was also a customer through her company; her goal was to place orders with up to 10,000 home-based workers. In her opinion, the largest challenge of working at that scale would be communication and infrastructure to manage the orders, designs, and production efficiently (App 2A-23 and App 2A-24). However, the ambition to link producers to the industrial textile sector, including export, created challenges. It became very difficult to satisfy customer demand. SABAH tried to produce 600–700 cushion covers of the same design for one large fashion and home textile label. This quantity is not large enough to get the yarn dyed in

[33] The interview from which this number stems took place in autumn 2015, whereas the data emailed to me a bit earlier listed the number of members as of 31 Dec 2013. This might explain the difference between 3,299 profile cards and the membership number of 1,897.

a particular hue industrially; instead it is done lot by lot in big barrels. As a result the yarn dyed in different barrels showed slight variations; dyeing with this technique can never produce identical shades. SABAH spent two years trying to get the colour of the yarn right. Even though several sets could be done in exactly the same shade, the customer rejected the finished results, leaving SABAH with hundreds of cushion covers. SABAH expended enormous effort in terms of time, human resources and money on this project. It cannot afford to have a customer reject an order, especially on this scale. Another customer ordered a large amount of tie-dye fabric, and SABAH managed had difficulties to complete the order in time. From these experiences, SABAH learned that it is important to identify customers who order feasible quantities and product designs. In the case outlined above, the designers could have chosen yarn in a shade that was readily available. The experience also showed the importance of being realistic with customers about quantities and time frames (App 2A-25).

SABAH was founded with the goal of becoming an independent enterprise, ideally by 2015, when the SDF funding would terminate. At my last meeting with Samina, in March 2017, this goal had not been achieved. In her opinion it could only be achieved if independent business groups took over the overall management, which they would need to learn better. According to her, two paid professionals are still required: a manager to write reports and communicate internationally with donor agencies, institutions and brands, who is fluent in English and understands both the international aid system and the textile market; and an accountant who can manage the accounts up to annual auditing standard. While these two positions might possibly be financed from SABAH's sales in the near future, external grants and funds for training will always be required: designers, trainers, equipment, travel expenses and infrastructure cost too much to be paid for through sales (App 2A-26).

But SABAH currently faces more challenges on its path to become an independent business. It needs to find customers who will place enough orders with its members so that they have the opportunity to earn. Further, it is difficult to balance customer expectations and producer capacity. The directory must be updated regularly, because producer groups' circumstances can change over time due to illness or death of craft producers or a change in interests. Customers do not always understand that hand-made production will not achieve the same repeated precision in large quantities as industrial production.

Another challenge is that besides establishing craft value chains the central task remains empowering communities, with a focus on women and advocating for the labour rights of home-based women workers. Gender Action Learning System (GALS) is a methodology developed by Linda Mayoux that Sungi applied regularly. It is a participatory approach in which training participants use visualisation tools to reflect on their circumstances and develop their own strategies to address their concerns. Facilitators are not only external NGO workers but also 'champions' from within a community (Mayoux, 2014, pp. 1–4). As part of the field research I observed a GALS session in 2012. The training participants made drawings showing aspects of their everyday lives, which mostly included family members, houses and livestock. As a transition

towards discussing income generation possibilities through craft work they were asked to think about their vision of the future and what they would like to achieve. The exercise served as a starting point to discuss the importance of taking on responsibility in craft businesses.

From the beginning Sungi, and later SABAH, aimed to improve women's independence, mobility and recognition, both in the community and in the home. As Asma Ravji notes, one strategy was to support training participants in applying for an ID card because many poor and marginalised people in Pakistan do not have one. However, Sungi insisted that money earned through embroidery work would not be paid in cash but through a bank account, and in order to open a bank account an ID card is required. This meant the women had to leave their communities, go to the bank to get the money and then to the market to purchase materials for the next products. They became more independent in their mobility, as women in rural areas or urban slums often do not leave their communities. By contributing to the household budget their opinions in making decisions regarding the household and the family were respected more (App 2A-10).

In order to remain operational and provide further training, SABAH continues to apply for new grants, which often require them to engage with new communities due to different grant specifics. Through this engagement, and through searching specifically for skilled producers, SABAH continues to acquire new members.

Case Set 3: Kaarvan Crafts Foundation

Affiliations:

- Kashf Foundation
- Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF)

Interview partners:

- Aysha Saifuddin: Founding CEO until 2013
- Danish Khan: CEO since 2013
- Nawazish Ali: Project manager
- Umar Arfi: Project manager at PPAF
- Tahir Malik: Project manager at PPAF and craft projects in Baluchistan

Research activities:

- Interviews with the founding CEO Aysha Saifuddin in 2012 and with subsequent CEO Danish Khan in 2015 and 2017
- Participation in the round table 'Hunur ki Manzil' (craft destination) organised by PPAF and Kaarvan in September 2014
- Visit to Kaarvan Crafts Training Institute in Gujranwala in 2017

Data:

- Recorded interviews with Aysha Saifuddin, Danish Khan, Nawazish Ali, Umar Arfi and Tahir Malik
- Recordings of the round table 'Hunur ki Manzil'
- Photographs of visit to Kaarvan Crafts Training Institute Gujranwala

Description

Kaarvan Crafts Foundation was initiated in 2004 in Lahore as a spin-off of Kashf Foundation, a Pakistani microcredit institute that was established in cooperation with the Bangladeshi microcredit institute Grameen Bank (Zafar, 2020, n.p.). Kashf Foundation provided microcredits to poor women, realising that most of them were skilled in at least 50 different styles of embroidery and embellishment (App 2A-27). Realising that most of these women are trying to do business through embroidery work, and that they are vulnerable to exploitation by the middlemen who are their only link to markets, Kashf decided to provide support to those microcredit customers.

The economist Aysha Saifuddin was vital in establishing the enterprise development programme within Kashf, which was called Kaarvan. She appreciated the high skill levels of the women who received microcredit but also the lack of opportunity for them to access middle- and high-level markets (App 2A-28). A key moment for Kashf's enterprise programme came in 2000, when the American fashion company Gap ordered embroideries on 200,000 garments for its Baby Gap line. The garments

were manufactured by the Pakistani textile company Comfort Textiles. The time frame was tight: just 45 days. In order to be able to work efficiently, Kaarvan invested in good working conditions, which Gap required, setting up workspaces with comfortable seating and lighting and nurseries where the women could leave their children during working hours. The order was completed successfully with very small quality issues (less than 0.5%) and almost in time. As a result of this success spirits were high and the women very motivated (App 2A-29). Following 9/11, however, Gap pulled out of Pakistan. While this caused a big setback for the enterprise development programme, it triggered an important question: why were foreign customers needed? In 2004 Kaarvan Crafts Foundation was founded as a separate entity with the objective of facilitating marketing and business services for the women, to give them access to more and better-paying buyers.

One principle at the time was to create a financially viable business rather than accepting grants. Three shops were opened in Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad, selling embroidered products and some experiments with handmade paper and candle-making. By the time of this interview in 2012, Kaarvan Crafts had become financially independent (App 2A-30).
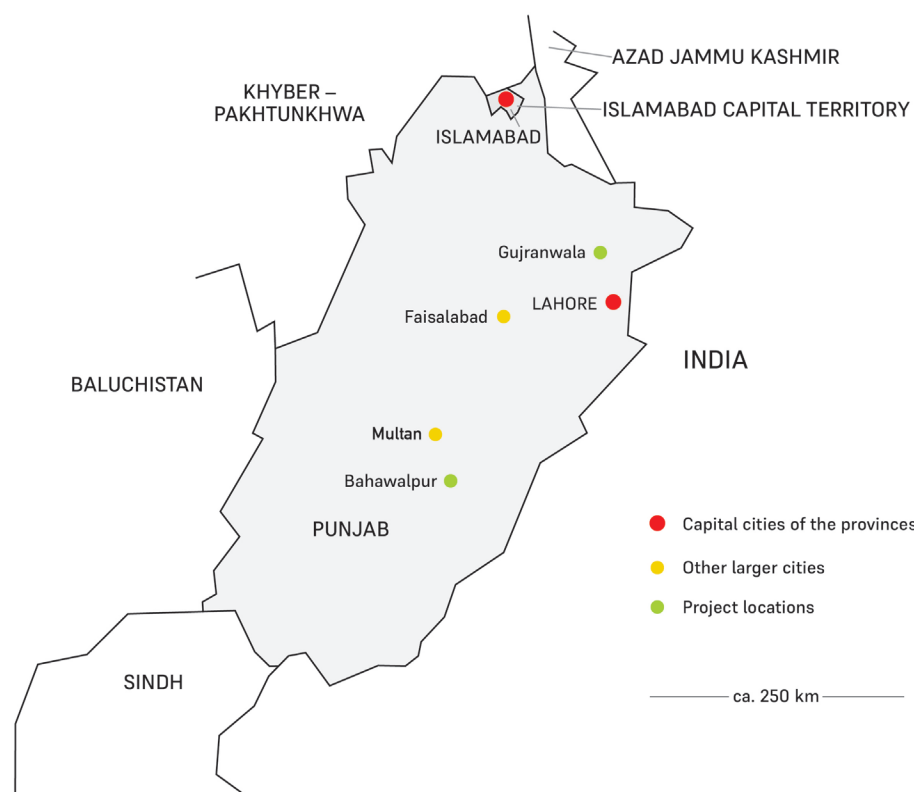
Fig. 4.11: Important locations of the case set Kaarvan Crafts Foundation

34 MEDA works internationally on economic empowerment strategies at grassroots level. In Pakistan it implemented the project 'Behind the Veil' between 2003 and 2007, establishing value chains through training female sales agents.

In 2008 Kaarvan was contacted by the international organisation Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA)[34] to establish value chains for about 8,000 women. The main task was to improve value chain management from production in remote villages to urban wholesalers, retailers and markets (MEDA, n.d., n.p.; Snelgrove and Ryan, 2011, pp. 1–5). There needs to be an intermediary, for example a middleman, because the women would not travel to big cities to deliver their products or contact wholesalers themselves. In Pakistan's large informal textile sector, this middleman is often from outside the community and works as a purchaser of embroideries for large, cheap bazaars. Such middlemen system is unreliable in terms of securing a continuous flow of orders, however, and tends to pay very low rates. Kaarvan took a different approach. It trained 213 female sales agents who lived in the same villages as the producers. Crucially, the producers selected the agents, which means the agents were invested in their communities and would receive a much higher level of trust than would be given to an outsider (Kaarvan, 2017a; App 2A-31, 2A-32).

Once Kaarvan took on such consultancies more regularly, it was divided into Kaarvan Crafts as a self-sustaining enterprise with 1,500 producers; and Kaarvan Consulting for funded consultancies to share expertise

The divisions did not subsidise one another, and Kaarvan Crafts remained financially independent, but of course expertise was shared. For example, Aysha gradually streamlined the management tasks of Kaarvan Crafts, so that it did not take much of her time as she did it voluntarily. Secondly, the first women to receive training took over many management tasks (App 2A-33). Part of Kaarvan's strategy during those years was that value chain management should be transferred to the community and customers such as wholesalers and retailers (App 2A-34).

In 2013 Aysha left Kaarvan but remains on the board. Danish Khan became the CEO. Danish studied architecture at the National College of Arts in Lahore, then did an MBA degree and worked for Nestlé for six years. Some aspects of Kaarvan had changed over time. The shops closed in order to work on more efficient value chains first (App 2A-35).

Kaarvan's approach to preserving traditional craft techniques is rather pragmatic. The priority is creating income opportunity for as many women as possible through placing orders with them. Whether these products represent the traditional culture of the community is less important than ensuring a regular workflow. Therefore Kaarvan focuses on understanding the demand side — customers' tastes and wishes — in order to attract orders. The customer segment has been expanded and includes large industrial textile export companies such the Crescent Group, one of Pakistan's largest, as well as local fashion and textile brands such as Bareeze and Generation. One of Kaarvan's core tasks is to manage the value chain, from production to wholesaler, retailer and end customer, so efficiently that as many women as possible can regularly earn (App 2A-36, 2A-37).

The original goal was to train women to become independent individual or collective entrepreneurs, delivering to their local bazaars or other customers. The female sales agents from the craft producer communities would play a key role. Therefore Kaarvan's training includes communication and exposure to contemporary markets, so that the women are enabled to negotiate fair payment with buyers (App 2A-38). For its consulting projects, Kaarvan proposes its own exit strategy, Aysha Saifuddin explains:

> A very interesting thing we did was also, before entering into this project, we developed our exit strategy ... You are doing development to create change. If the change is created, your need should really be eliminated, if you have done a good job. Unless you are creating your exit from that project you are actually not doing development. And if you do your exit, and if you ensure that you are not needed, that is true development
> (Aysha Saifuddin, 2012, Min. 21:06-21:46, App 2A-34)

Kaarvan is nowadays aware that long-term support is required for many of the trainees, and only some are able to identify and maintain customer links independently.

In 2014 the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund organised a round table in order to connect the demand and the production side. Kaarvan helped to organise this. Producers from remote villages and customers from large supermarkets and textile chains were present. The idea was to foster dialogue to find out what each side needed. Four aspects are particularly important for the demand side when they order from Kaarvan's producers. According to Danish Khan, these are: timely product delivery, quality, capacity for volume production, and product design innovation. Danish considers innovation driven-development particularly important and sees opportunities for integrating designers in this field. Kaarvan has no in-house designer but mostly relies on designers from its network to conduct training pro bono in classic arts and design skills like colour combinations, composition and textures (App 2A-39, 2A-40).

By 2017 Kaarvan had mobilised and trained 15,723 women. More than 3,000 women were about to participate (App 2A-41). Today some women who took Kaarvan's training operate as independent entrepreneurs. They either deliver to their own clients in local bazaars or are asked by Kaarvan to produce for larger orders from national or international companies. Some training graduates do not want to be independent and prefer work to be given to them. Others might not utilise their new skills immediately but remember later on that they could use their training for their own economic benefit. For Kaarvan one of the challenges is still to acquire enough customers to satisfy the large number of training graduates (App 2A-42).

Kaarvan Crafts Foundation opened training institutes in Bahawalpur and Gujranwala (fig. 4.11). The latter I visited in 2017. One hundred women between 18 and 45 were divided into four classes and follow a three-month training programme. The curriculum was developed with the British organisation 'City and Guilds' and customised for the

Pakistani grassroots sector. It consisted of training sessions in colour, shape, sewing and embroidery. The objective wass that graduates of this course could either produce for existing independent entrepreneurs or find their own clients and become entrepreneurs themselves.

At different points in this research Danish criticised donors for prescribing processes and strategies; he identified this as well-intended but not always useful or relevant in the local context. He therefore considered one collaboration between Kaarvan and the Centre for Economic Research Pakistan a big achievement. Kaarvan was able to convince the Punjab Skills Development Fund, a Punjab government body, to use a different implementation model, Kaarvan's model, as a standard for future projects in the realm of skills development. Kaarvan and the Centre for Economic Research Pakistan had worked in 108 villages in which women received skills training. In 54 of those villages, the women received additional market linkage support. Research showed that this approach made training participants better able to connect to customers long-term (App 2A-43, 2A-44).

In recent years a key concern of Kaarvan's work has been the identification and qualification of trainers for the training centres and other projects. It is not easy to find trainers with the required qualifications, such as professional designers, who would be willing or able to move to a remote area for many months to give vocational training. At Kaarvan, Danish and the team are well aware of this gap, and they are developing a curriculum for trainers. It turned out that those trainers also require further training, because it is difficult for them to adjust to changing trends in fashion and home textiles and to new communication technologies. Kiran Khan, head of the Department of Textile Design at BNU worked with Danish on a curriculum for these trainers. Interestingly, they reconnected at one of my focus groups (described later in this chapter) after meeting during undergraduate studies twenty years earlier (App 2A-45, App 2A-46).

I saw for myself the need to improve the qualification of the trainers during a brief visit to the Kaarvan Training Centre in Gujranwala in 2017. The four trainers were ambitious and dedicated, but they were unfamiliar with the product aesthetics desired in an upscale market. They themselves had taken part in vocational training, not only in that offered by Kaarvan, and because they did not find work afterwards, they became trainers. This illustrates two key challenges: 1) finding enough customers for the training graduates, and 2) educating qualified trainers in order to be able to offer relevant training.

Kaarvan maintains a strong network of strategic partners in the development sector with other human rights organisations and donor or grant agencies: Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund, Punjab Skills Development Fund, HomeNet, the British Asian Trust, the Kashf Foundation; in the research sector, Centre for Economic Research Pakistan; in the textile industry sector with large textile manufacturers brands; and in the international vocational training sector, with for example the British consultancy and accrediting institution City & Guilds (Kaarvan, 2017b; App 2A-47).

Affiliations:
- Looptex Pvt. Ltd.
- Mogh Ltd.
- Aga Khan Rural Support Programme
- Swiss Development Corporation
- Polly & Me & Polly & Other Stories

Interview partners:
- Moiz Farooq: CEO of Looptex, Lahore
- Israr Ud Din: CEO of Mogh Ltd. at the time in Chitral
- Raza Ulmulk: Project manager at Aga Khan Rural Support Programme
- Zainab Alam: Designer behind the label Karizmah
- Cath Braid: Designer behind the project and label Polly & Me
- Angela Braid: Designer behind the project and label Polly & Me

Research activities:
- Interviews with Moiz Farooq in 2013, 2015 and 2017, Israr Saboor in 2013, Raza Ulmulk in 2013, Zainab Alam in 2013, and Angela Braid in 2016
- Conversation with Cath Braid in 2013 during a walk in Chitral

Data:
- Recorded interviews with Moiz Farooq, Israr Saboor, Raza Ulmulk, Zainab Alam and Angela Braid
- Notes from a conversation with Cath Braid
- Photographs of visit to Mogh in Chitral and to Looptex in Lahore

Description

Shubinak is a fashion, accessories and home textiles brand that was formed as a joint venture between the Lahore-based industrial textile manufacturing company Looptex Pvt. Ltd. and the social business Mogh Ltd. in the remote mountainous area of Chitral (fig. 4.12). 'Shubinak' means 'warping of a loom by women' in the Chitrali language, and it is also the Chitrali term for a spider that makes a web (Shubinak, n.d.).

This case is characterised by its distinct location and by its unusual synergy between a community organisation and a large industrial textile company.

Chitral town is the capital of the Chitral administrative district in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of North Pakistan. It is located in the Hindukush mountains bordering Afghanistan. The area has only recently become accessible during the winter months, after a tunnel through the mountains was built. Often the tunnel is closed for repair, however, so travel largely depends on the condition of the Lowari Pass, a high

mountain pass that separates Chitral from the rest of Pakistan, which Chitrali people also call 'down country'. According to the population census, in 2017 Chitral district had a population of a little under 450,000, and Chitral town around 50,000 (PBS, 2017b). Chitral consists mainly of villages, and from some of these it is a journey of several hours to reach Chitral town. Chitral is also home to the distinctive culture of the Kailash people, who still live according to ancient cultural traditions in three villages. Generally the region is vulnerable to natural disasters such as floods and earthquakes; a severe earthquake hit during the time of this research in 2016.

Fig. 4.12: Important locations of the case set Shubinak

Understanding the cooperation between Looptex and Mogh requires a brief look at how it emerged from previous efforts to support craft-making in Chitral.

Shu is a woven woollen fabric of narrow width, approximately 30 cm, that was brought to Chitral from Central Asia. The making of *shu* (in the Chitrali language) and *patti* (Urdu) dates back to 1,500 BC. It has been made for centuries in Garam Chashma, a *tehsil* (subdistrict) of Chitral with an estimated population between 80,000 and 100,000 and in some smaller districts. Traditionally both men and women are involved in making

shu, with women spinning the wool and men weaving. One weaver is needed for approximately 30 spinners. *Shu* is traditionally used for making waistcoats and woollen caps. In the late 1980s, *shu* weaving started to face economic decline due to competition from industrial fabric production. When during this time Australian researchers visited Chitral as tourists *shu* caught their interest. With the support of the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP),[35] the researchers studied shu-making for a year and developed strategies for how to improve the quality of *shu*, such as making it softer and the edges more even, and how to market it more effectively. Their proposal included three components: 1) improving the breed of sheep, 2) forming a village organisation to be owned and managed by the *shu* makers, and 3) creating a centre that focuses on value addition to the products, which included product design. This value addition house was named Shubinak House. In many villages where the researchers looked for *shu* locals said that the craft no longer existed, but one village, Mogh, was particularly interested in reviving this craft. Small projects aiming to revive *shu* continued until the late 1990s, supported through a series of small grants organised by the AKRSP. After this, the Swiss Development Corporation (SDC) provided a larger grant for seven and a half years. Around 2005 / 2006 the SDC decided to continue funding for two years but not for development work; it chose instead to focus on establishing a social enterprise as an exit strategy in order to make the *shu* project more sustainable. Simultaneously the Pakistan Government became interested in the *shu* project and continued to fund the development work, so Shubinak House also continued. Raza Ulmulk, who at that time worked for the AKRSP and who had proposed the establishment of a craft based business, decided to continue with the development work at Shubinak House, whereas Israr ud Din, an MBA graduate from Karachi and originally from Chitral, took charge of establishing the business (App 2A-48. 2A-49, 2A-50).

The business was named Mogh Limited, because, as a local legend goes, *shu* in Chitral was made for the first time in Mogh village. Mogh was conceived as a public limited company, whereas most businesses are set up as private limited companies. This was a conscious decision, because the idea was not that a few people should own the company and make a profit. Instead, anyone including the *shu* makers, could become a shareholder by purchasing shares. These shares only cost ten rupees, and most shareholders bought 100 shares for 1,000 rupees, less than ten Euros. In 2013, Israr explained that there was not yet a financial benefit to being a shareholder, which would mean that the company made enough profit to divide among

[35] The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) is the umbrella organization for a number of sub-organizations such as the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme. It is headed by His Highness the Aga Khan, the Imam of the Shia Ismaili community worldwide. The AKDN has a strong focus on cultural heritage and education. In Pakistan it is particularly engaged in northern areas where a large part of the population belongs to the Ismaili community.

shareholders. Instead the benefit was of a motivational character: it provided a sense of ownership and pride in being part of a company. Around 300 of the producer shareholders took great interest in the company, attending annual meetings, informing themselves about company matters such as accounts, and electing the auditor for the following year (App 2A-51, 2A-52).

One of the challenges and ironies of this business model was that it is committed to the social benefit of the *shu* makers through partnering with them. Mogh purchased large amounts of *shu* but faces difficulties in selling it in such quantities and in developing new *shu*-based products that sell. Mogh received its smallest benefit through *shu* but nonetheless remained committed to supporting the *shu* makers through ordering their fabric. After all, supporting them was the original objective of starting craft support projects in Chitral. Initially the AKRSP was hesitant to include other crafts, especially embroidery, because it was already supporting a project with that focus in another area, so it would mean competition. But when it became apparent that establishing a social enterprise based solely on *shu* was nearly impossible, the AKRSP agreed to include other crafts, especially after some prototypes of jewellery and embroidered products were developed (App 2A-53, 2A-54, 2A-55).

For Mogh, which was conceptualised as a production centre for different customers, one early customer was the label Polly & Me. During the early 2000s, the Australian fashion designer Cath Braid moved to Chitral and began to design fashion items for the Australian market using Chitrali embroideries. In 2007 she founded Polly & Me, a high-quality collection of leather bags and wallets featuring embroideries by Chitrali women. During the 2008 project 'Gup Shup', 23 women of the area embroidered wall hangings with motifs based on life in Chitral. They were sold mainly in Islamabad and brought a return of about 40,000 US dollars (Polly & Me, n.d., n.p.; Polly & Other Stories, n.d., n.p.). Through this collaboration, Mogh made its first profit and the women earned a substantial amount. However, in subsequent years the endeavour became more challenging, with some years of loss and some of profit (App 2A-56).

Moiz Farooq is a textile industrialist who in 2004 founded Looptex Pvt. Ltd. in Lahore to manufacture apparel for brands such as Levi's. He took a particular interest in ecological production and was the first to set up a complete supply chain, from sourcing organic cotton until the end product (App 2A-57). He became aware of the craft activities in Chitral around 2005, when he saw a stall run by Shubinak House at a fair in Lahore organised by the Women Chamber of Commerce. After a trip to Chitral he saw both the opportunities and the challenges of creating a business in such a remote area, especially regarding product design, production, merchandising and logistics. This is when Looptex and Mogh joined hands and created the label Shubinak. Tasks were divided between the two companies, with Looptex taking responsibility for product development, design, production and business processes such as merchandising, and Mogh being responsible for coordinating the production of the hand-crafted work. Mogh was also free to manage craft production for other customers besides Shubinak. Moiz is very particular about the fact that Shubinak has to become a financially viable

enterprise with a functioning supply chain and free of support from grants. He does not agree to the common practice of funding dependent project-based work of NGOs, which often terminate without teaching the skills required for managing a supply chain (App 2A-58, 2A-59).

In 2015 Shubinak presented its first collection at Pakistan Fashion Week. At that time, the organisational structure of the joint venture had changed. Looptex had bought Mogh, because it believed it would be better to have production management within the same entity in order to produce the required pieces within certain timeframes. This meant that Mogh was no longer an independent company. Mogh's team remained the same, although Israr had left Mogh a year earlier to work on other projects. However, the division of responsibilities did not change much from the original plan. Mogh remains responsible for managing the production of hand-crafted items and can also supply to other customers (App 2A-60, 2A-61).

As of 2017 Looptex manages the brand Shubinak and its complete supply chain, including the production of embroidery, *shu* and other handmade pieces through Mogh. However, unforeseen and craft-unrelated challenges hit the business between 2015 and 2017. In spring 2016 a severe earthquake hit Chitral, which destroyed not only the local Shubinak shop but also many homes and crops of the producers and others affiliated with Mogh. Severe floods hit the region in late summer and unusually strong snowfall came in the following winter. For about 18 months it was impossible to focus on craft-making. Instead the priority was to rebuild homes and infrastructure (App 2A-62). Shubinak merchandises its products in Pakistan through an online shop. Initially it ran three shops, in Islamabad, Lahore and Chitral, plus one in Edmonton in Canada, where Moiz's family lives for part of the time, but currently the shops are closed. However the early shop concepts were interesting: for example, a handloom was installed in the Lahore shop and fabric was woven live in front of customers. People could also place customised orders and collect them a day or two later. Similarly, the plan was that embroiderers would be sitting in the shop showing how they work. The woven *shu*, as well as a hand-woven cotton fabric, *khadi*, and the embroidered fabrics, are merchandised under the name 'fabric of life'. Besides developing products for its own lines, Shubinak takes customised orders. One example was the production of two kinds of prayer mats – a cheaper printed one and a more expensive woven one – for the Edmonton Heritage Council and the Islamic Family and Social Services in Canada. Another example was the production of 700 scarves for a university for the second consecutive year (App 2A-63).

One of the characteristics of the case project Shubinak, and other craft projects in Chitral, is that a prominent strategy for promoting the products is storytelling. These are either stories about traditional Chitrali arts and crafts, including the techniques of weaving *shu*, or about everyday life, which also focuses on how life follows the same rhythm as it has for many centuries.

Step 3 – Definition of three typical CFIP types

Based on the descriptions of the case sets, three types of CFIP are defined based on observed shared characteristics:

1. Donor funded aid programme (DFAP)
2. Craft enterprise (CE)
3. Community development initiative (CDI)

Beyond these three main CFIP types there are other approaches, for example outreach projects by educational institutions or marketplaces for craft products such as online shops, craft shops or craft bazaars. I did not select these as one of the main CFIP types, because they rather appeared as affiliations or strategies of the main CFIP types. Craft enterprises that work predominantly with expert artisans like block printers or weavers are also not the focus of this research. The focus that emerged is on projects that mainly engage people who have a craft skill, learned as part of their upbringing but not used for earning income. Therefore my interest lies in the moment when craft producers are meant to become part of ethical craft value chains.

The described case sets feature characteristics of all three CFIP types, but usually those of one type dominate. It is important to keep in mind that the following findings describe tendencies, for which counter-examples also exist. For example, both SABAH and Kaarvan are conceptualised as business models (CE), but one of their core activities is conducting capacity building through trainings and workshops, for which they often need to apply for funds. Therefore here they are mainly considered NGOs that conduct DFAPs even though they are technically companies. On the other hand, Shubinak is a CE with little or no support from the aid sector. It faces similar problems to DFAPs, but instead of relying on grant applications its support comes from the industrial textile company Looptex, its mother company. Thatta Kedona's focus is not enterprise; It is a community development initiative (CI), and selling craft products is one of many activities in its holistic approach. The other three case projects — SABAH, Kaarvan and Shubinak — also extend their work into community development, but craft value chains are their central focus.

This categorisation into DFAP, CE and CDI is not set in stone but rather serves the purpose of comparing different CFIP concepts and implementation strategies.

Step 4 – Typical scenarios of three CFIP types

In the following section typical scenarios of the three CFIP types are described, mainly based on the four case sets presented above, though other case projects that were part of the research are referred to as well.

CFIP type 1: Donor funded aid programme (DFAP)

Context

DFAPs in Pakistan are usually conducted by international and national NGOs or government organisations. Two NGOs that conduct DFAP are SABAH and Kaarvan. Both organisations formally operate as (non-profit) companies but originate in the human, legal and economic social welfare sector and are hence similar in character to NGOs. Craft production is identified as a possible strategy to support NGO focus areas, such as economic, cultural or social empowerment. The underlying idea is to support poor people in becoming independent entrepreneurs, often focusing on women with a craft skill. Therefore DFAP's objective is to establish and maintain sustainable craft value chains with related aspects of empowerment in mind, such as increased mobility and overall agency.

Among women the most prevalent skill is embroidery, alongside crochet and sewing. Those already developed skills offer an opportunity for commencing a project immediately, as well as combining that project with the aim of preserving cultural heritage and advocating for social justice, for example labour laws.

Scale and stakeholders

DFAPs are often large in scale. It is not unusual for the goal of each project to be to link 200, 300 or more home-based women workers with markets, for example in SABAH and Sungi's Humnawa project. Some projects involve several thousand people; Kaarvan's 'Pathways and Pursestrings' project, for example, had around 8,000 participants. Projects are often embedded into different larger concerns of a grant scheme, for example women empowerment. One of the characteristics of DFAPs is therefore the large number of people involved. Stakeholders may include:
  – Representatives of
    > International development credit institutions, such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund
    > International aid agencies, such as different UN organisations and government aid agencies, such as USAID, UK Aid, DFID, GIZ
    > International NGOs, such as Oxfam, Care, Plan International (INGO)
    > Local grant coordination organisations, such as the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund
    > Local non-profit companies, such as Kaarvan or SABAH
    > Local large NGOs, such as Sungi or Home Net Pakistan
    > Local community-based organisations

- Designers and entrepreneurs with their own fashion, textile or product labels
- Design faculty
- Design students
- MBA faculty
- MBA students
- Textile industrialists
- Project-based expert consultants
  - For evaluating the situation before and after a project,
  - For suggesting certain steps or conducting training
- Craft producers
  - Home-based women workers with typical embroidery skills
  - Specialised artisans with their own workshops
  - Micro-entrepreneurs who for example stitch clothes

People involved in DFAPs have a common interest in craft and empowerment, so they often have personal and project-based contacts to the other CFIP types, CE and CDI. In DFAP the non-governmental sector and the government cooperate. For example SABAH cooperates with NGOs such as Home-Net or its own mother organisation Sungi, and with the government on legal rights, such as formulating a policy on home-based workers, which means addressing the harsh conditions of the informal sector, unprotected by labour laws and vulnerable to financial exploitation and unstable work conditions. Kaarvan also works with policy and research think tanks, such as the Centre for Economic Research Pakistan, and with the government on legal rights advocacy.

Financial Situation

DFAPs depend on NGOs receiving funding through a tightly knit network of multi- and bilateral bodies, such as international credit institutions, donor agencies and Pakistan's federal and provincial governments.

DFAP work out their programmes according to their thematic focus areas. Since they require grants, most of them over time formulate their programmes so that they can be amended in line with changing donor foci and requirements. These requirements vary in terms of scale, time frame and region. Target groups may include poor women, women of a certain district or from an ethnic or religious minority, men and women from a certain background, Afghan refugees, earthquake victims, victims of sexual abuse and violence, or artisans specialised in a certain craft technique. Overarching goals vary too, from empowering women to supporting rural infrastructure, building self-confidence after trauma, preserving craft traditions or a combination of these. Often DFAP activities get fragmented if a grant terminates and a new grant has a different focus. Sometimes existing projects can be amended accordingly, but often they are at risk of being disrupted or discontinued.

Donors often follow a pragmatic approach when they identify, implement and justify their budgets. NGO managers conducting DFAPs on the other hand have a holistic and contextual understanding of the complex entanglements of different

empowerment dimensions as a result of their longstanding first-hand experiences. They know that programmes must be open-ended because concerns are complex, but often when depending on grants programme planning is compromised and thrown back into the world where problems and success indicators are simplified and used to justify spending in the international aid sector. Results based on defined indicators can be communicated more easily than open-ended processes, where results are not always immediately recognisable. But donors are accountable for the money they give to implementing partners, for example NGOs. In order to tackle this situation, NGOs try to use grants for different components within the larger programmes they developed within their NGO. It is a strategy to maintain an open-ended character of their pro-grammes within the common limitation of grant deadlines.

The process of applying for grants follows a typical pattern. Grant distribution organisations, such as the Punjab Skills Development Fund (PSDF) and the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF), circulate a call for proposals, and NGOs, such as SABAH and Kaarvan, submit proposals. It takes several months and continuous com-munication between NGO managers and grant distribution organisations before a grant is approved or rejected. Many grant schemes have an umbrella topic; for instance typi-cal titles for PSDF schemes include 'Skills for Employability', 'Skills for Market', 'Skills for Jobs' or 'Skills for Garments'. These schemes do not focus specifically on women or embroidery, but their scope allows for NGOs to find their point of entry into the applica-tion process.

Grant applications include negotiating the kind and number of target group par-ticipants, timelines, budgets, activities, consultants and partner organisations, travel itineraries and cost of materials. These negotiations take place many months before the implementation period begins. By the time a DFAP commences, circumstances might have changed: consultants may no longer be available, costs may have risen, the travel and security situation may have worsened.

Part of the work of submitting a grant proposal is identifying partner organisa-tions and consultants. Generally speaking, stakeholders (except for most craft pro-ducers) work in the same sector over many years, maintain close work relationships and networks, and have developed a common language and routine in processing grant applications, assessing projects and compiling reports. Application procedures become routine, making applications easier, but this can become a barrier to critical reflection and trying out alternative approaches.

DFAPs, with their large scale, number and diversity of stakeholders, and spread of activities, requires significant financial investment to cover travelling costs, payment, materials and equipment. None of these activities generate revenue, however, and craft production during vocational training generates little to nothing. Establishing inde-pendent sustainable value chains is challenging or even impossible within a grant's timespan of a few months or years. Therefore, in order to remain operational, NGOs continuously apply for new grants, which demands a lot of staff time and resources; those same staff members must also care for those whose training has just finished but have not yet been linked to markets as promised. Such aftercare is usually not part

of a grant scheme, but Sungi's establishment of the membership-based social craft enterprise SABAH, or Kaarvan's social enterprise scheme, can be considered strategies for offering a longer-term perspective to trainees.

Activities and training content

DFAP training aims to address the spectrum of skills and knowledge required to manage a value chain: product design, production and merchandising. Training is usually conducted thematically in sessions of one day to several weeks each. Such vocational training programmes follow similar pattern, with variations, and typically includes these components:

- Skill assessment through sample-making
- Quality training regarding embroidery placement, finishing, precision of sewing and pattern-making
- Fostering artistic skills such as colour harmony
- Product development together with NGO employees and more rarely with designers
- Site visits to high-end markets for which trainees might produce later on
- Exploration of local markets for sourcing materials and selling products
- Meetings with potentil customers in order to discuss their wishes, needs, and the feasibility of fulfilling them
- Discussions on fair payment and pricing, and on wider issues such as constraints of travelling to sales events and the importance of getting an ID card and a bank account
- Envisioning the future through exercises like drawing and embroidering dreams and visions
- Group management training
- Setting up common facilities for managing production

Craft producer involvement

Supporting craft producers is one of the core reasons for starting DFAP, but involving them in activities before and after the actual project, such as project planning and managing craft value chains, is one of the biggest challenges. In the aid sector, craft producers are often called beneficiaries, indicating that they are to a certain extent perceived as passive receivers of aid rather than active and responsible participants. They are usually identified by the NGO that implements DFAPs according to donor specifications, such as a specific location. Convincing potential participants, for example home-based women workers, to join is not always easy because it might mean they have to travel to a training centre daily, sometimes a journey of an hour or more, leaving household and children behind. Most are interested in earning but have difficulties in anticipating how this training will lead to future earnings, let alone a flourishing craft business. Sometimes disappointing earlier experiences with DFAPs add to the hesitance and a widespread assumption that NGOs 'distribute something', and participants might simply get donations, for example a sewing machine, tools or fabric. NGOs are in a trap.

The donor requires a certain number of trainees, but trainees are not highly motivated. A common motivational strategy is to pay trainees a stipend for their participation, but this is controversial. Theoretically and psychologically it might be better if they pay for their training as a form of investment into a qualification. On the other hand this can hardly be expected from them because they have been disappointed before and can therefore not anticipate the benefit of their participation.

The question of how to give the producers' perspective more room occupies project managers continuously. SABAH, for instance, has home-based women workers on its board, women who have taken Sungi training. Strengthening such approaches is a challenge, but it is considered a promising way to counter top-down management of donor-funded craft projects.

Impact

The impact of DFAPs is difficult to measure. After a vocational training concludes it is not always possible to keep track of what each trainee is doing. Some might register with a social enterprise like SABAH or Kaarvan. Others might use their new skills to produce on their own for customers. Others might not begin using what they have learned until after some time has passed. Participant and producer numbers might provide some insight, but they can also change quickly if, for example, a large customer quits. Kaarvan's 2017 annual report says that more than 19,000 women participated in training courses, but it is very difficult for Kaarvan or anyone else to know exactly how many trainees engage in the craft business regularly, sporadically or never.

Some positive effects are nonetheless achieved. They are highlighted through describing individual cases, for example Gohar, the Sungi graduate who now facilitates production and merchandising independently. Kaarvan has similar examples. However the risk remains that no orders are placed with many training participants and that they return to their previous situation.

DFAP managers are aware of this problem and have established aftercare strategies to help with marketing products, finding customers additional learning, even though these issues are not usually covered by grant schemes. SABAH started to return to communities where they had conducted training a few years before in order to offer refresher courses. Both SABAH and Kaarvan created types of membership for producers, which also serve as a producer directory in case potential customers want to place orders. Both organisations actively search for customers. However, all DFAP managers agree that it remains a challenge to link producers to a) a sufficient number of customers, and b) to customers who have an understanding of what is feasible in terms of quantity, quality, time frame, and perhaps also innovative product design.

CFIP type 2: Craft enterprise (CE)

Context

Craft enterprises (CE) are mostly fashion, textile and accessory labels. These are often managed by just one person working with a small group of artisans specialising in a particular craft, such as block printing or weaving, but also with home-based women workers. CE owners often have a design or business background, a penchant for crafts, and altruistic and philanthropic reasons for supporting poor craftspeople.

One example of a larger CE in Pakistan is Shubinak. Another is Koel, a fashion and textile label from Karachi, founded by the designer Noorjehan Bilgrami. Since the 1970s she has collaborated closely with block printers who use the special *ajrak* technique, with a focus on using natural dyes. She later extended her engagement to weavers and others. What started as personal engagement developed into the label Koel, with a brand strategy, shops in Karachi and Lahore, and international collaborations (Koel, 2020, n.p.). At Koel the emphasis is on reviving traditional techniques. The (mostly male) producers are specialised artisans with an existing workshop or small business. Other CE work with poor people who have typical but good craft skills. Those collaborations often begin with a personal contact, for instance when a servant in the house has a craft skill, and the employer takes the initiative to support the servant and his / her community in using it to earn additonally. The Lahore-based project Labour & Love is such a private initiative, founded in 2010. By 2013 Nuria Rafique-Iqbal, a lawyer, had set up craft production centres in a low-income neighbourhood; the main one was in the Mehmood Booti neighbourhood. She was inspired to start this initiative by her cook's wife's embroidery work. By 2016 this small enterprise was able to sustain itself financially, with Nuria volunteering as the manager. There are roughly 15 to 20 women working in each of the three main centres, and sometimes Nuria gives work to other communities for a particular occasion (App 2A-64, App 2A-65, App 2A-66).

The CEs investigated in this research address poverty and often a sense of cultural loss. Each has a different starting point. Koel focuses on reviving traditional techniques using natural materials and dyes. Labour & Love is not concerned with authentic crafts but designs products, sometimes according to special requests from customers, that sell well, such as T-shirts with the Pakistani flag embroidered on it or knitted soft toys. Shubinak reinterprets traditional skills, especially embroideries, or develops innovative products using the material *shu*.

CEs usually do not view producers as pure manufacturers but instead provide opportunities for them to learn to manage a value chain as independently as possible. Most CE are also concerned with or founded in the context of community development.

Scale and stakeholders

CEs vary in scale. Most begin small and grow gradually. Most remain relatively small, especially if just one person manages them. Shubinak is an unusual example in terms of scale in Pakistan, as it already started with several thousands of *shu* producers.

There are CEs that began small and grew over a several decades, such as the Indian label Fabindia (Singh, 2010; App 2A-67). But those are relatively unusual. Initiators of small CEs sometimes hire an extra person for management tasks but often use their own personal infrastructure or that of one of their main businesses. Only when business activities expand will CEs begin to employ additional personnel.

Stakeholders vary between CE but often the following are involved:

- Business owner and manager
- Producer
- Assistant / runner
- Driver
- Shop manager

Sometimes CEs also collaborate with other product or fashion designers, companies, academia or even NGOs running DFAPs.

Financial situation

A business mindset is inherent to CEs. That does not mean all of them are able to cover their expenses, but CEs do not rely on grants and thus do not bend their conceptual and practical approaches to donor requirements. At times they might receive a grant for a special purpose, but their existence does not depend on grants. Deficits are usually covered from the owner's own pocket. If profit is made, it is usually reinvested in the CEs. Owners usually have other sources of income and care more about financial benefit for the producers. Sometimes support extends far beyond craft business concerns, such as in the case of Shubinak, when houses and infrastructure had to be rebuilt after earthquakes and floods. For such investment there is no financial return.

The merchandising of products takes place through various avenues. Some CEs run their own shops, others sell at temporary fairs, *melas*, such as the Daachi Mela in Lahore, which specialises in craft products. Increasingly CEs sell their products online.

Activities and training content

CEs focus on product development in close coordination with customer demand. While their main focus might not be preserving or reviving a traditional craft, they still aim for a degree of authenticity in the craft as an added value. Activities differ between CE. Most involve training in product design, quality control, and production management including materials distribution, product collection and time management. Personal contact is usually frequent and in-person, especially in small-scale CE. A designer running a CE spends significant time with producers, experimenting with and finessing product designs in iterative processes. Initially many CEs begin with an experiment and next steps are decided in the process. Often there is no particular business plan or road map. Only when a CE grows are business plans roughly worked out, albeit with the awareness that unexpected events are common.

Discussions about other concerns, such as women's empowerment, take place informally during the a CE's activities.

Producer involvement

The quality of participation in CE is usually relatively intensive due to the involvement of craft producers in management tasks from an early stage of the collaboration, which also includes frequent interaction. For the most part there is still a hierarchy: the CE owner is the one who invests, is more aware of market opportunities, and therefore steers the activities. However, in CEs craft producers experience their role of being important partners. From an early stage the collaboration CEs integrate their learning- by-doing approach, which often increases the producers' sense of responsibility and ownership. As a result, the level of participation in CEs is often high.

Impact

Making and selling craft products in most CE do not return as much revenue as is needed to cover infrastructure, materials and human resources costs. The main goal is to pay the craft producers. At best, CE also cover the cost of materials and workspace. CE owners or initiators often volunteer to manage processes. They are not paid for this and often pay from their own pocket in the CE when needed. Only exceptional (and usually large) CE are financially sustainable.

Other CE goals, such as reviving craft traditions or women's empowerment, are not easy to measure. Observable changes include the fact that women who have earned money from craft-making were able to send their children to school. In the long run their children were able to find jobs that can support the family further.

CFIP type 3: Community development initiative (CDI)

Context

Not many community development initiatives were investigated. Therefore the main reference is Thatta Kedona. The CDIs are inherently holistic. They do not focus on concerns in isolation but on improving overall conditions in a community, with crafts being identified as one way to achieve greater financial independence. Long-term objectives are to create the living conditions and capabilities for self-reliant and sustainable lifestyles. CDIs integrate a multitude of different activities addressing concerns, such as income generation, infrastructure, education, heritage and community building.

CDIs usually commence with a personal contact between a person from a poor community and someone who sees an opportunity to support this person and their community. In the case of Thatta Kedona, Senta's long-term compassion for Pakistan[36] and the wish

[36] Senta lived in Pakistan in the 1960s for a few years and has retained a close relationship with the country and its people (unrecorded conversations, 2004-2020).

to do something meaningful in the community of her Pakistani exchange student led to her impulse to start the village project. The initial focus is often income generation, education or health care. Subsequent activities, such as sanitation, education, building and construction, emerge in a generative manner. A CDI would not focus on an isolated concern but look at the impact of that concern on other aspects of community life.

CDIs generally feature many interlinked projects that cross-fertilise one another. The community continuously generates new dynamics. Initiators of CDI appreciate local expertise, which they aim to understand and complement with input from their own professional background and conceptual approach. In Thatta Kedona, for example, the overarching concept was to establish sustainable living conditions in rural areas, and many activities evolved from this conceptual point of departure.

CDIs operate less with a clear road map and more with a set of values that guide a reflective practice.

Scale and stakeholders

The scale of a CDI depends on the community size, for example in a village a few hundred to perhaps a thousand people, of whom a few are involved in the craft component. CDI initiators often volunteer to manage the different activities of the CDI, and external professionals, such as teachers or trainers, provide input on a project basis. In Thatta Kedona, volunteers contribute a wide range of innovative approaches. Some are more successful than others, but all the approaches provide something to think about.

CDI initiators often do not anticipate long-term engagement when they begin but slowly realise that their support is required for years, often decades.
In CDIs the following stakeholders are involved, though not all at once:

- Initiator
- Volunteers (designers, engineers, teachers and other professional experts)
- Producer
- Community members
- Assistants (local coordinators, driver)
- Intern (for example student)

Financial situation

A CDI initiator usually continues to act as a trustee over a long period of time, sometimes decades. This involves financial support, often from their own resources. Grants are accepted for a particular purpose, such as building a school or volunteers' travel expenses, but a CDI's existence does not depend on grants. Craft components within a CDI sometimes return enough money to cover expenses and even fund other CDI activities, but that is rare over longer time periods.

Activities and training content

In Thatta Kedona, for example, volunteers stay for a few weeks and supervise production or introduce new designs and techniques to the craft component of the village project, such as pottery. People from the village also make suggestions, for example

the making of wire and wool animals. The dolls, for which Thatta Kedona is known, go back to the first products the women made, because there is a tradition of doll-making in the region.

Other activities in Thatta Kedona are concerned with infrastructure, such as sewage, schools, solar energy and the health centre. One focus is strengthening local techniques, if they are beneficial for the infrastructure and living conditions, for example the support of mud architecture. Other activities, such as stage plays or the village radio, support the exchange of information and opinions.

Producer participation beyond craft making

Participation is a core value of CDIs, especially with the focus on local expertise, but it is not always easy to achieve this to the desired extent. A CDI initiator has certain values, envisions a direction of such a project, and is in a powerful position due to a high level of education, international exposure, and, usually, a secure income. The target group usually consists of people without these privileges. Target group members might have a different idea of progress, one that is more oriented towards the unsustainable consumer culture they know through the media and from people who return from cities. Such discrepancies cause tensions that require continuous negotiation among stakeholders. Participation is relatively intense and not without friction.

Impact

The business aspect is an important but not the most central aspect in CDI and must be viewed in relation to other benefits regarding the conditions in a community. Through the craft making the women learn many things, from calculating wages to managing production within the group. The strength of CDI lies in the synergy between insider and outsider knowledge and experience, and that concerns the craft component as well as the other activities. While not every experiment leads to success, the value lies in fostering a culture of critical reflection, creativity, curiosity, exchange and collaboration. A change in mindset or the learning of certain skills is not a linear process and not easy to measure, unlike revenue earned through selling craft products, which is quite simple to measure. In Thatta Kedona all activities contribute to the fertile and dense dynamic of the village project. Its dynamic character can be considered an improvement of the living environment as people gradually take on responsibility and ownership. However, this is observed after many years and decades of engagement, not in a few short months.

4.1.4. Discussion of case study findings

The case study is discussed in two sections. In section 1 the three types — DFAPs, CEs and CDIs — are discussed in relation to each other according to three thematic fields, that were defined by applying the bricolage methodology. Challenges, obstacles and promising strategies, observed in the three CFIP types are analysed in section 2.

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Fig. 4.13: Thematic threading through case study findings as suggested by the bricolage method

Section 1: Discussing the three CFIP types

Bricolage, as described in chapter 2, suggests starting research with a 'point of entry text' (POET), the field of interest that motivated the research. While data regarding this POET is gathered, interesting thematic fields emerge, and the researcher 'threads' through them. The POET for this research was the interest in projects that connect craft making, empowerment and design. Three thematic fields emerged (fig. 4.13):

1. Conceptual approaches and organisational formats
2. Skills and knowledge transfer
3. Stakeholder concerns

In the following section these three thematic fields are discussed through the lens of the three CFIP types: DFAP, CE and CDI.

1. Conceptual approaches and organisational formats

Motivations behind CFIPs

CFIPs of all types are driven by the desire to support poor producers and simultaneously highlight the value of crafts as cultural heritage. When aiming for economic empowerment, existing craft skills provide an opportunity to commence immediately in income generation activities such as product development and production. Women, especially in poorer environments, learn how to embroider, sew and crochet as part of their upbringing. Some already use these skills for income but are vulnerable to the exploitative practices of middlemen in the craft sector. Using existing skills seems an obvious start, especially if there are few other income opportunities in the short term. This is the case if people lack access to education such as apprenticeships or training in other professional fields, or if a community's location is very remote and disconnected from other places that offer job opportunities. Many people move to cities where they hope to find work, perhaps as servants for the wealthy urban classes, but if they do not find employment, their situation is worse than before.

For CDIs, one point of departure is to improve living conditions in a community and discourage people from moving to the city in search of a better life. This is the case with the Thatta Kedona project, where craft production for income generation is part of a holistic approach to improve living conditions.

CEs often involve artisan specialists in a particular technique such as block printing, weaving or wood spinning. In these cases the revival of a traditional technique is the core motivation (together with economic empowerment).

DFAPs' motivation is defined by the implementing organisation's thematic direction, usually involving different aspects of social justice, such as women's empowerment, rural development, legal support and poverty alleviation. Within these they find a niche where craft engagement can contribute a meaningful benefit, usually a combination of economic empowerment and strengthening of cultural heritage.

In fact, as the case-set descriptions show, almost all case projects of different types were concerned with highlighting the value of Pakistan's rich craft culture, and almost all viewed their approaches as a contribution to social justice, especially women's empowerment. The question of authenticity of the craft products emerged in every case project but each gave the question of authenticity different priority. Sometimes home-based women workers remember the traditional patterns and motifs of their region. On those occasions it made sense to build on that knowledge. When the women did not remember the traditional patterns but had good skills, it was important to bear in mind that product development does not have to relate to traditional visual vocabulary but can be devloped using new motifs.

Organisational formats of CFIP types

It was observed that the different CFIP types take on the character of the following formats with their inherent characteristics:

DFAPs are programmes following a pre-defined road map of activities, methods and results. The number of participating craft producers, the geographic areas, the partnering stakeholders, the duration of the projects and the results are agreed with the donor before a DFAP commences.

CEs are businesses aiming to support craft producers and revive craft techniques. Earning profits for the company's owner is often secondary to the goal of income generation for the craft producers. A CE, like any business, does not have a finish date but is open-ended in order to achieve long-term sustainable impact.

CDIs are living laboratories, integrating diverse activities with or without a business aspect. They are collaborative, reflective and experimental. They are contextually rooted in the possibilities and experiences of a community and hence likely of participatory character. Activities are developed holistically and organically, following need and opportunity. A CDI is open-ended because the development of a community never ends. The dense and dynamic interplay of different activities creates a laboratory character, in which progress is not always linear and impact not easy to measure.

None of the CFIP types is pure; each contains elements of the other formats. For example, CEs are often concerned with community issues in open-ended and experimental ways and therefore have also characteristics of a laboratory. CDIs and CEs engage in training programmes similar to those of a DFAP when the need or opportunity occurs. A DFAP attempts to incorporate successful CDI and CE strategies but faces limitations due to its dependency on donor money and attached strings. There are no clear boundaries between business, laboratory and programme formats, but in each investigated case set one format dominates, and in order to understand the dynamics of craft projects in grassroots empowerment it is useful to be aware of them.

Open-ended case characters and closed case characters

CEs (businesses) and CDIs (laboratories) both have an open-ended character and are driven by a continuous process of action and reflection. DFAPs have a closed character and need to present results within a pre-defined grant period. Often the desired results are also pre-defined and hence guide the activities; this is not always optimal, because processes are less flexible and adjustable to emerging needs. This contradicts the open-ended character of development and empowerment. NGO managers are aware of this contradiction and create strategies to achieve a more open-ended character for their DFAPs. For example, both Kaarvan and SABAH have membership strategies, hoping that these will help training graduates receive orders in the long run. Organisations such as Kaarvan or SABAH also return to earlier training groups whenever different grant schemes allow. In other words, DFAPs are of closed character, but the implementing organisations aim to achieve the necessary open-ended character within the limits of grant scheme requirements.

Official registration formats

Most case projects decide very consciously their official format and way of registration because those reflect the conceptual approach of their CFIP.

NGOs that implement DFAPs can be registered in different ways in Pakistan. The specifics are complex and extend beyond the scope of this study. However, NGOs can register as a social welfare organisation or as a not-for-profit association. Businesses can register as not-for-profit or for-profit companies and as private or public companies. Some of the investigated cases were registered as private or public companies and subsequently got licensed as a not-for-profit association under the Companies Ordinance, 1984 (Securities and Exchange Commissions of Pakistan, 2016, n.p.).

SABAH and Kaarvan are widely considered to be NGOs. They conduct DFAP with the support of grants, but they chose to register as companies instead of as social welfare organisations. SABAH's parent organisation, Sungi, is registered as a social welfare organisation, and Kaarvan's mother organisation, the Kashf Foundation, is a microcredit bank. While both organisations' objectives are similar to social welfare organisations, they emphasise their ambition to establish sustainable craft businesses rather than charitable organisations by registering as companies. Samina Khan pointed out that the original idea was to register SABAH as a cooperative. Cooperatives are companies that are owned by their members. These can be employees, managers, customers or residents, and each member has an equal say in a company's affairs. The International Co-operative Alliance (ICA) defines a cooperative as 'an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise' (2018, n.p.). A cooperative is motivated by shared values rather than just by economic goals. Internationally agreed-upon cooperative values include voluntary and open membership; democratic member control; member economic participation; autonomy and independence; education, training and information; cooperation among cooperatives; and concern for community (ICA, 2018). In Pakistan the registration of cooperative societies was possible under a law from 1925, but was prohibited in 1993 (Punjab Government, 1993). However, most investigated case projects subscribe to cooperative principles and therefore explored legal ways to achieve a similar format. SABAH was registered as a not-for-profit company, which other than a for-profit company is allowed to apply for grants (App 2A-68). So, while remaining committed to the objective of setting up a CE, aka a business that should be financially sustainable, SABAH kept the door open for receiving support in he form of grants.

The CE Shubinak offers producers the option to become shareholders of the public limited company Mogh Ltd., which indicates a similar attempt to involve producers. The CDI Thatta Kedona registered the NGO AFA, through which certain activities can be processed, such as the selling of products, occasionally receiving of a grant, or activities conducted in the village.

It is safe to say that the concept of shared ownership has been contemplated and attempted in most case projects of all types. Conceptually the idea of becoming a self-sustaining business is a strategy for achieving greater financial and conceptual

independence from grants and their requirements. Most case projects, while aiming to establish craft businesses, do not want to limit their opportunity to receive grants for certain activities, however.

Shared values

All CFIPs subscribe to similar ethical values that address the problems of the exploitative craft sector. These values include safe living and working environments; social security; gender equality; fair payment and continuous work; transparency of information; participation in planning, implementation and decision-making; independence, self-reliance and transfer of responsibilities; and the opportunity to learn for personal and professional growth.

Some of these aspects provide room for debate and interpretation. For example, a good rate for a one-off craft product order might be less useful than repeat orders with a low rate per unit. Values such as increased participation, responsibilities, independence and self-reliance must be seen as underlying guiding values that are very difficult to achieve fully and might require different strategies in different environments. Participation is often mentioned as a main objective, but its limits are seldom discussed. Often it cannot possibly be achieved fully: while some craft producers might be able to design marketable products, because they already had exposure to high-end markets, others have ideas, but because they lack such exposure they do not know their customers' tastes. Therefore they end up developing products that cannot be sold. These craft producers require product design input. Similarly, some craft producer groups are able to manage production and marketing on their own, but others rely on assistance from an NGO or social enterprise.

Different stakeholders define some values differently or have different positions on how to address them, but all CFIP types agree on acting ethically and countering the exploitative practices common in the craft sector.

Scale and principles of scaling up

DFAPs are often confronted with the request for scale and donor demands to include hundreds or even thousands of participants in their programmes. CEs vary in size and usually employ smaller numbers of specialised artisans. They do not necessarily aim to expand to include a large amount of people. Larger ones, like Shubinak, face similar problems to DFAPs regarding customer orders for all producers. In CDIs the number of producers depends on how many people in a community are participating. Villages often have a small population, often under a thousand, including children and elderly. Men are involved in agriculture and low-wage jobs such as construction or trade; however a few men participate, but it is usually only women. In DFAPs the number of so-called beneficiaries (training participants) is a success indicator demanded by donors. However, the case study showed that participant numbers in the hundreds pose a challenge. Training so many people while paying attention to individual needs is not always possible within the given time frame, plus finding customers who will place orders with many producers after a training concludes remains a challenge for most NGOs.

Closely connected with the question of scale is the objective of scalability. The development of replicable methods is often an explicit goal in DFAPs and in line with mainstream development ideology. Especially if the grants come from large donor organisations and are implemented through Pakistani government bodies, the aim is to replicate strategies across Pakistan or internationally.

NGO managers who implement DFAPs do not always agree with donors' ideologies but largely agree with the need to scale up. Therefore some NGO managers develop strategies that they consider more beneficial and try to convince donors of good practices based on research results. An example is the research that Kaarvan did together with the think tank Centre for Economic Research Pakistan, in which market linkage strategies were included in half of the villages where skills training was conducted. The inclusion of market linkage strategies improved the impact, and the Punjab government could be convinced to make this strategy a regular part of its skills training programmes. For an implementing NGO being able to change a mainstream strategy is rare in the aid sector and a considerable success for an NGO, especially if its suggestion supports scaling-up strategies in a contextually relevant way.

The principle of scaling up can be seen as controversial, especially in comparison to the more contextual project implementation strategies of CEs and CDIs. Every community and every setting is different, and circumstances keep changing, often according to the specific needs and wishes of a community. Strategies declared fit for scaling up must be reflected upon in light of their relevance in other contexts. Further replicating a strategy to scale involves the risk of top-down implementation with little room for local expertise and target group participation. Another risk of such replication is that it consolidates while it outdates, while circumstances change.

CEs and CDIs do not focus on scaling up to the same extent as DFAPs. CDIs usually do not see any need to expand; their limit is the community. Sometimes CDI initiators are asked to replicate the same project in another community, as when Norbert and Senta were asked to conduct a similar project in the village of Bharu Kahu. But rather than trying to replicate the same activities as in Thatta Kedona, they facilitated meetings between Farzana from Thatta Kedona and the community coordinators from Bharu Kahu. In these meetings the coordiantors learned how the projects in Thatta Kedona developed over time through action and reflection and identifying needs and opportunities specific to this village. They saw that it made sense to apply this reflective approach in Bharu Kahu rather than the activity of making dolls. These conversations are also scaling attempts. The outcome is not measurable in visible replicas but will be reflected in increased awareness of local conditions and opportunities.

In summary, scaling up can take place in two ways: replication and critical reflection in context. At first sight, the first seems simpler, faster and more logical, but the case study showed that achieving larger numbers of beneficiaries relatively quickly involves almost unsolvable challenges, such as providing orders for all trainees, leading eventually to little impact for many training participants. The second appears more sustainable to me, and in a way resonates with Paulo Freire's critical consciousness approach that builds on a process of empowerment through observation, articulation and critical reflection.

Financial situation and donor relationships

CFIPs of all types — DFAPs, CEs and CDIs — face challenges in trying to cover their expenses. In many cases the costs of management, human resources and the maintenance of infrastructure exceed the amount of what is returned through selling crafts. DFAPs per se only become possible through grants. The very existence of NGOs depends on large grants from international aid agencies and credit institutions, often implemented through government organisations. DFAPs' work does not generate any financial profit. Partly they take on the role of the government, providing basic education, health care and judicial advocacy. Services in these fields do not offer business opportunities at grassroots level, because poor people cannot afford to pay for them. DFAPs concerned with crafts are usually linked to them, because establishing and maintaining sustainable craft value chains is vital for sustaining income opportunities for those people in poor communities who have a craft skill — and those are many. The idea goes to the heart of the neoliberal view of development as entrepreneurship, especially because a cultural practice is treated like a commodity. On the other hand it is an opportunity for participation in a world that is dominated by this neoliberal ideology anyways and impacts all other people too, whether they like it or not.

There are many challenges attached to achieve successful craft businesses. It is difficult for NGOs to train craft producers in DFAPs to the level where they are able to become independent entrepreneurs during relatively short grant periods of a few months or years. NGOs continue to support independent micro-enterprises run by training participants as much as possible and invest a substantial amount of their time, money and energy into applying for new grants in order to continue their work, because the established micro-enterprises do not return enough profit to maintain the supporting NGO as well. A paradox emerges. While organisations depend on grants to continue conducting CFIPs, those grant application cycles disrupt ongoing DFAPs because of changing thematic and demographic focuses. Sometimes grant schemes allow for continuing with a certain community or producer group, but often different groups have to be identified according to new grant specifications, for example a certain regional requirement, and the previous groups gradually get less attention. Grant dependency therefore contributes to the overall fragmentation of supportive processes.

CEs and CDIs face similar financial challenges when trying to cover their expenses but do not depend on grants for their very existence. Usually private patrons, often the initiators, support them from their own pocket when necessary. CEs and CDIs accept donations or small grants for certain project components but can reject grant money if the grant conditions do not suit their approach. They are not accountable to any donor. This leads to greater continuity and coherence in their approaches but also the risk of ignoring potentially useful external input.

One could argue that any enterprise should sustain itself, and surely that would be ideal. But in my view the current practice of financially supporting CFIPs is also justified. Businesses outside the development aid sector also pay for consultancy services in order to improve their operations. Poor producers cannot afford a consultant, nor do they have access to one. In a way NGOs provide such consultancy as part of the process of establishing independent craft enterprises with sustainable value chains.

Supporting strategies for long-term impact

All CFIP types face different challenges as they try to establish sustainable craft value chains. Three common challenges are finding enough customers to place orders; motivating producers to take on responsibility and ownership; and providing needed expertise that cannot be found within a CFIP itself. Three common strategies to address those challenges were identified.

1. Diversifying customer segments

All CFIP types try to diversify their customer segments — for good reason if one thinks of the cybernetic principle of requisite variety, outlined in chapter 3. More customers and more diverse customer types provide more security for sales than focusing on only a few customer types. If one customer type breaks away, the craft business is hit hard. Therefore in order to involve as many craft producers as possible, including those with very different skills in kind and level, in income generation activities, DFAPs need to identify many and different types of customers, such as large textile companies for local and export markets; fashion, textile and home accessory designers, who order for a specific line; shopkeepers in local bazaars; individual customers who place smaller customised orders; individual customers who buy single pieces in shops or pop-up bazaars; shops owned by the NGOs that conduct DFAPs.

Project managers make much effort to identify diverse customers, subscribe to similar ethical values and agree to adjust to feasible quantity, quality, time frames and doable product innovations. While producers learn how to meet customer expectations, customers need to understand the pace and character of craft production. CFIPs cannot compete with industrial mass production in terms of quantity, standardisation and fast production, but customers receive original handmade products.

CEs largely focus on product development and innovation instead of searching for customers who will commission work. Once their product range is on sale they pay attention to customer feedback. Some take reccurring suggestions to heart and modify or further develop their designs. However, usually CEs remain true to their focus, which might be a particular craft such as block printing or *shu* weaving. However, they also look for different customers; for example, Shubinak produced customised scarves for a university besides selling under the label Shubinak.

CDIs similarly develop their own products, sometimes with the input of a volunteer designer and usually with significant input from the producers. Similar to CEs, they try to find customers for what they have already made, and sometimes they take on customised orders.

2. Strategic partnerships and affiliations

All CFIP types form affiliations with partner organisations, companies and individuals who complement their own expertise and resources. For this purpose CFIPs sometimes found partner organisations with a specific expertise, for example:

- A human rights organisation establishes a craft business, seeking to turn trainees into long-term business partners (Sungi and SABAH)

- A micro-credit institute establishes a craft business in order to support its clients in getting orders, and that business develops into a combination of grassroots training institute and social business (Kashf and Kaarvan)
- A large commercial industrial textile company with a focus on sustainable production joins hands with a grassroots organisation in the remote mountain area of Chitral and establishes a craft label, which is treated as a separate business but receives technical, financial and management support from the industrial company (Looptex, Mogh and Shubinak)
- A small community NGO in a peer-to-peer consultancy process advises another small community NGO on establishing a craft component (Thatta Kedona, AFA and AFWA)
- Different organisations, institutions, companies and individuals collaborate on a common concern, a government policy for home-based women workers (Sungi, SABAH, Homenet etc.)

From these examples one can classify the following types of affiliations:
- Spin-offs from another entity, such as a business oriented social welfare organisation, founded by an NGO or in this study a micro-credit institute
- Joint ventures between different entities, such as an organisation and a company
- Networks formed by different stakeholders who work on an overarching goal, even across different countries and regions
- Peer-to-peer support at grassroots level

While these affiliations are often successful, they pose challenges too. Administrative tasks increase, which also involves coordinating between a large number of stakeholders who are used to different processes and methods in their own organisations or companies. Communication between stakeholders can be challenging because stakeholders hail from different sectors and social classes. They have experienced different levels and kinds of education, speak different languages and use terminologies specific to their discipline or working environment.

3. Membership forms

One strategy to bind producers for a longer period and to support a sense of ownership and responsibility among them is to offer them membership. Two kinds have been observed: the option to buy shares, and the option to register in a producer directory.

Benefits were observed on both psychological and practical levels. The shareholder principle increases the sense of ownership and responsibility among craft producers who have invested in a company, as seen in the CE Shubinak. Producer directories serve a more practical purpose of linking craft producers and customers. One challenge of directories, such as the ones of SABAH and Kaarvan, is that customer demands need to be negotiated in terms of quality, quantity or required production time. It is not

sufficient to just link a customer to producers. Also production capacity within a community changes over time, so directories must be updated periodically. Further, it is difficult to keep a record of which producers are no longer involved in production.

Buying company shares or registering in a producer directory are optional and therefore cannot be used to assess the success of a CE or DFAP exactly in terms of beneficiary numbers or amount of income. Contact with training participants might be lost over time. Further, even registered craft producers might not receive orders, and others might be registered but find customers on their own.

In a CDI like Thatta Kedona, producers do not register as members, but Farzana maintains wage cards, recording who produced what and received a payment. However, it is generally easier in small CEs and CDIs to keep an overview, because they are naturally smaller in scope. In addition, people within a community know each other, which helps them share work-related information and make it transparent.

Communication of CFIP work

Communicating the work of a CFIP is not an easy task. It is usually done in three ways:
- Public product displays at the end of a project or training at a temporary event (DFAPs, CEs and CDIs)
- Telling the story of the CFIP through different information channels such as official project reports (mostly DFAP), or blogs and social media (DFAPs, CEs and CDIs)
- Brand communication that involves background information (CEs)

DFAPs show product prototypes as a training result. Potential customers are invited to see what they might order. These displays typically take place in upmarket hotels, fashion stores or clubs. CE and CDI, which operate on a smaller scale but over long time periods with the same craft producers, sell their products in their own shops, such as Shubinak, or have spaces in other shops; for instance, the Thatta Kedona products have a shelf each at two hotels in Lahore and at the German Cultural Centre.

Kaarvan and SABAH submit reports about the completion of a DFAP to donors. CE and CDI do not produce final reports as they are not accountable to a donor. Instead, they show their work regularly at sales points and cultural events and communicate it through their webpages, blog entries and other digital and printed publications. CEs such as Shubinak, Koel or Polly & Me develop professional brand strategies. Most CFIPs of all types participate in temporary events that promote crafts. Since 2011 the Daachi Mela, a craft fair, takes place twice a year; it is organised by the Daachi Foundation, an organisation dedicated to craft heritage (Daachi, 2020).

2. Skills and knowledge transfer

Capacity development in the aid sector refers to the process of enhancing the skills and knowledge of the target group, usually poor and marginalised people. In CFIPs these include craft skills but also group management and communication skills.

Skill assessment as a starting point
At the beginning of a DFAP, participants' existing skills are assessed. Women usually have good embroidery skills, which they use to make items for their homes, but lack exposure to high-end markets and therefore misinterpret the taste of customers who could potentially pay them good money. False assumptions include overdecoration and the use of polyester fabrics, which they consider modern, whereas upmarket customers prefer natural materials and more minimal designs in craft products.

In CDIs, similar to DFAPs, the levels of craft skill naturally vary among community members of different age, interest and character. CDIs are open-ended so skills improvement through training continues over long time periods, sometimes decades, and younger people grow into participating in those craft activities of CDIs.

CEs often begin with the intention to support a person or a group of people with exquisite craft skills and to sustain or revive a dying craft. Other, non-craft, skills and abilities, as well as beneficial impact of CDIs activities are also important but are more difficult to assess: the increased mobility to travel to distant sales events, production management within a group setting, or negotiation skills to ensure fair payment and accurate ordering. These only become apparent over time during a project.

Anticipated training outcomes
All CFIPs aim to enable producers to not only design and make marketable products but to manage value chains. The anticipated outcomes of a CFIP include:
- Observing and translating market trends into sellable products
- Managing production logistics
- Communicating with customers regarding order details
- Establishing and maintaining supportive partnerships
- Awareness of legal rights, for example regarding financial exploitation

DFAP coordinators do not expect participants to have all these skills after completing training, and similarly in CEs and CDIs would not be able to, even after many years. One important aim is that after a training producer groups are able to organise themselves, which involves to include members with different skill levels.

Training content and formats: separate and integrated learning
In order to achieve the desired training outcomes, training formats and content are developed hand in hand. Two training formats were observed:
1. Separate training components for covering different content
2. Integrated learning by doing

Most CFIPs apply a combination of both but there is a recognisable differences between DFAP, CE and CDI. DFAP conduct separate training components for different content according to a grant scheme's focus and a donor's request. Content includes elements of traditional art and design education such as the colour wheel, life drawing, pattern design and placement, choosing materials, quality standards, but also exposure trips to markets, awareness of rights such as women's rights and civil rights, basic business knowledge, product pricing, group management, and customer communication skills. Components may be taught in combination but are also taught in separate blocks with different time gaps in between.

DFAPs also included methods to foster critical reflection, reminiscent of Paulo Freire's critical consciousness framework. SABAH applied the Gender Action Learning System (GALS), encouraging home-based women workers to reflect on their situation and possible futures by drawing a journey map of where they and their communities are now and how they wish them to be in the future (Mayoux, 2020). Similarly, Kaarvan's training involves exercises such as embroidering dreams on a large fabric as a basis for discussing future visions. Such activities initiate discussions on how to take on agency and responsibility, especially for women, and in CFIPs they involve discussing income opportunities through craft-making.

CE activities focus on producers' craft skills in order to improve products. CEs complement the expertise of craft producers' existing businesses, for example of a specialist weaver, in areas such as product design, customer communication and value chain management. It is usually not expected that craft producers assume responsibility for all these tasks.

In CDIs the craft components focus on product development as well as process management. But since CDI are usually long-term oriented and open-ended, craft producers usually receive continuous support from the project initiators, who see when and where their support is required.

Both CEs and CDIs view capacity-building as a process of learning by doing while working together on a project, such as a collection, a shop, a workshop or a craft centre. Learning by doing is less linear and involves experimenting and reflecting together; skills and knowledge are transferred through experiences in a holistic setting, not through separate components. DFAP are aware of this advantage and also try to increase the integrative processes of learning by doing, but they are often restricted by timelines and donor requirements.

The need for assisted knowledge transfer over long periods

All CFIP managers admit that they underestimated the time it takes to transfer sufficient skill and knowledge to craft producers so that they can operate sustainable value chains independently. Most project participants require continuous long-term assistance, especially in adapting to changing circumstances. As described in the case study, even 20 to 25 years after some case projects began, their managers feel the need to return to the same communities and provide refresher training or training in new developments such as communication technology.

At Kaarvan, for example, despite embedding an exit strategy into a project proposal, project managers realised that follow-up support beyond a grant period is often needed. The SABAH team began to conduct refresher courses for previous graduates of their DFAPs and their younger relatives. This was not expected when the first courses took place in the 1990s and early 2000s. Instead the team thought that once the first women were trained, they would pass on their knowledge to peers and younger women. But this smooth linear transfer did not happen. Farzana in Thatta Kedona is involved in assisted knowledge transfer on another level, a peer-to-peer consultancy with women from another community project, Bhara Kahu. Norbert and Senta assist her in communicating how to apply the reflective, open-ended and contextual approach of Thatta Kedona in order to identify specific opportunities for Bhara Kahu. For CEs as businesses, long-term assisted learning is part of their nature as they continuously need to adjust to changing market demands.

In summary, the strategy of assisted long-term assistance is based on two insights:
1. Important information gets lost in the process of passing it on from person to person or generation to generation within a community, especially the ability to critically question routine processes from time to time.
2. Circumstances and conditions change, and the acquired skills and knowledge require modification and updates in order to remain useful.

Assisted long-term skills and knowledge transfer takes place in two ways:
1. Cross-peer: CFIP managers and their teams return to communities after some time or regularly over a long period.
2. Peer-to-peer: producers who participated in a CFIP exchange information with their peers in other communities or within their own community.

Cross-peer knowledge transfer is much more common but usually involves the typical top-down information flow, even when focusing on participatory activities. Peer-to-peer knowledge transfer is important, because it means that target groups of CFIPs have internalised skills and knowledge that they can share with peers in similar situations. This means though that the nature and the quality of the skills and knowledge acquired must be different from just internalising steps of how to make a certain product. It must involve the ability to critically reflect on one's own situation in order to make decisions, useful to the context and conditions at work. In practice peer-to-peer knowledge transfer has proved difficult to implement, because information gets lost or misinterpreted in the process. A combination of peer-to-peer communication with some assistance from CFIP managers and other external supporters appears to be more promising. Firstly, external supporters are more aware of dynamics and changes in the larger craft market — after all, CFIP producers want to sell their products there. Secondly, craft producers and external supporters contribute different expertise, which helps to coordinate processes of local production and value chain management to markets distant from the conditions in which production takes place.

3. Stakeholder concerns

Stakeholder categories

Three core stakeholder categories are identified in almost all CFIPS:

1. ***Managers*** are directors and project leaders of NGOs who implement DFAPs; business owners; entrepreneurs and managers of CE; and initiators and managers of CDIs. They can also be local community mobilisers and leaders who manage processes in the communities.

2. ***Craft producers*** are mainly women with common skills, such as home-based women workers who know how to embroider. Sometimes specialised artisans, mainly men, with already established small businesses and workshops such as block printers, weavers or wood spinners, also participate in CFIPS, especially in CEs.

3. ***Customers*** include textile and fashion industries, including fashion, accessory and home textile designers with own labels, export companies, and individual customers who purchase single pieces or small quantities in shops or online and at temporary bazaars, called *melas*.

Other stakeholders, who are often part of the supportive partnerships and affiliations of CFIPs include:

– ***Collaborating individuals:*** volunteers, interns and consultants with different professional backgrounds and expertise, including design, business, technology, communication, social sciences and human rights. They provide input in a variety of areas such as the assessment of a situation at the beginning of a CFIP or of the results at the end, or in different training segments.

– ***Affiliated partners:*** organisations, education and research institutions, companies and individuals. They work on related concerns and share expertise and resources.

– ***Donors and investors:*** organisations, institutions, government departments, foundations, businesses, or individuals, who provide financial support. They include those international donor agencies that are referred to when describing DFAPs' grant processes.

Number of involved stakeholders

Numbers of stakeholders involved in CFIPs differ from case to case and change over time. Generally speaking, DFAPs involve a large web of stakeholders in order to facilitate skills and knowledge enhancement for hundreds or even thousands of producers, in line with what donors expect. While CEs, for example Shubinak, can reach a similar scale, most of them remain at a size that allows long-term personal contact between the business owner and the producers. In CDIs usually personal interaction is strong, but the stakeholders might vary; in Thatta Kedona, for example, many volunteers and experts have conducted projects over the years.

Demographic backgrounds of stakeholders and the impact on CFIPs

Stakeholders come from different demographic backgrounds. Differences in education, and social class pose challenges. Apart from craft producers, community coordinators and administrative assistants, most stakeholders have a university degree, usually in social sciences, education, law, business administration or design. They can communicate with donors, partners and customers locally and internationally. They sometimes know each other personally through professional or private connections. On the other hand, many producers have never left their community or at most have travelled to a small nearby city. Many are illiterate and do not speak English or Urdu but only their regional language, which places them at the margin of project communication, where customer communication and knowledge of changing market trends are important.

It scarcely needs saying that different demographic backgrounds affect project hierarchies. Demographic differences are one reason a CFIP is initiated in the first place, because one of the main objectives is poverty alleviation. There are poor craft producers and there are privileged people aiming to assist them in improving their living conditions. From a positive perspective, CFIPs are driven by a sense of empathy and responsibility among privileged people for those in weaker positions.

But they also affect other aspects of CFIPs. DFAP managers and their NGO teams identify marginalised craft producers as training participants rather than the initiative to start a project coming from craft producers themselves. Therefore the craft producers do not have much say in the overall planning and management, while on the other hand are usually not in a position to take the initiative to start a project, because they lack supportive networks and platforms to voice their ideas. Their opportunities to initiate a CFIP are limited. While top-down management can be critiqued for being patronising, it is also not clear how a purely bottom-up approach could be achieved.

Further, the outcome of a DFAP has different impacts on poor craft producers. When a DFAP concludes without achieving the goal of establishing sustainable value chains, privileged stakeholders move on and find new jobs in their respective fields. They have access to job markets. Craft producers regress to their pre-project position; they have little chance of finding alternative work because they do not have access to a job market, and they may just wait for a new project to arrive in their community.

Different demographic backgrounds influence CEs and CDIs differently, though inequalities affect them as well. Here, craft producers are involved from the early stages of project planning and in project management. Often projects are initiated in conjunction with craft producers. Because CEs and CDIs are more open-ended, their managers tend to stay in post for longer time periods, providing support and assuming responsibility through a more reflective practice than representatives of donor agencies who spend usually several months only, sometimes years, on one project.

The impact of demographic differences on CFIPs resonates with Paulo Freire's critical consciousness and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's rhetorical question about whether the subaltern can speak, outlined in chapter 3. Both scholars and their theories point to the importance of consciously challenging and renegotiating the typical roles of those

who wish to help the poor and the poor who receive help. It means that it is important to not transfer knowledge downwards but to collaborate in open-ended business and learning processes. DFAPs in particular are trapped in aid sector grant cycle processes that almost do not allow for perceiving poor producers as partners, but solely as beneficiaries. It is even difficult for CE and CDI to achieve such equality, though their open-ended character and accountability to themselves rather than to any donor gives them the chance to attempt different approaches.

Financial investment by craft producers and training participants

It is not always easy to motivate poor producers to undergo training; this is especially tricky for DFAPs when a donor specifies a large number of trainees must be found in a specific district. NGO managers in such circumstances usually do not have personal relationships with craft producers but must convince them to participate. The problem for potential participants is that they see little benefit from attending, especially if they have previously had disappointing experiences with training.

Therefore DFAPs sometimes pay attendees a stipend as an incentive. This is a controversial practice; it can also be argued that participants should themselves pay a small amount, because this would communicate the value of investing in one's own education and future. On the other hand it is very difficult to convince them to pay if they do not expect anything, especially if previous experiences were disappointing. Therefore many NGOs continue to pay a small stipend as incentive.

Investment by craft producers and training participants follows a different pattern in CEs and CDIs. Once craft producers can see the benefit of participation, it can be a good idea to offer them the opportunity to invest, become part of a project and gain a sense of ownership; for example, a CE can offer to buy shares, as Shubinak did. Even if they have difficulties in selling products, the craft producers experience the benefit of being included in information flows and decision-making, for example in annual meetings. Generally CEs do not pay craft producers other than for the work they complete. Some ask for a small fee for training participation, so that craft producers see the value of investing in their own education. The problem in all CFIP types is that if there is no return, craft producers will stop investing into training. CEs usually do not offer many trainings but function as a learning-by-doing process. Craft producers go into business with CE owners or their customers, ideally resulting in relatively quick payments, which is motivating. This strategy works best when CEs order from already established artisan workshops where artisans do not require training from scratch. However some CEs, such as Shubinak, face similar problems to DFAPs, because they involve large numbers of craft producers of different skill levels.

In CDIs participants agree to the collaboration, often based on an earlier personal contact. The decision to work together is made collectively. Craft producers and other community members contribute workspaces and infrastructure in their community and often, as is the case in Thatta Kedona, pay a certain amount of their earnings from the craft component into a shared account to cover common expenses and new investments. But they do not pay a fee to participate in activities such as a training.

Ethically one can argue that it is unfair that the poor should pay to lift themselves out of poverty while those working with them are paid. It is also not the craft producers' fault that they were born poor and had insufficient opportunity to lift themselves out of this position. Offering them something initially, encouraging transparency of information and planning carefully for long-term success offers more potential for independence than asking for a financial contribution before a CFIP begins.

Involvement of designers in CFIPs

CFIP managers engage product designers or communication designers to develop products and marketing strategies. DFAPs sometimes suggest the intention to educate craft producers to become designers, and training components often involve elements of academic design curricula, such as colour harmony. But product development requires additional advanced knowledge and skill such as pattern construction, for example, as trends and customer demands change, which is very difficult for craft producers to acquire within the scope of a DFAP. Also, abilities within producer groups differ, with some being more capable of designing marketable products than others. DFAP often do not have the budget to pay a professional designer. Strategies used to achieve better product design include involving design students and faculty of design departments on a voluntary basis, and asking project managers with other professional backgrounds to have a go at designing products based on their own tastes.

The involvement of professional designers increased over the years, especially since Kaarvan and SABAH are striving to become social craft enterprises after the DFAPs they conduct conclude and the need for attractive and hence sellable designs is becoming more pressing. When fashion, accessory and home textile designers place orders they contribute their own professional expertise in design. However, these collaborations also face challenges. In the fashion sector it is important to launch collections quickly and show them at certain dates, such as the Fashion Week. If orders are not ready on such crucial dates it causes problems for the designer, who becomes less likely to place orders again. There have also been experiments with hiring in-house designers, but hires are usually short-term due to budget issues.

Designers with their own labels who wish to engage craft producers for their collections need to adjust to the conditions in the marginalised environments where DFAPs often take place. Designers must be willing to travel and spend time there, where they have to deal with different living standards. Some designers are adventurous but many are not, or cannot make the journey due to responsibilities at home and at work. For them, the production services offered by Kaarvan and SABAH are useful.

One requirement for designers working with DFAPs is to include craft producers with weak skills and give them opportunities to improve. This requirement lies at the very core of DFAPs. One strategy to tackle different levels of craft skills among craft producers is that designers develop attractive products that require only simple skills, or in other words: develop attractive products with simple skills.

The Thatta Kedona project is a CDI, and its founder, Senta, is a retired design professor. She did have a good sense for developing sellable products from the beginning

while keeping in mind what the women could achieve with their skills at the time and what skills they could learn. The expansion of the product range takes place organically and sometimes people in Thatta Kedona have ideas, for example when they developed the tin rickshaws. In other CDIs it is not a given that a professional designer is involved, especially in private initiatives. Often people with a good sense for home textiles, for example, will consult with craft producers.

CEs such as Shubinak often employ in-house designers. Sometimes CE owners are designers themselves, like Noorjehan Bilgrami, who founded the label Koel with a focus on the traditional printing technique *ajrak* and on natural dyes. Another aspect typical for CEs is the attention they pay to their brand strategy. Shubinak has employed full- and part-time designers to develop and implement their brand and communication strategy. Koel also has distinct brand and communication strategies (Koel, 2020, n.p.). One conclusion is that expecting craft producers to develop upmarket products or even a brand strategy would be an ideal CFIP result, but is not realistic in most cases. The scope of recognising design beyond product and communication design has generally increased in recent years and now includes fields such as strategic and participatory design. These approaches are often missing from CFIPs. Strategic designers would be involved in conceptualising, planning and implementing CFIPs. Participatory and co-creative approaches are not easy to implement and require engagement with communities and local expertise beyond product design and marketing.

However, elements of strategic and participatory design were observed in the case study's case sets. These elements included the establishment of supportive partnerships and affiliations; the development of craft enterprises to create better opportunities for long-term market access; and reviews of training formats.

Paid and voluntary engagement

In DFAPs, all key stakeholders are paid. Volunteers are often NGO internees such as MBA, social science or design students. In a way, classroom projects on product design for a DFAP or any CFIP can be viewed as voluntary design input. But volunteers also contribute to the management; at SABAH, for example, Samina and Asma engaged with the organisation even after they had left their positions. In CEs, the business owner usually invests and reinvests any profits. Owners often take on management tasks and pay basic expenses themselves, because the priority is that producers earn. CDIs are usually managed completely on a voluntary basis. No one expects a community to pay a manager. All volunteers' reward is seeing an improvement in the situation of the craftspeople they work with.

Voluntary engagement has a direct, mostly positive, impact on the processes of a CFIP. It supports independence from external grants and donor requirements. CFIP managers of all types who engage long-term for at least part of the time volunteer as they have a personal interest in and a dedication to the cause and the people. They do not work for a consultancy fee but because they find the work fulfilling and see it as an opportunity to learn, grow, and contribute to their society. They usually continue even if no one pays them a honorarium.

This leads to the problem of the external consultant. While consultants often bring valuable knowledge and input, their engagement is usually of a short-term nature, which does not allow the development of sustainable long-term relationships with CFIPs or craft producer groups. The consultant completes the task and moves on. The consultancy fee usually overloads the budget, especially of a CFIP, so they are most common in DFAPs that receive grants. The input might be important, but the impact is often shallow if there is neither follow-up nor a relationship with the place and the people. While it cannot be said that their input has no impact, short-term engagements do pose a significant limitation to CFIPs.

In CEs and CDIs, external consultants often provide input as volunteers. They have a personal interest in the particular CFIP and therefore return more often, which supports the establishment of the necessary long-term relationship.

Leadership qualities

The case study showed that certain leadership qualities among CFIP managers had a beneficial impact. These are the same for all CFIP types and include:

- Long-term commitment, with engagement over many years or decades
- Eagerness to learn
- Frequent personal interaction over long time periods
- Empathetic towards different stakeholders' perspectives and challenges
- Flexible in adjusting to internal and external changes
- Open to external input from other professions or cultural contexts
- Honest in reflecting on processes and results, including mistakes
- Critically-reflective and courgous in experimenting with new strategies
- Will to invest personally and financially in difficult situations

These characteristics show the importance of personal motivation in CFIPs. The job cannot be done by meticulously following a job description but requires personal investment, creativity and the understanding that CFIPs are ongoing, open-ended challenges.

Concluding remarks section 1 of the case study discussion

Relating the three defined case types according to a) conceptual approaches and formats, b) skills and knowledge transfer, and c) stakeholder concerns unfolded the scope and diversified the understanding of CFIPs beyond the aspects of successful product development and value chain management. It showed how CFIPs differ in their self-image as company, social welfare organisations or as facilitator of holistic community development, and how this self-image guides CFIP's implementation strategies in terms of product development, expected impact and partnerships that are formed. In my view it is crucially important to have gone through this step of diversified understanding of the field of craft in grassroots empowerment in order to formulate the following section, which examines challenges, obstacles and promising strategies.

Section 2: Challenges, obstacles and promising strategies in the three CFIP types

The process of relating the three CFIP types in section 1 showed that it is not easy to make unequivocal statements about best practices in CFIPs because of their different nature and conditions. However, the process of defining, describing and relating the three CFIP types allows for formulating some common threads regarding their common challenges, obstacles and strategies that are attempted to address them.

Challenges

One overarching challenge in all CFIP types is achieving continuity of sustainable value chains in which craft producers are independent business partners. It has proved to be more difficult to achieve than many CFIP managers anticipated when they began. The following problems, among others, contribute to this challenge:

- Insufficient customers to keep all trained craft producers in business
- Discontinued support from donors
- Gaps between training activities and real-life experiences afterwards
- Geographic distances and poor infrastructure
- Cultural and demographic differences between stakeholders

Obstacles

The main obstacles for overcoming these challenges as per my observation are dependency, othering and the fragmentation of the learning process.

Dependency happens in different ways. Fostering empowerment for and with poor producers is the aim of most CFIPs. If being empowered can be defined as being aware of choices and hence more self-reliant in craft value chains, one of the biggest obstacles in the process is to overcome dependency, which can be observed on three levels:

1. ***Financial dependency,*** experienced especially by DFAPs that depend on grants, but also by CEs and CDIs, when their managers' need to pool in
2. ***Conceptual dependency,*** experienced especially in DFAPs, who mould their activities to donors' requirements and dominant global aid paradigms
3. ***Operational dependency,*** experienced by many craft producers, who require long-term assistance

Othering refers to the fact that stakeholders often come from different demographic and cultural backgrounds. Some live in worlds so far apart that they have difficulty imagining other stakeholders' realities, which forms a breeding ground for prejudices to form. Stakeholders of one project often experience fellow stakeholders as 'the other', someone different from oneself or the group (see chapter 2). Such 'othering', based on assumptions and prejudices about project partners, causes several problems.

Firstly, craft producers in remote areas are mostly familiar with the tastes of customers in low-cost markets in their areas but lack understanding of high-end

customers' tastes, which often differs in terms of aesthetics and quality expectations. This gap makes it difficult for craft producers to design products for high-end markets.

Secondly, stakeholders not from poor communities tend to equate poverty and marginalisation with traditional culture. They assume that poor people are so backwards that they must still know traditional techniques. But such assumptions become obstacles when poor craft producers are asked to use traditional techniques in order to support the cultural or national identity that privileged stakeholders often hold up. In reality, people such as home-based women workers might or might not remember traditional techniques. Mostly they struggle with the demands of their daily lives and care little about Pakistan's cultural representation. It is disempowering if they neither earn enough through craft production nor feel part of the country's progress to which they contribute by sustaining craft traditions. However, linking the support for cultural heritage and poverty alleviation can lead to empowering experiences if the craft producers receive both enough income and appreciation for their work.

Fragmented learning experiences refer to the problem, that craft producers often cannot experience their participation in CFIPs as beneficial. This problem arises when training does not result in sufficient orders, leading to doubts about the promises made about income generation. Other beneficial experiences might be more intrinsic, and training participants might not relate these experiences to the training content without reflective activities, which have to be guided by trainers. Further, training components with different content do not always relate easily to one another for the training participants, such as the connection between embroidery or product design and awareness of women's empowerment. These connections must be experienced. This can take a long time and is not a linear process, and for some it never happens. Some trainees might therefore question the point of participating in CFIPs' vocational training.

Promising strategies

While it is difficult to define clear strategies to address challenges and overcome obstacles, approaches that look promising, at least in part, include:

- Open-ended, experimental project character with long-term commitment
- CFIPs on a human scale that allows for personal stakeholder relationships
- Independent project management with minimum dependencies
- Dedicated leadership personalities who invest thought, time and financial resources beyond job descriptions
- Supportive partnerships and affiliations that help to share expertise and resources with other stakeholders
- Engaged volunteers who contribute expertise and resources and who value the reward of their own learning experience
- Shared ethical values among stakeholders including fair payment and safe working conditions, as well as democratic processes such as the right to voice opinion and participate in decision-making

- Participation opportunities for craft producers in project planning and management, such as being on the board of an organisation, or having the opportunity to buy shares or exchanging ideas with external experts
- Critical reflection opportunities that foster the ability to observe, assess and improve processes and products
- Frequent activities, including training courses, production, selling and other activities that create an environment with a lively and motivating dynamic

In the following tables the promising strategies are compared to the three CFIP types in two ways. Table 4.1 shows how the promising strategies are implemented in DFAPs, CEs and CDIs.

	DFAP > Programme character	CE > Business character	CDI > Lab character
Open-ended project character?	No Attempted through membership-based social enterprises	Yes	Yes
Small scale?	No Mostly large numbers of trainees Attempted through forming producer groups	Yes Varies	Yes Naturally defined by community scale
Independent project management?	No Financial and conceptual dependency on donors Accountability to donors Attempts to convince donors of better practice	Varies If necessary, financial support from owner's own resources	Varies If necessary, financial support from project initiators Acceptance of purpose-specific small grants
Dedicated leadership personalities?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strategic partnerships and affiliations?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Engaged volunteers?	Sometimes	Sometimes	Yes
Shared values among stakeholders?	Mostly yes	Mostly yes	Mostly yes
Participation opportunities for craft producers?	Sometimes Producers as board members	Sometimes When producers become shareholders As business partners	Often Projects build on the exchange between local and external expertise
Critical reflection opportunities?	Sometimes To varying extents	Yes To varying extents Inherent in project	Yes To varying extents Inherent in project
Frequent activities?	Varies High during project phase Low after project completion	Yes Continuing	Yes Continuing

Table 4.1: Supportive strategies in the three CFIP types

In table 4.2 the supportive and less supportive characteristics of each CFIP type for these promising strategies are listed. These tables show tendencies, observed in the case study and are useful here for understanding how the field of CFIP operates.

CFIP type	Supportive characteristics	Less supportive characteristics
DFAP	NGOs and other organisations hold a strategic position between grassroots level and national and international levels of development aid politics Managers who have worked in the sector a long time and are very familiar with processes such as the administration of aid grants Managers who know grassroots environments well and have ideas for creating more open-ended structures and processes in an aid system that operates in short and closed cycles	Closed project cycles that terminate after grant periods end Top-down management Financial and conceptual donor dependency Consolidated structures and processes Many stakeholders, who do not know each other Employees and consultants, who change relatively often, after each project or after a few years Fragmented learning experiences
CE	Open-ended Personal collaboration Frequent activities Dedicated and responsible business owner and manager	Less inclusive for producers with weak skills Focus on individual producers not on community-building
CDI	Open-ended Experimental Integration of community concerns Frequent activities Bird's-eye view: looking at different project parts and their interplay Dedicated and responsible initiator and/or manager	Craft component usually does not cover the cost of the craft activities Even after a long project period, producers are often unable to independently manage product design and merchandising

Table 4.2: Advantages and disadvantages of the three CFIP types

Some of these strategies demonstrate aspects of the theories discussed in chapter 3. In particular, Ezio Manzini's emerging design cultures (2015) of open-ended and collaborative multi-stakeholder approaches, are clearly reflected in the CFIP strategies that have contributed to positive experiences and impact. An open-ended and connected character is vital for achieving sustainable value chains and craft producers' empowering experiences. Continuity and independence is what CFIPs aim to achieve, but are only possible in open-ended processes and when connected to a supportive network of partners. The promising strategies also resonate with the importance of critical reflection and articulation as described by Paulo Freire and Gayatri Charkravorty Spivak; the domain, the community and the practice in Etienne Wenger's concept of the communities of practice; the understanding of systems, systems change and second order cybernetics; and concepts of empowerment and international development, such as Amartya Sen's view of development as a set of freedoms, or the dominant ideology of development as predominantly economic progress. The latter is merely exposed as less efficient than alternative development and empowerment approaches that operate on a human scale and in an distributed and open-ended manner.

4.1.4. Case study conclusions

As a result of the case study analysis, two focus areas emerged for thinking about design strategies to improve CFIPs' empowering impact:

1. The need to establish and manage sustainable and inclusive craft businesses
2. The need to create holistic learning experiences that link capacity-building activities with real-life experiences

At first sight these conclusions might appear trivial, since these are the very objectives of most CFIPs: capacity-building for income generation through market access and value chain management. However, looking beneath the surface of CFIP realities in the empirical research showed how difficult this goal is to achieve. All CFIPs in this case study have in common that they aim to establish sustainable craft businesses. Sustainable here means that they:

- Operate with continuity over long time periods
- Aim for more financial, organisational and conceptual independence
- Provide opportunities for income as well as for personal and professional growth
- Are beneficial to all stakeholders in regard to their interests and needs
- Share ethical values

Initially the perception was that the CFIP case projects aimed to transition from having the character of an aid project to adopting the character of a business. With increasing insight, it became clear that the objective is not to be one or the other but to create a format that integrates both, because the one cannot exist and operate without the other. In order to better understand what such an integrated format requires, it is useful to compare the characteristics of aid projects and businesses (table 4.3).

This juxtaposition suggests that aid projects and businesses are opposites. In reality, however, elements from both sides are closely intertwined in CFIPs. Providing charity to someone, say in the form of education, could lead to inclusion, though it often

Aid project	Business
Charity given to producers as beneficiaries	Inclusion as business partners
Implemented by NGO and government managers and freelance consultants	Implemented by business owners, company shareholders and employees
Project-based with predetermined duration	Long-term projects
Financially dependent on external support	Financially independent
Accountable to donors and their requirements	Accountable to business owner, company shareholders and employees

Table 4.3: Comparison of aid projects and businesses

does not. DFAPs' vocational training programmes can turn into sustainable businesses, as is the goal of Sungi / SABAH and Kaarvan. Some of their producer groups became independent, though many did not, a factor that is difficult to assess. Also, businesses sometimes accept an external donation or investment, though their existence does not depend on these.

Attitudes and approaches towards the establishment of craft businesses differ in the case study. Kaarvan's approach is pragmatic and customer-oriented and rooted in the micro-credit business sector, with a strong emphasis on poverty alleviation and economic empowerment. It also emphasises satisfying customer demands, so that they continue to place orders with as many craft producers as possible. SABAH is equally aware of the need to establish a business with an efficient value chain that is also rooted in Sungi's local community development. The revival of traditional embroideries is considered part of the strengthening of local communities and is at the heart of Sungi's and SABAH's craft enterprise approach. Sungi / SABAH and Kaarvan aim to include craft producers of different skill levels instead of only those with the most exquisite skills and to integrate the craft enterprise with other empowering strategies, such as ID card and bank account registrations. Despite these conceptual differences, Kaarvan's and SABAH's daily processes of grant application, project planning and vocational training implementation are similar.

The CE Shubinak and the CDI Thatta Kedona also integrate elements of aid projects and businesses. While Shubinak is primarily a business, a label, its management has supported communities in Chitral during crises after natural disasters, work that usually falls to aid organisations or the government. In Thatta Kedona, all activities have the goal of enabling people to develop their village as much as they can independently, but selling the dolls and other products is an important component of this.

One of the overarching goals is that through a CFIP the position of poor craft producers in value chains changes from being receivers of aid, or in NGO language 'beneficiaries', to being valued and responsible business partners. This requires other stakeholders to actively change their relationship to the craft producers and accept them as partners instead of beneficiaries. It is a fine line between accepting how the craft producers do things and guiding them so that they understand the market they produce for.

Changing stakeholder roles and relationships seems to be an unachievable ideal in the light of the extreme power hierarchies and demographic gaps between them. But it is important to recognise the need for such a transition as an overarching goal to guide CFIPs' decisions and activities. Roles and relationships will not change radically or speedily. There is no clear boundary to be crossed after which a beneficiary has become a business partner. A craft producer can be a business partner by making the desired products in the required time frame yet might benefit from the assistance of an NGO. Transitions in roles and relationships in CFIPs can only take place gradually. Most important is to remember that sustainable craft businesses require all stakeholders, not just the craft producers, to evolve over time.

Further, holistic insights and experiences in open-ended and integrated learning-by-doing approaches were more successful than those featuring separate training components, where it was difficult to relate the different experiences to each other and to real-life events.

Creating holistic learning experiences is therefore vital in CFIPs and requires frequent activities in iterative critical reflections as a key component. It also involves facing the challenge of bringing together stakeholders from extremely diverse backgrounds who might have conscious or subconscious prejudices and preconceptions about each other. Including craft producers of different skill levels requires an inclusive learning environment towards establishing ethical craft business. This allows everyone to follow a learning-by-doing process according to individual ability. For managers, donors, designers and other stakeholders, learning by doing is beneficial too In fact many of them have highlighted their own steep learning curve since engaging in the field. For some working and learning in the field means unlearning established, often theoretical, knowledge about grassroots empowerment acquired at university. Many changed their perceptions after experiencing real-life circumstances in the field, and, as the case study showed, they then introduced alternative strategies. They are in a way more conscious about their learning curve than the producers because they often are involved in several projects over a long period of time.

It is a challenge for CFIPs to bridge the gap between the pressure to efficiently sell products and the need to maintain an experimental learning environment. Experimental activities do not always result in increased sales, but recognising rewarding experiences is important for stakeholders, especially producers, in order to stay motivated and continue engaging in CFIPs. Therefore one of the main challenges of CFIPs is to maintain a balance between learning experiences and business success.

The case study showed that a learning-by-doing approach is promising for sustainable businesses as well as for holistic learning. Whether experiences in these processes are positive, negative, surprising or predictable, it is important to develop strategies and establish habits for reflecting critically together with different stakeholders.

4.2. Part B: Action research in Tarogil Village

4.2.1. Action research method

The action research method is applied in a diverse range of subjects, including the social sciences, education and design, as well as in development and grassroots empowerment. Action research must include three principles: 1) action, 2) research, and 3) participation (Greenwood & Levin, 2017, pp.6–7). According to Danny Burns (2007), who is concerned with complexity in the aid sector (see chapter 3), action research is an approach that fosters

> … learning through reflection and doing, and being "in it". It integrates intellectual analysis and experiential knowing, enabling learning from experience with feedback in real time. It engages with real life problems, hence with complexity. Through collective iterative processes of planning (thinking through the intention), acting (intervening in complex processes), observing (seeing the results of acting) and reflecting (cognitive, sensual and emotional sense-making) between researcher and participants, change is created. Its credibility depends on whether it solves problems and enables participants to take on agency for their own lives.
>
> (Burns, 2007, pp. 11–12)

Burns also refers to Greenwood and Levin, who highlight the special character of social change generated when people of a community or organisation are involved in defining their goals and learn how to work towards them in a dialectical process (Greenwood & Levin, 1998, p. 6, cited by Burns, 2007, p. 15). Burns links action research to systems and the relationships and interconnections between parts, here people and organisations. Through their interaction the relationships change, reminiscent of second order cybernetics, outlined in chapter 3, in which everyone is both observer and participant in a system and inevitably contributes to changing it:

> Change occurs through the act of conversation rather than as a result of conversation. Any action taken is simultaneously acting on and being acted on. In other words, if I engage in a dialogue with you I am simultaneously changing you and being changed by you.
>
> (Burns, 2007, p.33)

Another concern is how to extend action research beyond the one case under investigation. Stephen Kemmis (1993) suggests linking practice learning and policy learning, which means transferring the knowledge gained in one environment to the policy level (1993, cited in Burns, 2007, p.16). In my view, from a grassroots empowerment perspective though this approach of scaling up must be treated carefully and not compromise contextual specifics. Like design, action research is constructive in the task

of generating something new and improved. Therefore from Findeli's design research perspective (2008), action research can be viewed as a project-grounded research activity.

4.2.2. The Tarogil village project

Between 2011 and 2014 I conducted an action research project in Tarogil village, a typical village in the Punjab province, about 30 km from the centre of Lahore, Pakistan's second-largest city. People of the village mainly work in agriculture. Since the beginning of the 21st century, industry, university campuses and upmarket housing estates have been encroaching on the area. Rural areas are being swallowed by the city at a rapid pace. Villages continue to exist between new constructions. The campus of Beaconhouse National University (BNU) was built next to Tarogil village, and the university moved in in 2009. Since 2005, its School of Visual Arts and Design conducted courses in a building that was previously a chilli factory, located between the campus and the village. Some villagers, mostly men, began working there as studio attendants for SVAD. One villager works in the Department of Visual Communication Design (VCD), where I taught between 2004 and 2015. He invited me to his house early in 2011, where I admired beautifully embroidered textiles. He indicated that some village women would be interested in a collaborative project, which we then initiated.

At that time I wanted to find out a) the extent to which it was possible to establish a small self-sustaining business cycle with this group of women without external funding; b) what difference it would make to coordinate a craft project in close proximity to my university with the possibility for frequent meetings; and c) how the project could benefit from a nearby liberal arts university offering design and other academic programmes.

The project was intentionally kept small. No participant number limit was given. The number kept oscillating between 10 and 20, with 12 to 15 forming the core group.

4.2.3. Chronological outline from 2011 to 2016

First workshop

I conducted a five-day workshop with the women and five SVAD students in the village's school building, which was available due to the school's spring vacation. I welcomed Sungi's offer to send a project manager, a craft enterprise project manager, and a former training participant (a home-based woman worker from another community) to talk about their experiences and conduct a game that shed light on group dynamics. The game consisted of throwing a ball of wool to each other, so that in the end a net was formed, symbolising the importance of strong networks and partnerships (App 2B-1). In addition, the guests screened a brief documentary about Sungi.

The workshop was limited to five days as part of SVAD's workshop week. Time was too short to develop products, especially as one day was cancelled

spontaneously because Pakistan and India played in the semi-final of the cricket world cup. Nevertheless, small embroidery and crochet samples were produced. Children were present throughout, as they were on their spring break. Rather than seeing them as a disturbance, pencils and paper were provided from day two, and the women were inspired to embroider the children's drawings. Some children themselves embroidered on left over fabric pieces. The samples were displayed on the final day of the SVAD workshop week (App 2B-1).

For the students, coming to the village was an eye-opener; most were used to more privileged environments at university and at home. They experienced the village as dirty and non-functioning with little electricity, let alone air conditioning, and on day two they began to ask if they really had to attend. But they adjusted quickly, and by the end of the workshop were downright enthusiastic. So were the women, colleagues and management from the university, who saw the display at the end of the workshop week.

Assessment of village situation

By June 2011 the village women were impatient for the next step, keen to work and earn, but the students were too busy to commit to engaging with the women of Tarogil village as an extra-curricular activity. In addition, I needed help with translation, as my knowledge of Urdu was not sufficient for discussing details. For a preliminary planning session I asked the cleaner of my home to help. At the time of the project, she had ambitions and the opportunity of becoming a photographer, an unusual choice for a domestic worker. She was a good choice, because she comes from an underprivileged background but was motivated to learn a skill, photography, that would provide better income than cleaning. Unlike many others in her position, she was aware of the fact that she can make choices to improve her own position. She understood the project's purpose and could communicate it to the village women. Involving her helped bridge the gap between the village women, many of them illiterate, and me, a university teacher and a foreigner. Unfortunately her demanding job situation did not logistically allow her to become a regular project assistant, so a friend, also a designer, supported the product design workshops and discussions on group organisation.

      In the preliminary discussion in June my first communication assistant and I attempted to find out more about the living situation of the participants: number of people in the household, wage-earning household members, amount of monthly income, wealth in possessions such as house, car or water buffalo. The results gave an orientation but remained vague, because it was not clear how well the questions were understood and how honestly they were answered. Nevertheless, this information, combined with simply observing the village, indicated that people had shelter and food. Sanitation, health care and education, however, seemed problematic. According to the women, there was a government school for boys in the village, but no teacher had showed up. The *numberdar*, the elder of the village, and his wife founded a small private school for girls, which boys attended as well, because according to them nothing happens in 'their' school.

We also wanted to know the women's ideas about how to move forward regarding workspace, project coordination and products. Remarkably, on their own initiative the women had prepared a folder with embroidery samples, which they suggested to place on products (App 2B-2).

Product design workshops

Three workshops of four hours took place in July 2012 in a studio space on the BNU campus while students were on their summer break. Working in a space protected from Lahore's extreme summer heat enabled us to focus. The plan to meet on the university campus caused an unexpected challenge. The women were not sure if they had permission from their families to come to the campus. They came, but another *numberdar* also visited in order to observe the workshop and meet the university's general manager.

Materials and tools, such as fabric, yarn, embroidery frames and crochet nee-dles, were provided. Products and choice of materials were discussed with each participant. Prototypes of cushion covers, small pouches and crochet jewellery were developed in the workshops and completed at home. One week later the products and their quality were discussed. Each participant's work was evaluated by the group and in individual discussions. In the final workshop materials were given to each participant to produce the discussed designs by September.

During the workshop several attempts were made to increase participation in product design. The women were asked to draw large-scale motifs on big rolls of paper, but they refused. Instead they brought children's cartoons and embroidered the cartoon characters. Children continued to be present in the workshops, and it was decided to further utilise their drawings for the embroidery designs, as everyone agreed in the discussion that they made for nicer designs than the cartoons (App 2B-3).

Attempt to transfer management tasks

Completed products were returned, reviewed and paid for. Some products had quality issues such as non-matching sizes, incorrect embroidery placement, untidy finishing and stains. It was discussed that in the future A and B quality payment would be applied to acceptable products, and unacceptable quality would not be paid for. We discussed how to calculate the sales price of a product, including the cost of materials, and how to calculate payment according to the amount of work instead of the time taken, because each producer works at a different pace.

Transferring group and production management and responsibility to the women turned out to be a challenge that remained unresolved. What had started as a rather playful experiment needed to transform into an organisational model that the women would gradually take more ownership of and be able to coordinate on their own. Therefore their ideas were important.

The group was twice asked to select two group leaders, and twice they voted for the studio attendant, the man, who had initiated the project and felt honoured yet

uncomfortable. Selecting him was beside the point of empowering the women to establish a self-organised group. Eventually two women were chosen: the most senior and vocal, and one who had been making very beautiful products and was considered someone who could teach the others. However, others later complained that they only voted for these women because they were asked to, but actually they wanted me to lead the group, otherwise there would always be fights. This experience showed how people have difficulties in imagining themselves in leadership roles, but feel more comfortable and used to remain in the role of those who execute tasks.

Reception of the project
The need to show products to potential customers emerged, to get feedback on design and quality and to receive revenue through sales. Coincidentally, in November the British Council asked to document the project for one of its programmes that focused on how universities connect with communities. However the project was not visible on campus but happened in meetings in the village or the studio. Nonetheless it pushed us to display the products in the university courtyard (fig. 4.14 and fig. 4.15). We used students and faculty as typical potential customers, because they are culturally interested, appreciate crafts and have the means to purchase the products at a fair price. Simultaneously the team from the cultural institute could document the event.

Product prices were decided. Small products, such as pouches, would cost between 380 and 480 rupees (3 to 4 euros at the time), and larger cushions would cost around 700 to 800 rupees. I emailed an invitation to faculty members and students, and we opened the display in the university courtyard at 9am. During the day students and faculty provided feedback (fig. 4.17). It was mostly encouraging. By the end of the day many products were sold. Altogether the revenue was a little more than 4,000 rupees (around 35 euros at the time). There were not many products to sell, but experiencing the enthusiastic feedback was encouraging for all of us.

The camera team and a senior representative of the British Council arrived in order to document Pakistani academics engaging with poor communities, but it did not fit their assignment from the British Council's headquarters to interview a German faculty member. They interviewed the university's registrar, the school's dean and two women of the project. For more footage of the community, the women suggested visiting the village nearby and the school where the project began (fig. 4.16). The film team did not think the location was appealing enough. Therefore we moved to the rooftop, overlooking green November fields, sat in a circle, and acted as if it were normal to discuss embroidery details at a location where we had never worked, because it would be far too hot during most months of the year. But it gave the desired ambience for the video (App 2B-4). Each woman received a scarf as a gift, but there was a shortage of three, causing three women to ask about their scarves for many months to follow.

While the British Council's original intention was undoubtedly positive — showing the social engagement of universities — the modification of reality according to the British Council's narrative when producing the mini documentary was problematic.

Putting the project on ice

Arguments among the women started during this time. Who got more orders? Who got orders for larger products, for which the pay would be higher? Why was some women's quality ranked A and others ranked B? At the same time, I began wondering why so few products were returned when so much fabric was distributed.

One idea to tackle these problems was that the women could invest in sets of material for new products, for example paying 100 rupees for fabric and yarn for a small cushion cover or 150 rupees for a gao takia, a large round cushion used as back support. This suggestion was vehemently resisted. I began to get irritated and felt taken for granted: I was paying for low quality, provided endless amounts of material, and entertained a romanticised idea of the university's community engagement for the British Council that needed to report back but did not contribute anything to the project. By March 2012, quarrels over payments and disappearing material increased. To handle the situation I took two actions. Firstly, to ease tension and give the project a fresh start, I introduced a new product design approach. The idea was to draw large-scale motifs from nature or the village and use them to produce fabric for loose shirts or home textiles. But when the women were asked to draw motifs on large rolls of paper, they were hesitant and asked me to provide them with designs. I realised that the task was too abstract but was also disappointed by the women's reluctance to leave their comfort zone and engage in product development. I was also upset by their sense of entitlement, that they would receive materials, designs, order specifications, and finally money, regardless of the quality of what they produced. Secondly, I asked the studio attendant to investigate the missing materials. He checked each woman's plastic shopper before leaving the workshop. Many had taken more fabric than would be required for their product, maintaining that it was for their sister, cousin or daughter. Besides doubting these statements, because no products made by those relatives were returned, it turned out that those relatives are mostly children who tinker with the material but do not make any sellable products.

Top left / Fig. 4.14:
Studio attendant and Tarogil women preparing the courtyard display

Top right / Fig. 4.15:
Pouches embroidered with motifs of children's drawings

Bottom left / Fig. 4.16:
The university seen from Tarogil village

Bottom right / Fig. 4.17:
Students and faculty members providing feedback on the products

When I reflected on why I was conducting this project, it seemed that others benefited from it at my expense. The British Council got footage to show and the women enriched themselves from the fabrics. I decided to take a break from the project in order to rethink the approach. Products that were already ordered were purchased according to A or B quality in the last meeting, which led to aggressive discussions. The women demanded new orders, which I refused. I offered to have some meetings in order to discuss how to manage the project better and develop next steps. The women replied that they were interested not in talking but in earning. I repeated my offer that they could purchase material sets, but that only caused more anger. Subsequent contact was minimal.

While I was disappointed, the project had become a lesson in how difficult it is to transfer skills and knowledge to people so that they can become more independent. They were not incapable, but challenges seemed to be rooted deep in socio-cultural and demographic norms of what their roles could be in such craft projects and value chains. Their management participation and self-direction were perhaps romanticised from my side. Such misunderstandings caused the unfortunate dynamic of the project. This confusion was also partly caused by my experimental approach, which made it difficult for participants to anticipate the outcome.

The time in between

Contact remained fragmented for almost two years. Occasionally one of the women made contact by phone or visiting me in my office, asking me to order more products. I did not give in. In order to continue we needed to agree on how the women could take on more responsibility for managing the project, and we needed to establish a culture of mutual trust, which meant no stealing. I made that clear.

In autumn 2014, more than a year after discontinuing the workshops, the studio attendant gave me a message: the women had agreed to talk, even without order placements. As a precondition I asked him to find out why they had stolen the material. The response was remarkable. The women had heard from others in similar circumstances that NGOs often arrive in a poor community and begin a craft- and income-related project. Promises made during the project would often not materialise after it concluded, and therefore, the women were told, the best thing to do would be to take whatever was provided, such as materials and equipment, including tools and sewing machines. It turned out that the women thought I was a representative of an NGO or a university employee with a project grant. While I did not bring sewing machines, I did bring fabric and simple tools, such as embroidery frames, and this might have triggered their assumption. Two women came to my office to apologise: had they known that I paid for everything from my own pocket, this would never have happened. They insisted that they were not thieves.

This incident, although unpleasant, provided highly valuable first-hand insights into development aid and grassroots empowerment practices and their impacts. People in poor communities do not always consider such projects trustworthy based on disappointing experiences and too many false promises made. Rather pragmatically, they try

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to get what they can, for example in material terms, from projects rather than expecting too much more than that.

With hindsight I could not help but think that these dissonances started to occur after the British Council's visit. It made our activity appear to the women as if it was an officially sponsored project of which I was part. In addition, giving scarves as gifts confirmed the rumour that NGOs make donations to poor people. Three women never received their scarves, which confirmed the impression that there is no follow up.

In a way, understanding the preconceptions different stakeholders have of each other and the dynamics these preconceptions cause gradually resulted in me empathising more with the different people involved in CFIPs. The village women, managers of similar projects, British Council and other foreign cultural institute employees, or university faculty members like myself, all have good intentions and do not want to do anything wrong. These motivations even differ between people within one group, for example faculty members. But all of them, or us, are inhibited by stereotypical roles, by what is typically understood of grassroots empowerment, and by our own experiences. Of course everyone has different motivations, such helping the underprivileged, getting something, such as a wage, materials or tools, or adding design expertise to a social cause. But despite all the good intentions, the people involved do not only face practical or managerial challenges; they are also confronted by different mindsets, value systems and preconceptions.

4.2.4. Individual participant interviews

After clarifying our positions, I felt that there was genuine interest from the women in continuing the collaboration, and I was also willing to continue and put previous misunderstandings aside. But now I was less interested in a group discussion, which would usually be dominated by one or two women with the others agreeing, but in each woman's individual perspective on the project so far and her ideas for the continuation.

Questionnaire and consent agreements

I prepared a questionnaire, which a colleague helped to translate into Urdu (Urdu original in App 2B-5). The questionnaire included a consent agreement for using the data. This required a discussion with the women, many of whom are illiterate. They wanted to know in detail what I need this information for. Explaining academic research practice was difficult, because it is very distant from their experiences. I explained that I would like to find out how we can continue with this project in a better way. They worried that the photographs and videos taken for documentation purposes would appear on TV, which their families might not approve of. I promised that I would only use their images for presenting the results of my research. The women's worries are an important reason for including very little visual material in this dissertation. The questionnaire included the following questions:

Questionnaire

– *General Questions*

- Do you agree that Gwendolyn Kulick is using your answers for her research?
- Do you want to say your name?
- How old are you?
- Are you married?
- Do you have children?
- How many people live in your house?
- How many mobile phones are in your house?
- Do you have a TV in your house?

– *Previous Project*

- In your opinion, what was the workshop's goal / objective?
- Why did you participate in the project?
- How many times did you participate?
- What did you do in the workshop?
- What products did you make?
- How many of them?
- What did you learn?
- How much did you earn?
- What did you enjoy?
- What did you not enjoy?
- What did you find difficult?

– *Discontinuation of previous project*

- In your opinion, why was the project discontinued?

– *Motivation (to come for the interview)*

- Why are you here today?
- Do you want to continue with this project?

– *Future Project*

- Why do you want to continue?
- What do you want to do?
- What do you expect from this project in the future?
- What is a good next step?
- What ideas do you have regarding organising the project?
- Why did you join the workshop/activity earlier?
- What did you do in the workshop series?
- What products did you make?
- What new skills did you learn?
- How many times did you participate?
- In your opinion: Why do you think the collaboration did not continue?

Setting

Two interview stations were set up on the lawn of the chilli factory, each consisting of a table with chairs, audio recorder, printed questionnaires, pencils, inkpad and tissues (fig. 4.19 and fig. 4.20). We rehearsed and agreed on rules prior to the interviews: let people talk without interruption, verify if you do not understand the language or the content, ask interviewees to sign the questionnaire-cum-consent agreement with their signature or fingerprint. In order to not influence each other's opinions, the women all waited to be called at one end of the lawn, and after the interview they moved to the other end of the lawn, so they did not get the chance to meet (fig. 4.21).

Besides the studio attendant helping with setting up the interview stations and coordination, five visual communication design students agreed to assist with translation and documentation (App 2B-6). They were briefed on how to use the questionnaires and write down keywords from the answers in English. Transcribing 17 interviews (App 2B-7) in Urdu and Punjabi, and then translating them into English would have been more rigorous, but I needed to find a data-processing method that was feasible in terms of human resources, time and budget. In case any noted-down answer was not clear, audio recordings could be consulted, but that did not prove necessary.

Conducting individual interview sessions

On 18 November 2014, after setting up the interview stations, organising the equipment, the waiting areas and refreshments, and bringing the five student assistants and the studio attendant, only five women came. According to them, the others were unavailable because a crop was ready unexpectedly early and they all had to help with the harvest. I needed to decide on the spot: was it worth doing the interviews with just five women and doing the rest on another day? No, it wasn't. I wanted more opinions, and I wanted them uncoloured by previous discussions. The risk was too high that the five present women would discuss the questions with the absent ones before we could interview them. I called off the activity and apologised.

Top left / Fig. 4.18:
Discussion before the interviews

Top right / Fig. 4.19:
Interview stations

Bottom left / Fig. 4.20:
Interview partners signing consent agreements

Bottom right / Fig. 4.21:
Waiting area in the foreground and one interviewee in the waiting area in the background after the interview

On 25 November 2014 I repeated the set-up of the previous week. 17 women came, including two new ones who had not participated earlier, because they were children in the previous years (fig. 4.18). The interviews started at 11am. Soon it became clear that the interviews were taking more time than anticipated. A third interview station was quickly set up and I moved the students around to cover the extra station. Extra equipment I had brought as precaution for such a situation proved very useful indeed.

Data evaluation and summary of findings
The student assistants' English keywords of the answers were used for the evaluation of the data and proofed to be sufficient. In the following section the findings are summarised.

: Number of interviewees
17 women gave interviews, of whom two did not participate in the earlier workshops (App 2B-7).

: Facts on personal backgrounds
Nine were aged 30 and 49. Two were between 50 and 60, and the rest in their teens and twenties. Two were aged between 10 and 12 and had been to the 2011 workshops as children and now wanted to be members of the group. They were the two new ones.

The majority (13) were married and had between one and eight children. Most households (10) contained seven to eleven people. In most households (9) only one family member had an income. The rest had up to four earning family members. Six women were not able (or did not want) to say how much the monthly household budget is. Four said 8,000 to 15,000 rupees (60 to 120 euros), and another four said 20,000 to 30,000 rupees (155 to 235 euros). One said 42,500 rupees (330 euros), and two said 500 to 2,000 rupees (4 to 16 euros) per day (App 2B-8).[37]
Most (9) had not been to school. Only one completed middle school until year ten. Two more were attending middle school at the time of the interview. Five had at some point attended primary school (App 2B-9).

: Regarding the previous project
Most thought that I had initiated the project to create an opportunity for the women to earn (9) or simply to help the poor (3). One thought it was about women's empowerment, two that it was about working together, and one thought that I wanted to make money. One of the two who did not participate earlier had no opinion (App 2B-10).

[37] Currency conversion at the time of the interview

For most the motivation was to earn (10), but some also wished to do something together, and some wanted to learn something new. Memories regarding how many times they participated and what products they made appeared rather blurred; most were not sure about the number of workshops but remembered that they had made cushion covers (App 2B-11, App 2B-12).

The majority (11) said they had not faced any problems in the project. Three mentioned that they found it hard to think of designs, draw or copy the children's drawings. One found the embroidery work difficult due to her weak eyesight (App 2B-13). Most did not mention problems when asked, but when reflecting on the reasons why the project ended they mentioned issues such as fights among themselves regarding work and leadership. Two thought I stopped the project because I did not get anything out of it. A significant number (7) could not imagine any reason. A critique on my experimental approach was that the structure of the project was not clear (App 2B-14).

: Motivation to continue the project

The main reason for joining the interview session was the hope to work and earn again (9). All 17 said they wanted to start the project again (App B2-15). The answers to this question and to the one asking what they considered the benefit of participating were quite similar: the majority wanted to earn (12), but others also mentioned the joy of doing something together, passing time, learning new things, and the practicality of working near home (App B2-16).

Most wanted to do embroidery, sewing and crochet. Some (3) wished to learn new design skills, because they didn't want to continue embroidering children's drawings. However, a significant number (7) wanted to continue as before (App B2-17). Regarding the next steps there were only few concrete ideas. Regarding project management, the preferred idea was that I should negotiate orders and products with each of them individually, because there was a fear of ending up in internal fights again (App 2B-18).

: Summary of individual interview sessions

The following key points were made:
- The motivation to continue is high
- Beyond income there is a general motivation to learn something new and do something together with others
- Group management and mutual trust within the women's group remain a challenge
- The experimental and open-ended project approach appeared to be confusing for the women, who desired more clarity and structure

4.2.5. Action research discussion

The goal of the action research project was to establish a small self-sustaining craft producer group that could manage value chains with the support of faculty members

and students from the nearby university. One idea was to see how far the village women could learn to take on the tasks of designing and selling products; another was to see in what ways faculty members and students could benefit from such collaboration. I intended to not predefine the project's steps but leave them open for discussion with the people involved, especially the women. Further, my aim was to conduct the project without a large grant and see what was possible with few resources when integrating a CFIP with the local environment, here the university.

In the following section I discuss the insights from the action research project in terms of the women's participation, the financial situation, the interaction with the university and the women's overall living situation during the course of the project.

Level of women's participation

During the initial experimental phase, the women were motivated to bring in their own ideas. They took the initiative to make a sample book, to embroider the children's drawings and to make crochet jewellery. They also brought the cartoons and made stuffed dolls, both of which we did not continue because they did not appear promising. They responded to the feedback of some potential customers, who preferred the embroidered children drawings over the cartoons, or the positive feedback on the originality of the crochet jewellery.

The problems began when stricter quality assessment (A and B quality) in relation to payment were implemented, when the women were requested to invest in order to continue, for example through the purchase of material kits for products, and during the attempt to transfer management responsibilities to the group. These steps were vehemently resisted.

From my perspective as a facilitator of the project, I see in hindsight that my expectations regarding such high levels of participation were too ambitious. Expecting the women to establish a management structure without a clear vision of the product line and where to sell it made it difficult for them to think about management structure. They mentioned in the interviews that they were confused, and that might also explain the hesitance to invest in material sets for new products. But the confusion was also paired with a sense of entitlement, the expectation of being given materials, tools, instructions and designs.

Finances

The project was conducted on a small budget. The exact amount is difficult to define as it involves items I would have paid for anyway, such as petrol for the car, plus some tools and equipment that I borrowed from the university or brought from home. I estimate that I invested around 1,000 Euros, including costs for fabric, yarn, tools and equipment. This figure also includes the money paid to the women for the products they made.

Assistants volunteered without pay. A fashion label donated 20 yards of fabric, which was enough to make 15 to 20 products. Around 150 products were made altogether, though it is difficult to count them exactly because some were sold or given away, and some women did not produce according to the given orders. Despite efforts

to streamline work distribution and payment procedures, these continued to happen in a rather organic manner with individual agreements and spontaneous amendments of product designs and deadlines. It was therefore hard to keep an exact account of expenditure, material and products.

Nevertheless, it became evident that it is possible to initiate a project with a relatively small budget, and that a project might actually benefit from financial constraints. Large grants are not essential if project coordinators, collaborators, assistants and some students are willing to volunteer. But they can only do so if they have other sources of income and thus cannot dedicate themselves full-time to such a project. The benefit of volunteers is that they usually have genuine motivations and see possibilities to integrate the volunteer work with their own jobs.

Collaboration with the university

The interest of both the village women and the university in collaborating was high. But there were obstacles too. Interested students engaged with the project but became too busy with their class work to continue; and after they graduate and start work, students are usually no longer available. Faculty members were interested but busy with day-to-day university duties and thus did not have the capacity to engage in an intensive additional project.

I also did not push collaboration as much as I could have, because I was unsure about each step. How to create commitment on all sides? How to approach the ethical concerns of unequal power relations between stakeholders from the university and from the village?

The women's situation and perspectives

It was not easy to understand the women's reality in terms of income and wealth or their roles in family structure and the village community. It would require a much more in-depth anthropological investigation, but since the project began in mutual interest that was not the focus. The financial situation of the women and their families was never clarified entirely. Asking about income provides a rough picture, because in Pakistan wealth is acquired in other forms as well, for example jewellery, land, animals, and the number of children who will care for their parents. I was not able to get a detailed picture, but it was also not the most crucial aspect. Nonetheless, further insights were revealed throughout the research.

The women's economic situation seemed to remain the same during the time of the project (2011–2016) and even at my last visit in 2019. Their living conditions did not seem to have changed, neither for the better nor the worse, despite the discontinuation of the project.

Further the women retained a pragmatic attitude towards the project. They wanted to receive work with clear instructions, finish it and be paid. Experimentation with new embroideries or product designs was embraced as long as there was immediate payment for it. Pilfering the material can also be considered a pragmatic approach in the circumstances.

4.2.6. Action research conclusions

In a way the Tarogil village project failed because it did not result in a sustainable value chain. For me it triggered a sense of guilt because significant income opportunities for the women were not achieved, and in that way it did what they were already used to: it indicated a benefit that did not materialise, also because moving away from Pakistan a few months later made it almost impossible for me to continue with the project. But the insights from the Tarogil village project had a significant impact on my research, directing it towards strengthening multi-stakeholder collaboration in environments of stark socio-economic and cultural disparity.

The critique regarding the inefficiency of aid and its detachment from reality is widely debated among researchers and practitioners in the aid sector. The Tarogil project provided first-hand insights into the challenges facing mainstream international aid and its top-down dispersion of income generation programmes. The episode of the stolen fabric clearly illustrated target groups' lack of trust in the development aid projects they are subjected to. While not all aid and empowerment projects fit this cliché, disappointing experiences seem widespread enough for people to have established pragmatic counter-strategies. The Tarogil village project was not part of any NGO programme but was perceived as one, possibly because such programmes are so common. The encounter with the British Council [38] demonstrated how the idea of Pakistani academics collaborating with poor women on a rooftop amid idyllic village scenery remains a romanticised projection, not untypical in the aid and culture sectors.

The main challenges were not financial ones, as could be assumed given the perpetual grant application struggles of many CFIPs. My financial investment was not very high. The university management and faculty were supportive, and the location was ideal. Many CFIPs in the case study do not enjoy such advantages. Instead the main challenges concerned the project management of collaborative activities between the women, faculty members, students and other potentially interested partners from the aid sector and from the textile industry. A general interest in the project existed among all of them, but establishing commitment and regular engagement was not achieved during the project's duration. The fact that it was not part of any of those stakeholders' regular work and hence not a priority in their busy lives is in my view one significant reason for that.

A not-to-be-underestimated challenge is posed by power imbalances between stakeholders, based on socio-economic and demographic gaps that inevitably affect all CFIPs, including the action research project. As the group management debates showed,

[38] Cultural institutes are not generally part of the aid sector, although many of their activities feature similar content or they collaborate with organizations in the aid sector, such as NGOs. For the target group, poor people, it is difficult to distinguish between organizations such as NGOs and cultural institutes.

preconceived notions of who provides help and who is entitled to receive help are hard to overcome.

The challenges of coordinating multi-stakeholder collaboration approaches became the central interest when analysing the insights from the action research project, especially with a focus on settings characterised by large socio-economic, cultural and demographic gaps. Therefore I conclude this section 2 of the empirical research by formulating suggestions for such multi-stakeholder collaborations. It is important to:

- Understand community collaboration as an interdisciplinary approach between different fields such as design, business, management and social sciences.
- Consider beneficial experiences for all stakeholders, such as income (women), or learning about craft techniques (students and faculty)
- Integrate craft projects with the regular work agendas of different stakeholders
- Define a core team of different stakeholder types that follows up tasks and responsibilities and coordinates the different stakeholders.
- Prioritise voices of weaker stakeholders such as craft producers since they have the weakest supportive networks and exposure, which makes it easy to patronise them — with a fine line between subjecting and supporting them
- Agree on ethics and values between the different stakeholders as a basis for action, including for example critical reading and debates about development aid and empowerment to design education and linking it to design practice
- Balance transparent planning and experimental open-ended project management, so that participants can envision what they are working towards.
- Involve craft producers as much as possible in the planning enables them to assess certain milestones as successful or unsuccessful

The goal of establishing sustainable craft value chains remained central, but it became clear that it requires cross-sector collaboration and cannot be viewed in isolation. The aspects listed above point to the importance of developing and implementing inclusive communication strategies, so that weaker stakeholders get a chance to participate more in project planning and management. But inclusive communication also refers to the other stakeholders, who often remain in the bubbles of their own sectors.

4.3. Part C: Focus groups

4.3.1. The focus group method

According to Mary Anne Casey and Richard A. Krueger (2010), the purpose of a focus group is to facilitate a dialogue among people who are concerned with a common topic and to enable different perspectives and conflicts to surface and possibly generate new viewpoints. Qualitative data collection is one of the main goals for conducting a focus group. The researcher defines the overarching theme, moderates, listens, observes and in the end analyses the data. A widespread misunderstanding is that a focus group is conducted in order to reach a consensus among the participants, but that is neither the goal nor particularly helpful. It is more important to collect data and reveal different viewpoints and perspectives (Casey & Krueger, 2010, pp.10–12).

4.3.2. Two focus groups about sustainable craft businesses

The focus groups were conducted after the case study and the action research had concluded. The motivation for the focus groups was to bring together representatives of different stakeholder groups from all CFIP types, DFAPs, CEs, CDIs and the Tarogil village project, in order to discuss and exchange experiences. Many of these stakeholders encounter each other occasionally if at all, either at a *mela* (sales fair) or at a sector event, such as grant information sessions. But those mainly concern NGOs. In general, stakeholder interaction across sectors seems fragmented and not inclusive; for example, producers and university faculty do not usually take part in larger project planning or plan their own projects in isolation.

The title of the two focus groups, 'A Dialogue on Craft Business Models', was based on findings from the case study and the action research project. The former concluded with formulating the objective to establish sustainable craft businesses and develop holistic learning opportunities for all CFIP stakeholders, based on a summary of challenges, obstacles and promising strategies experienced in the process. The latter resulted in suggestions for feasible and constructive multi-stakeholder collaboration. Two focus groups were conducted in March 2016 after I had already moved away during a four-week visit.

Preparing the focus groups

Participant selection and invitation

I selected participants who were part of the earlier research activities. Knowing their backgrounds made it possible to create similar combinations of participant types for both focus groups. Casey and Krueger recommend bringing together people who do not feel that they have different hierarchies or knowledge regarding the topic under discussion that would limit them in expressing their opinion (2010, p.27). In my two focus groups, though, one goal was to create an opportunity for dialogue between

stakeholders who are in very different positions of power within CFIPs. Especially important was involving the producers after identifying their lack of inclusion in project planning and implementation as a central challenge in CFIPs. Therefore participants included:

- – Representatives from the Tarogil village women group
- – A female micro-entrepreneur
- – Project managers from NGOs
- – Textile, fashion and jewellery design faculty
- – Leaders of higher education institutions in art and design
- – Fashion and textile designers
- – Social entrepreneurs in the field of fashion
- – Marketing experts from craft projects and educational institutions

While the Tarogil village women and the micro-entrepreneur from a low income neighbourhood were home-based women workers and hence the target group of CFIPs, the other participants aimed to support them and saw value for their own profession in collaborating with them.

Shortly after arriving in Lahore I contacted potential participants via email with options of dates (App 2C-1). I contacted the Tarogil village women and the micro-entrepreneur by phone. The responses were promising, and two diverse participant sets came together (table 4.4, table 4.5). Being familiar with the local ad hoc culture of planning I did the final coordination only a few days before each focus group, because the situation can change at short notice.

A wide range of different CFIP stakeholders participated, though not from all core case sets from the empirical research's case study. No one from a CDI was available. Nonetheless there was a wide variety. Twelve participants joined the first focus group (fig. 4.22) and eleven participants joined the second (fig. 4.23). The same three women from Tarogil were in both focus groups, but the rest of the participants were different each time. This was on purpose, because I anticipated the three women would have more difficulty in articulating their ideas to the others and also because one part of the discussion would focus on suggestions for the Tarogil project. It would be good if the same women could participate and experience a wider variety of ideas. Fortunately, the ones who joined had been the most proactive during the action research project.

Selecting a location

In order to include women from Tarogil, the location of the focus group needed to be in close proximity to them. I chose the old chilli factory that still belonged to BNU, where the individual interview sessions of the action research were conducted earlier. It is a neutral space, undisturbed by university or village life. It was convenient for BNU faculty, and the other participants would have to drive to the location in any case.

The university administration gave permission to use the chilli factory, but a preliminary visit revealed that it was no longer in usable condition. It had no electricity back-up and was being used to store old furniture. One colleague and focus group

Fig. 4.22: Collage of focus group A

Fig. 4.23: Collage of focus group B

PARTICIPANTS OF FOCUS GROUP A	
Kiran Khan	Head, Department of Textile Design and Fibre Studies, BNU and involved in craft outreach projects
Rohma Khan	Faculty member, Department of Textile Design and Fibre Studies, BNU
Iman Bukhari	Faculty member, Department of Textile Design and Fibre Studies, BNU
Danish Khan	CEO, Kaarvan Crafts Foundation with an architecture and MBA background
Komal Tariq	Visual communication designer, Kaarvan Craft Foundation Former visual communication design student at BNU
Saamia Ahmed Vine	Project manager, SABAH Pakistan; Faculty member at National College of Arts Lahore
Taha Babar	Marketing manager, SABAH Pakistan
Zaeem Yaqoob Khan	Public relatins manager and general manager, BNU
Mariam Azhar *	Fashion designer with own label
Parveen	Senior representative of Tarogil village women's group
Shameem	Representative of Tarogil village women's group
Yasmeen	Representative of Tarogil village women's group

* A pseudonym is used upon the research participant's wish. Any resemblance to real persons or their work is unintended.

Table 4.4: Participants of focus group A with affiliations

PARTICIPANTS OF FOCUS GROUP B	
Sahr Bashir	Head, Department of Jewellery and Accessory Design, BNU and involved in craft outreach projects
Pakeeza Khan	Head, Department of Fashion Design, BNU and involved in craft outreach projects
Salima Hashmi	Former principal, National College of Arts, Lahore Former Dean, Mariam Dawood School of Visual Arts and Design at BNU, Lahore
Hina Tayyaba	Principal, Pakistan Insititue of Fashion and Design Board member of the craft organisation AHAN
Ume-Laila Azhar	Director of the organisation HomeNet Pakistan
Shabnam	Independent micro-entrepreneur, sewing clothes and selling block-printed fabrics from her village
Rafiq	Studio attendant in the department of Visual Communication Design Assistant in the Tarogil village project, lives in Tarogil
Parveen	Senior representative of Tarogil village women's group
Shameem	Representative of Tarogil village women's group
Yasmeen	Representative of Tarogil village women's group
Amjad Ali	Independent middleman in the common craft market

Table 4.5: Participants of focus group B with affiliations

participant offered me the use of one of the department's studios. While this was not a neutral space for the BNU faculty, this location turned out to be ideal, because it was still in walking distance for the women, and it had all the facilities needed to set up a projector and cameras to document the sessions.

Other preparation tasks

Besides coordinating space, dates and participants, the following preparations were required:

An invitation with directions to the BNU campus was sent to all participants since it is located in a semi-rural and hard-to-find location (App 2C-2).

Consent agreements were prepared in English and Urdu (App 2C-3). For the village women, some of whom are illiterate, these agreements were read to them on arrival. All participants signed either with their signature or fingerprint. The participants from the village and the design studio attendant at the time requested to keep their identity confidential, but later wished for their identity to be disclosed.

A translation assistant (a student) was arranged, because the women of the village do not know English, some know Urdu, but all of them Punjabi. The studio attendant spoke Urdu and Punjabi, the micro-entrepreneur also spoke Urdu and Punjabi plus a bit of English. The other participants were fluent in English and Urdu and often Punjabi, and I as moderator was fluent in English and understood basic Urdu but hardly any Punjabi. In the first focus group a student assisted with translations, but all participants helped by translating for each other, which worked so well that I did not ask the student translator to attend the second focus group.

A documentation assistant (a student) was asked to attend, take care of cameras, ensure that equipment was working, replace batteries when needed, etc., because the event could not be repeated.

Equipment beyond my own SLR camera, video camera and audio recorder included a projector, screen and video camera, lent by BNU.

Refreshments such as snacks, hot and cold drinks were provided throughout.

Conducting the focus groups

Space arrangement

A large table was arranged in the centre of the studio with a screen on one end onto which questions were projected. The documentation assistant fixed one video camera in one location and moved around from time to time with another. He also took photographs throughout. My own audio recorder was placed at the centre of the table. The seating was arranged in a way that the translation for the women from Tarogil village could easily happen (fig. 4.22 and fig. 4.23).

Moderation of focus groups

One important rule that I defined for myself for my moderation was to avoid terminology that indicated hierarchical stereotypes such as 'marginalised', 'poor' or 'underprivileged' when talking about craft producers, and 'privileged' or 'upper class' when talking about other CFIP stakeholders. All had to be treated as equal focus group participants. It was anticipated that aspects of inequality would surface during the discussion, and some participants might subconsciously apply stereotyping terminology. But nothing in the moderation of the focus groups should encourage that.

The title of the session, 'A Dialogue on Craft Business Models', was projected onto the screen. In order to find a balance between a free uninterrupted discussion and ensuring we covered topics of particular interest, a rough chronology was designed beforehand. The slides (App 2C-4) were shown in English and were verbally translated for those who needed it. The chronology of topics was as follows:

1. ***Participants' introduction and motivation to engage with craft business***
2. ***Experiences:***
   Successful and less successful steps in establishing craft businesses regarding:
   – The role of external funding: supportive and less supportive aspects?
   – The actors and stakeholders
     > Who has been involved so far?
     > What are each one's needs, duties and joys?
   – Products
     > Kind of products
     > Role and importance of authentic craft traditions
   – Learning and Training
     > Who needs to learn what?
3. ***Suggestions for the Tarogil village project***
   – Expectations
   – Potential stakeholders
   – Product / value proposition
   – Learning
   – Financing

Challenges of moderating people of diverse background

Bringing together people of different backgrounds was the goal, but this also imposed limitations on the conversation. This difference in backgrounds occasionally caused difficulty in understanding due to the village women's lack of exposure to topics such as dependency on grants and the ideologies of grant-administering organisations. The risk was that as a result the village women would not take active part in the discussion. This required careful moderation, and luckily other participants also made active efforts to involve the village women.

4.3.3. Focus group discussion

Perspectives offered by participants on craft businesses did not provide much in the way of insights beyond those derived from the case study and the action research project. Nonetheless, in a very unexpected way the focus groups provided highly interesting insights that significantly influenced the direction of this research.

Coming together to discuss a topic of common interest was welcomed by the participants, who usually do not have many opportunities for generating ideas together. For some it served as a point of departure for forming new partnerships and developing new strategies to support their existing activities, for example in NGOs or academia. I only discovered a year later that some had joined forces. While I do not consider the time after the focus groups as active research, this information served as valuable supportive confirmation for the direction I had taken after analysing the focus groups and led to conceptualising the theoretical design framework 'Designing for coalescence' and the corresponding lab concept, which will be outlined in chapter 6.

During the focus groups, constructive ideas for future collaborations were articulated based on experiences with the current situation in different CFIPs. These ideas played a vital role in the decision to apply the systems lens to the data analysis and synthesis, outlined in chapter 5. In the following section I summarise the findings from the focus groups.

Participants' motivations for engaging in CFIPs: exposing demographic differences
When analysing the motivations (App 2C-5) for engaging in CFIPs, two directions emerged that can be attributed to the socio-economic backgrounds of the participants:

1. All participants except the producers were motivated to:
   – Engage in a social cause and support craft producers
   – Strengthen cultural and national identity
2. The three producers and the micro-entrepreneur were motivated to:
   – Establish income opportunities for themselves
   – Connect to markets and get to know customers

These motivations reveal the division between privileged and underprivileged stakeholders, or between those who want to give something and those who need something. But these motivations also reveal a chance for collaboration, because they are all interested in engaging with each other and benefit from complementing skills.

The first group had access to formal education, job markets and professional networks, including the government, the economy and the aid sector. The second group, the craft producers, did not enjoy the same opportunities. They had craft skills, such as embroidery and sewing, but little access to professional and fair working environments.

Among the privileged participants, I observed a sense of guilt about losing their own culture when embracing a modern global lifestyle and at the same time recognising the threat posed by the dominance of this global lifestyle to traditional local culture and knowledge. This, paired with a sense of social responsibility, seemed to be the main driver for engaging in CFIPs. Textile design faculty members reflected on this position:

I think it is pretty much giving back to the society as a responsible citizen, especially being aware of what is craft, and the importance of it. And I think it's also how it is a big part of our identity and our culture. So that's my motivation.

(Iman Sheikh, Focus Group A, 2016,
min. 14:05-14:28, App 2C-5)

At BNU we think that design students have to be thinker designers and not just design individually for the industry. So this thinker designer as part of his or her social responsibility has to give back to the community in some way. We have tried. That has been the focus for a few years. And as part of that, our thinker designer approach, it is important that the student is able to do something for the community. So either we do it jointly as a craft community, and we form sort of a link between academia and people who are either working with NGOs, you know like Danish, or we directly involve these artisans. So making them more aware, and also making them aware of what kind of work they are doing, is important. Some of them do not even realise the value of their craft, of what they are producing and how amazing it is. So as part of the intellectual sort of group that forms the academia, it is our responsibility to give back to the community in a positive way. And so we try to not only educate our own students, but also form this link between the craft community and the academia.

(Kiran Khan, Focus Group A, 2016,
min. 14:28-15:57, App 2C-5)

Ume-Laila Azhar from HomeNet Pakistan, an NGO deeply involved in legally supporting workers in the informal sector, points out that craft preservation is only one perspective in starting a CFIP:

It's beautiful, it's our heritage, we have to do it, and we have to preserve it. That is one angle. Being a Pakistani, being a human being, preserving these hand-making skills is a good thing. But my motivation? This is a holistic scenario ... My motivation is rights: 74% belong to the informal sector, and of these 65% make crafts ... Their situation is that they do not count as workers, they do not get minimum wage, have no social protection, they do not count in the national statistics, they do not have access to opportunities ... Craft traditions finish also because the producers do not get anything out of it, like the appropriate wages.

(Ume-Laila Azhar, Focus Group B, 2016,
min. 44:35-48:31, App 2C-5)

The more privileged participants' sense of responsibility towards the underprivileged participants carried through both focus groups. The phrase 'giving back to the community' was used repeatedly. While it can be critiqued for perpetuating the divide between different segments of society, it holds valuable potential in terms of encouraging social responsibility among stakeholders in the craft for empowerment sector.

Underprivileged communities are perceived as places to search for cultural traditions and identity and representations of that identity, such as traditional crafts. These assumptions are not necessarily true, however. Usually day-to-day routines in poor environments are pragmatically directed towards meeting basic needs. Poor people make craft products for their own households or for selling and seem generally less concerned with preserving cultural heritage. In some communities they apply traditional knowledge, in some they do not. On the other hand, these stereotypical assumptions ignite the initial interest in engaging with underprivileged communities. Experiencing the reality there also serves as a learning opportunity that is valued highly by external and privileged stakeholders. The wish 'to give back' represents a sense of guilt regarding one's own privilege. Learning about crafts from the poor while seeking to rediscover the cultural identity of their country or region that privileged people feel they have lost due their globalised lifestyle, provides some relief and a sense of doing something meaningful for society. However, the expression also indicates a sense of separation between 'us, the privileged' and 'them, the underprivileged', as if not everyone were part of the same society. The strong urge to support the underprivileged and preserve cultural heritage nevertheless represents a sense of unity, which it is important to strengthen.

Salima Hashmi's career in art and design education spans more than fifty years, many of those in leadership positions as the principal of the National College of Arts and Design and later as Dean of the School of Visual Arts and Design, both in Lahore. Her focus throughout was the inclusion of crafts within art and design programmes. She summarises the dilemma faced by designers interested in making use of craft traditions and helping the poor when they realise that this is a form of compensating for one's own privilege:

> In Pakistan we live in a society which is deeply exploitative. Anybody who earns a decent salary earns it, you know, because there are so many millions who do not. We are a very exploitative society. So I mean if we understand that then we do feel ... Yes, what you are saying, giving back to the community, if you are learning a craft, you are taking from that community, giving back to the community, that is easy to understand.
>
> (Salima Hashmi, Focus Group B, 2016, min. 1:43:11-1:46:4, App 2C-5)

These observations suggest a juxtaposition of traditional and modern cultures, whereas in reality an eclectic pastiche of different influences defines contemporary Pakistan's

culture and society across demographic differences. They change continuously and integrate the latest trends with centuries-old traditions. One observation is that the craft sector in particular provides a space for multiple projections such as the search for cultural identity, and the escape from the globalised lifestyle, including opportunities for slow production and consumption as alternatives to fast production and consumption that takes place under precarious conditions. Such ideological projections on craft integrate well with ideas of how to help the underprivileged.

Against this backdrop craft becomes meaningful for privileged stakeholders. In order to make craft meaningful for poor craft producers too, their motivations of income opportunity and market connection deserve to become a central aspect in CFIPs. While these differing motivations to engage in CFIPs expose demographic differences, inequality and power imbalances, they provide a starting point for collaborating and establishing connections.

Critiquing the donor processes of the aid system

A central topic that sparked debate among participants, especially NGO managers, was their relationship with donor agencies as dominant stakeholders in the process of establishing a craft business.

Focus group participants considered grants both a blessing and a curse. On the one hand, grants enable CFIPs to begin or continue. NGO stakeholders, in particular, pointed out how reliant they are on grants. On the other hand, grants are often perceived as a barrier that sours donor relationships. Focus group participants who regularly manage DFAPs did not hold back with their complaint that projects are usually funded for a certain period of time and are based on predefined results, such as a product prototype exhibition. Donors often do not consider their responsibility beyond that, leaving their implementation partners, such as NGOs, to sink or swim just when continuing the business starts to become challenging. Danish Khan suggested that NGOs should define their own programmes and apply for funding when it fits those, but not bend over backwards to meet the donor's requirements. The importance of not viewing craft producers as beneficiaries was also discussed, emphasising that it is their citizen right to have the opportunity to earn a living and participate in education such as vocational training (App 2C-6).

Dimensions of CFIP impact between poverty alleviation and cultural awareness

Participants discussed how to measure the impact of a CFIP. It became clear that most participants did not consider CFIPs solely as being about establishing a business. Participants in the first focus group framed it as a negotiation between 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' gains for poor producers. The qualitative gains were defined as the experience of cultural identity, rewarding feedback, exposure to markets, and the general opportunity to collaborate. Quantitative gains would be the money earned. Rohma Khan, faculty member at BNU, reflected on the collaborative Humnawa project with Sungi and SABAH:

Now I said, everything does not have to be about quantitative gains. There are qualitative gains as well. As an academic we were completely looking at those qualitative gains, and we completely saw the qualitative gains within the lives. The 200 lives that we briefly touched upon, that was enough satisfaction and success for us. So again, it also depends on how you define success. What is success? Is it having a strong business model? Or is it changing somebody's life? And yes, these things are only for us as designers to understand and market these stories … Again, the lives of these women, who had not left their homes, had come out into the villages, come out of the villages, come out into the city, got this kind of exposure, saw their products being sold. These kinds of stories were beautiful, I mean.

(Rohma Khan, Focus Group A, 2016, min. 1:06:37-1:07:22, App 2C-6)

Zaeem Yaqoob Khan, BNU's general manager at the time, argued in favour of not neglecting accounts:

I have a slightly different take. You see, quantifying, I am sorry, speaking as a business person, quantifying actually helps to sustain a record of efforts.

(Zaeem Yaqoob Khan, Focus Group A, 2016, min. 1:11:46-1:12:31, App 2C-6)

It was clearly important to all participants that customers as well as producers need to be aware of craft's cultural and monetary value in order to be more empowered. Iman Sheikh, faculty of textile design at BNU:

I am actually trying to understand what a design academic, me and a lot of us sitting on this table, can do to make people like them understand what they are doing. They have forgotten what are they even doing. Does it have any value? That's why they are so demotivated. It's not just about the money. Forget the money. It's about the fact that they do not even know that they did it or their grandmothers … They do not know. Empowerment, yes, is extremely important, but all of this will add to the empowerment.

(Iman Sheikh, Focus Group A, 2016, min. 1:31:54–1:32:37, App 2C-6)

Rafiq, the studio attendant from the village who assisted in the project, pointed out that embroideries are a valuable cultural tradition that is passed on to younger generations. However, Parveen from the Tarogil women group explained that she had worked for various middlemen who had different ideas about embroidery styles, and she would

continue to do so to make ends meet (App 2C-7). These negotiations between craft projects' impact on income generation and strengthening cultural identity are part of each CFIP. In the focus groups they surfaced repeatedly and were discussed vehemently. It was of great benefit that the Tarogil women participated actively, something that is normally rare when craft projects are discussed and planned.

Support for the Tarogil women's group as multi-stakeholder collaboration

Even though the aim of the focus groups was not to agree on certain strategies for CFIPs, possibilities for collaborating with the Tarogil village women were discussed in order to have a concrete topic to which the Tarogil women could contribute their experiences.

As expected, the Tarogil women voiced as their main challenge the disconnection from customers and from partners who help them with value chains and product design. The wish to collaborate kept recurring among focus group participants, who considered collaboration as very beneficial for all stakeholders. The university already had a relationship with the village, not only through the action research project but because some people from the village worked on campus as service staff. One challenge from previous experiences was that it is not easy for the women to enter the campus physically. People from the university could go to the village easily, but people from the village faced difficulties when guards prevented the them from entering the campus without me explaining the reason for their visit. Increased security requirements from the government after the winter of 2014 / 2015 made the campus even less accessible. However, Zaeem from the university's management, highlighted the need for the campus to be accessible (App 2C-7).

In both sessions, Rafiq suggested providing a collaborative space in the university for mutual learning among the women, students and faculty. The women could work there regularly, while students and faculty could drop in and provide feedback on quality and design and discuss product ideas. That way everyone could learn from each other (App 2C-7).[39] During the second focus group, Parveen from the Tarogil women's group made a similar suggestion:

> I've taught a lot of girls how to sew and how to do embroidery. They come to me to learn. Now I want someone to help me to open an institute where I can instruct and teach girls.
>
> (Parveen, Focus Group B, 2016, min. 14:40–15:41, App 2C-5) [40]

[39] Segment of focus group A translated live by Komal Tariq during the focus group, March 2016, and segment of focus group B translated by Samreen Azam from an audio recording in July 2017.

[40] Translated from audio recording by Samreen Azam in July 2017.

Parveen said her main motivation to join the focus group was to make this suggestion. What is interesting in Rafiq's and Parveen's statements is that the idea of mutual learning was articulated by those who are commonly viewed as the target group of aid or as beneficiaries. They do not view themselves in this way or do not want to be in this position; instead, they articulated what they could bring to the table and teach others on campus.

Faculty members genuinely welcomed these suggestions and were open to engage with the women, provide them with feedback, and incorporate small collaborations between students and the village women into the curriculum. One suggestion was to have a small shop at the university where students could sell products they had designed, and the women could display selected products there as well. Customers could be faculty, staff, students and visitors. Other customers could order larger quantities according to the women's capacity. But when it was suggested that the university could get involved in linking the women to larger manufacturers, faculty members and Zaeem pointed out that the university's first duty was education, not business management. The university could engage in learning activities, and facilitate a small shop, but not take responsibility for managing access to larger markets (App 2C-7).

Focus group participants external to the university or the Tarogil community suggested to think such a collaboration broader and involve the textile industry. Ume-Laila from the NGO HomeNet Pakistan highlighted the importance for textile companies to work with both students and craftspeople. She remembered a project in which design students developed products for a big home textile and fashion label. Craft producers received orders valued at several thousand Euros. According to Ume-Laila orders from large companies are experienced as a sign of appreciation, and craft producers learn to be aware of market demands and trends in urban centres (App 2C-7).

It became clear that different and frequent activities are required for creating learning opportunities for students on the one side, and learning and income opportunities for women producers from the village on the other, and that additional partnerships would be helpful. Rafiq and Parveen's proposal for a common workspace acknowledged the anticipated benefits of mutual learning and economic empowerment for different stakeholders.

On a larger scale, Salima Hashmi highlighted the mutual benefit of involving different stakeholders as a way towards growth in knowledge and business for all stakeholders:

> I think we have been doing things in isolation from one another. And I think that if we all say 'Kyu nahin kar rahe hain?' (Why are we not doing anything?') To pir (therefore) maybe they will feel 'ke kutch karna chahiye' (that we should do something). So I think maybe a forum of institutions, so that we share our experiences, share the models that have worked or have not worked. And then each take away from those experiences. We can have, I mean twice a year

only if necessary, but pool all these examples, communities ... We can say 'Achha, Tarogil community hamaray kareeb hai' (Ok, Tarogil community is our neighbour). Do fashion design people want to work with them? Can we facilitate? You know this kind of a thing. So that we have a possibility ke cross fertilisation ho jahe (for cross fertilisation to happen).

<div align="center">(Salima Hashmi, Focus Group B, 2016,
min. 2:06:36–2:07:54, App 2C-7)</div>

In a way the focus group participants discussed a laboratory or incubator of sorts – without using these terms. They suggested the collaborative space as a way to generate support for ethical processes of designing, manufacturing and merchandising craft products. They unanimously highlighted the value of learning from and supporting one another. This is different from the typical top-down view of development and grass-roots empowerment. The importance was highlighted of involving stakeholders from multiple backgrounds, especially the textile, fashion and lifestyle product industry, the human rights and development sector, and academia, keeping in mind the beneficial aspects for each of them but also the expertise they can bring when trying to establish craft value chains.

The focus groups showed the importance and the feasibility of involving under-privileged craft producers as experts of their own situation. They contributed very constructive suggestions, such as the shared workspace.

Quality of communication observed in the focus groups

The focus groups provided an open dialogue format for different CFIP stakeholders without the pressure to reach a conclusion or formulate a grant proposal-cum-action plan. Such settings, with no other goal but to exchange experiences and ideas, are rare, especially for the craft producers. In my view the open dialogue format improved stakeholder communication significantly as it provided opportunities for:

– Conversing 'with' instead of 'about' each other: participants felt encouraged to address concerns directly with each other and move beyond their prejudices to recognise the concerns of other stakeholders.

– Transcending designated roles: stakeholders of CFIPs usually silently agree on their roles as aid providers and beneficiaries. Coming together in focus groups as equal research participants could of course not over come those roles entirely, but it encouraged participants to discuss experiences and possibilities more on eye-level without regressing into designated roles.

Some participants stayed in contact after the focus groups, continuing their conversations and eventually embarking on a collaboration experiment, which I heard about during my next visit in 2017. Danish Khan from Kaarvan and Kiran Khan from BNU's Department of Textile Design and Fibre Studies identified the problem that trainers in

vocational crafts are often only a little bit ahead of training participants in skill. These trainers are also unaware of high-end market demands. Designers from urban centres, who would be obvious candidates to train others in crafts, will not or cannot commit to spending the time it would take to offer training in remote areas. Therefore there is a lack of qualified trainers. By October 2017, Danish and Kiran had devised a curriculum for training these trainers who are just one step ahead of the training participants and were planning the implementation. By spring 2019, Pakeeza Khan from BNU's Fashion Design Department was working regularly at Kaarvan and conducted training courses together with trainers from marginalised environments (App 2C-8). This post-focus group development was unintended. It supported the observation that open dialogue formats inspire promising new approaches and experiments in CFIPs.

4.3.4. Focus group conclusions

The most significant outcome of the focus groups was the insight that most participants had a keen interest in collaborating with each other and saw potential for learning from such collaboration. They were also willing to move beyond their stereotypical roles as helpers and beneficiaries. Additionally, they used the focus groups as an opportunity to establish innovative partnerships. Most CFIPs, especially DFAPs, usually repeat the same pattern, as described in the case study. Therefore the need and the wish to form new alliances and experiment with different approaches became very apparent.

Many focus group participants already worked in projects that involved different strategic partners, but those were often targeted towards fulfilling certain grant requirements. Project proposals and implementation have to be worked out with much pragmatism, and therefore often the same methods and processes are repeated. There is little room and little time for experimentation and forming new alliances.

Currently collaboration mostly means additional work for CFIP stakeholders, including extra time, effort and money on top of demanding full-time jobs in NGOs, in the industry, in academia, or even in private initiatives. Craft producers also have other duties, such as taking care of the household and children and helping in the fields or other daily work. When collaboration means adding on to the busy lives of CFIP stakeholders, it becomes difficult to achieve continuity. Therefore it is important to integrate collaborative activities into stakeholders' work agendas.

Another key aspect is to acknowledge different stakeholders' objectives for engaging in CFIPs. NGOs are accountable to donors while following their own agenda in the realm of human and legal rights and poverty alleviation; academics want to change the curriculum for design programmes so that students learn more about traditional crafts; entrepreneurs aim to develop attractive product lines through applying craft elements; and craft producers aim to earn income. As became clear in the discussion, stakeholders cannot take responsibility for others' objectives; it was made clear, for example, that the university as a learning institution cannot take on responsibility for market linkages. But it is important that stakeholders are aware of each other's interests so that they can develop strategies to support each other.

One of the most difficult challenges is to include craft producers more actively at all stages of the CFIP process, but the focus groups indicated that it is possible. The three village women at times had difficulties in following the discussion because they lacked exposure to some of the topics and terminology. Nonetheless it was important that they participated, whether or not they immediately grasped the bigger picture of the aid sector or academia. But they had many useful ideas based on their experiences and analysis of the challenges they faced, and often they simply lacked opportunities to voice them.

In fact one of the most significant results of the focus groups was that the village women had a platform and a voice, and felt comfortable to share their perspectives and ideas. Albeit very small, this showed the empowering impact of the action research project: the women, who in this setting can be characterised as he marginalised participants, were not only taken seriously by the other focus group participants, but felt themselves that their opinion is valuable. Even though we sold only very products and had issues with group management, the interaction over a long time period showed how important trust, a platform and an audience are for empowering processes.

The focus groups showed that a promising result of this research would be to develop strategies that foster the formation of new partnerships and experimental approaches in CFIPs through creating collaboration opportunities across different sectors that engage with craft projects. In sum, the focus groups were path-breaking for this research project, leading to a turn towards developing a collaboration framework as part of a systems approach to CFIPs rather than suggestions or guidelines for a potential perfect CFIP or for a specific one from the case study.

4.4. Empirical research conclusions

The empirical research consisted of an extensive case study, an action research project, and two focus groups. The findings of each can be summarised as follows:

The case study concluded with discovering and formulating the importance of sustainable craft businesses and holistic learning experiences and the close relationship of both. It further summarised the challenges, obstacles and promising strategies applied in different types of case projects, which serve as hints for potentially more sustainable business and learning strategies.

The action research project concluded with suggestions for managing multi-stakeholder collaborations and highlighted the importance of inclusive communication during project planning and implementation, with a special focus on underprivileged craft producers who usually lack exposure and a platform for voicing their ideas and concerns.

The focus groups concluded with the insight that CFIP stakeholders are genuinely interested in forming new partnerships and alliances in order to generate new

experimental approaches for CFIPs, and that open dialogue formats for exchange are vital in empowering processes but rare. It also caused the research direction to turn to a systems approach for further data analysis and synthesis.

One important conclusion from the empirical research is that CFIP stakeholders do not need anyone to provide them with guidelines or roadmaps for their projects. The research participants I met during the empirical research are CFIP stakeholders themselves and already work towards ethical practices in the craft sector. They are very dedicated, critically reflective, and creative in addressing the problems in their respective projects and environments. Many of them have many years experience in CFIPs. As an outsider, albeit with some deep research insights, I could not and did not consider it helpful to tell them what to do better.

During the empirical research I realised that it would be more beneficial to look at craft projects in the context of grassroots empowerment, the different stakeholders, their backgrounds and conceptual and practical approaches from a meta level.

The empirical research revealed that the structures and processes in which CFIPs are embedded and the mindsets that inform them and stakeholders' work have consolidated in a way that is not always supportive. An example are grant cycles that are on the one hand financially enabling for CFIPs but on the other limiting due to their sometimes restrictive requirements. But changing them is a very difficult, almost unrealistic task. It might not be entirely possible, certainly not fast or easy. But suggesting guidelines top-down, even if they include participatory activities, seem neither appropriate nor promising to me.

Also, it is obvious that the empirical data is of rich and diverse character. One way of treating it would have been to single out one problem and develop a design strategy to solve it. However, trying to tame the data does not resonate with the eclectic and complex reality of CFIPs, in which many aspects are intertwined. Looking at a certain aspect in isolation makes little sense. It seemed more appropriate to embrace the diverse experiences, circumstances and multi-stakeholder perspectives in ethical craft projects in Pakistan, as suggested by the bricolage methodology. This insight broadened the initial goal of developing strategies for sustainable craft businesses. The business aspect remained important, but aspects of holistic learning became equally important. Additionally the inclusion of underprivileged stakeholders, such as the craft producers, into the communication regarding project planning and implementation phases was identified as very important.

One of the main achievements of the empirical research is that its rich and diverse data allowed craft for empowerment to be viewed as a sector in its own right. CFIPs are embedded in many different sectors, such as formal and informal education, heritage conservation, poverty alleviation and grassroots empowerment concerns, including women's empowerment and other human and legal rights issues.

Bringing together data from these different sectors made it possible to examine and analyse the aspects of CFIPs that empower craft producers and other CFIP stakeholders and the challenges they face.

Based on these insights, in conclusion I defined the design task of this research as developing strategies to support:

1. Sustainable craft business value chains that ensure regular income opportunities for poor craft producers
2. Holistic learning experiences for all stakeholders in order to advance the craft for empowerment sector
3. Inclusive communication with a special focus on underprivileged craft producers

In order to develop such design strategies, I decided to analyse and synthesise the empirical data through the systems lens. The following chapter outlines how the empirical data is used to view the craft for empowerment sector from a birds-eye perspective and extract what I termed the 'craft for empowerment system'.

5. Data synthesis through the systems lens

In this chapter the findings of the empirical research are synthesised through the systems lens, mapping out stakeholders and the character of their relationships. What emerges is what I termed the 'craft for empowerment system'. Made visible in this way the system's parts (mainly CFIP stakeholders), their connections and relationships, and its behaviour can be viewed, analysed and debated. It becomes tangible, making it a workable object of design for this research. It enables to identify possibilities for leveraging into the system in order to gradually generate change towards a behaviour that supports more sustainable value chains, holistic learning opportunities and inclusive communication within CFIPs.

The empirical findings showed that motivations for initiating a CFIP are driven by good intentions and dedication, and also that thoroughly positive results have been achieved. Nonetheless CFIPs, which are diverse in character and take place under different conditions, face multifaceted wicked problems, which cannot be solved completely, and least with pragmatic design solutions. These problems are rooted in societal, cultural and economic conditions, including privilege and marginalisation, and are entangled with global politics, especially development aid politics and globalisation.

One justifiable way forward was to opt for a systems approach. This approach does not promise solutions but contributes to changing the barriers created by structures, processes and mind-sets in the craft for empowerment sector. It is good to be reminded that systems are generative and cannot be defined or designed, only observed and changed by leveraging into them. Such changes are unlikely to happen quickly or in a linear way; they might be subtle, difficult to detect, or even undesirable. Nevertheless, the systems approach seemed to be the most honest way to address this research topic.

This chapter serves the purpose to establish and understand better the current craft for empowerment system, its stakeholders, relationships and behaviour, in order to put forward ideas for how to generate change in it.

5.1. The GIGA-mapping method

The synthesis of the empirical data through the systems lens is informed by the GIGA-mapping method, which is under continuous development at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design by Birger Sevaldson of the Systems Oriented Design (SOD) group and his team. It enables designers to make a high level of complexity accessible. Data from different sources and disciplines, of different scale, kind and character, is fed into the GIGA-mapping process. This process is not entirely alien to designers, who are familiar with visualising fuzzy information. GIGA-mapping draws on several techniques known to designers, such as scenario mapping, diagramming, collages and user journeys (Sevaldson, 2017a, n.p; 2015, p. 4). GIGA-mapping as a form of visual thinking makes information accessible in all its richness and messiness, with the goal of translating messy information into a design strategy. It encourages embracing the messiness until a late stage of the generative process, in order to not miss less-obvious opportunities (Sevaldson, 2017b, n.p.). In other words, simplification is avoided until a late stage in the design process in order to remain open to unexpected ideas.

A GIGA-map can incorporate different scales and scope. Applying it on one topic can include the global scale and at the same time zoom into details such as interpersonal relationships. This touches on a central aspect of systems thinking: the definition of boundaries. How far does a GIGA-map go? This is an important decision to make in each project (Sevaldson, 2017a, n.p.).

GIGA-maps can serve multiple purposes, such as understanding a system with its sub-systems and supra-systems, exploring its complexity, or critiquing its shape and boundaries. The GIGA-map's purpose is not only descriptive of a situation but also generative. Besides being a tool for reflection and understanding, GIGA-mapping can generate innovation in complex systems of organisations or social organisms, or describe and modify complex processes (Sevaldson, 2011, p.6).

The GIGA-map can be used as a model for what Sevaldson calls 'sense-sharing' among stakeholders of different disciplines or cultural backgrounds to become aware of the quality of a system (of a certain topic), its tacit and soft information. It can bridge different cultures, disciplines, and terminologies, and enable stakeholders to share their understanding of the system (Sevaldson, 2015, p.2). The SOD group lists the following shared senses:
- *Sense of field* is concerned with the system scale and its boundaries, depending on the point of entry, for example the client or an organisation.
- *Sense of gestalt* is concerned with the system's shape, direction, density, age and other aspects.
- *Sense of degree of complexity* is concerned with people having different views about how challenging a task is: the more they disagree, the higher the complexity level.
- *Sense of timing and dynamics* is concerned with how long it takes for a system to absorb change, and this time period differs from the planned time frame of the interventions.

- *Sense of required effort* is concerned with the amount and kind of effort required to implement an intervention.
- *Sense of resistance* is concerned with the barriers a suggested intervention will probably face on multiple levels (Sevaldson, 2015, pp.7–10).

Useful methods and tools for applying GIGA-mapping, described by Sevaldson include:

The main GIGA-map can be approached from different angles: hierarchical, conceptual or spatial maps; timelines; flow charts or storyboards, and more (2011, p.6). The map is based on quantitative and qualitative data but involves the risk of over-designing and making it look perfect, which might not represent reality. Done with good intentions to communicate information correctly a too neatly done GIGA-map risks that the system is perceived as fixed and inflexible, which no system is (2017b, n.p.).

A library of systemic relations visualises the quality of the relationships between the parts of a system through visualising and characterising them through connecting lines of different strength, colour and pattern. The SOD team members suggest a 'library of systemic relations', in which for example includes structural relationships of macro- and micro-systems and hierarchies; semantic, thematic and associative relationships; social relationships; causal relationships; flows in human and natural systems; and stocks and flows of variables. However they do not consider this library complete because new or different relationships can be observed and defined according to the particular GIGA-map at hand, of which some can be visualised through lines, but others cannot. These include positive and negative feedback loops; spatial and temporal proximities and distributions; and timing, rhythm and repetition (2018, n.p.).

A ZIP analysis zooms into areas that are particularly problematic or interesting and emerge while making the map or when searching for them in the completed map. ZIP stands for: zoom; intervention / innovation / idea; and potential / problem / pain point (Sevaldson, n.p.).

Ruptures are problems of communication and information flows in complex systems, such as misconceptions or information that got lost over time. Causes might include information overload, non-understanding of information, different conceptions of a system's shape, extent, structure or connectivity, dis-alignment within and between organisations, or implementation problems (2011, p.4–5; 2015, p.5).

A hive-mind is a recognisable collective intelligence. It can be defined as common understanding of a system's purpose, dynamic, pattern or direction, silently agreed upon, consciously or subconsciously, and without much questioning (2018, n.p.).

The identification of leverage points refers to Donella Meadows' principle of leverage points (2009, pp.145–165; see chapter 2) and is a tool used by the SOD group (Sevaldson, 2017e).

The described GIGA-mapping method and its tools were applied and adjusted to fit this research. The following section outlines the process and the analysis.

5.2. Pakistan's craft sector from a systems perspective

A GIGA-map of the craft for empowerment sector (fig. 5.1 & App 3A-1) was developed from a bird's-eye perspective in order to see stakeholders and their general relationships in terms of how closely they interact. It allows conclusions to be drawn regarding the overall shape and performance of the system.

In this GIGA-map, individual stakeholders are grouped together under headings, for example international donor agencies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and craft producer groups. Their interaction is visualised through different thicknesses of lines for frequency, with dashed lines used to represent a more fragmented character. In the following step these interactions are analysed in more detail according to certain criteria in separate tables that allow for adding criteria and explanation.

5.3. Analysis of Pakistan's craft for empowerment system

The analysis of the craft for empowerment system (fig. 5.1) was divided into three parts: In part 1 the sense-sharing perspective is used to analyse the shape and dynamics of the craft for empowerment system. In part 2 the qualities of certain systemic relationships between the stakeholders are visualised and described. In part 3 a model of motivation and disappointment cycles is developed, which shows, in a stereotyped and simplified form, the experiences of three core stakeholders in CFIPs — craft producers, managers, and customers — in current CFIP processes.

5.3.1. Part 1: The bird's-eye perspective

Shape and dynamics of the system
Five characteristics of the craft for empowerment system were observed and resonate with the above-described kinds of sense sharing:
1. Three main levels of the system
   > Sense of gestalt, sense of degree of complexity, sense of timing and dynamics, sense of required effort
2. Top-down direction of power hierarchy
   > Sense of gestalt, sense of resistance, sense of required effort
3. Large-scale with fuzzy boundaries
   > Sense of field, sense of degree of complexity
4. Differing network strength
   > Sense of gestalt, sense of required effort, sense of resistance
5. Differently detailed in contour of stakeholder identities
   > Sense of gestalt, sense of required effort, sense of resistance

Fig. 5.1: GIGA-map of the craft for empowerment sector

INTERNATIONAL DONOR AGENCIES

INTERNATIONAL CREDIT INSTITUTES

INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANIZATIONS

ECONOMICAL AND POLITICAL
GOVERNMENT UNIONS

INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL INSTITUTES

Representatives of
international governments

PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT FUND DISTRIBUTION BODIES

Representatves of
international cultural
institutes

CIVIL SOCIETY

Human rights activists

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

NGO managers

CEOs

Owners

THINK TANKS

Researchers

Individual
craft shoppers

CRAFT
ENTERPRISES

Students

Professors

Textile, fashion &
product designers

ACADEMIA

> in textile, fashion & product design
> in business studies

CUSTOMERS OF CRAFT
PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

Philanthropists

COMMUNITY PROJECTS WITH
CRAFT COMPONENTS

Project coordinators

Industrial customers from
the textile industry

COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATIONS

Sales people & middlemen

Individual artisans with successful
craft business set-ups

Local community leaders

Home-based women workers

SPECIALIZED ARTISAN WORKSHOPS

Individual artisans with little
successful craft business set-ups

Producers in community craft centres

CRAFT PRODUCER GROUPS

> Active
> Inactive
> Potential

POLITICAL LEVEL

IMPLEMENTATION LEVEL

TARGET LEVEL

1. Three main levels of the system

> *Sense of gestalt, sense of degree of complexity, sense of timing and dynamics, sense of required effort*

Mapping out the stakeholders of the craft for empowerment system resulted in three main levels of GIGA-mapping:

1. **The political level,** which consists of international donor agencies and credit institutions, international governments, and fund distribution bodies usually connected to the Pakistan government.

2. **The implementation level,** which includes organisations that apply for grants to implement their programmes, such as NGOs and government organisations, academia, educational and research institutions, businesses, private initiatives and civil society in Pakistan. It also includes affiliates such as philanthropists and human rights advocates, community organisations, designers with craft-based collections, and other purchasers of craft products.

3. **The target level,** which is the grassroots environment, including craft producers, mainly home-based women workers but also specialised artisans with existing workshops, and their communities.

2. Top-down power hierarchy

> *Sense of gestalt, sense of resistance, sense of required effort*

The dynamic between the three levels displays a stark top-down direction. It is characterised by a power hierarchy directed by global aid politics at the top, which guide the goals and methods that are applied to implement development aid projects in different cultural contexts, including CFIPs in Pakistan. Even private initiatives that are not embedded into international aid schemes are managed top-down from implementation level to target level, albeit with more target-level participation. The top-down direction and power hierarchy emerged mainly when analysing the quality of the systemic relationships, which will be discussed in part 2 of the GIGA-map application.

Strong connections are evident between the political and the implementation level, where grant implementation strategies are negotiated and processed. The target level, often not involved in this process, gets exposed to projects once their planning is finalised. Another significant insight is that this top-down power hierarchy is reinforced through repetition. This is remarkable considering that this top-down planning and implementation causes some of CFIP's main obstacles, such as donor dependency and premature project termination. While implementation-level stakeholders in particular are aware of these obstacles, the cycle of grant application, implementation and reporting offers them a comfort zone, especially in DFAPs, whose managers know that the next grant application cycle will come, and are familiar with typical application procedures for receiving new grants. While most CFIP managers see the need for changing these procedures in order to change their project strategies towards what they consider to be more beneficial to the empowering impact on craft producers, they are unable to change them radically, because they still depend on the political-level

stakeholders that usually define such grants and decide who receives them. Changing and experimenting with procedures risks unpredictable outcomes, such as the loss of a grant and thus a missed opportunity to start a new project. Implementation-level CFIP managers operate under great pressure: if they fail, the political level will hold them accountable and in the worst case not consider their organisation for another grant, and implementation-level peers might not want to collaborate with them again, for example fashion designers who do not receive their order in time for the launch of their line. The target-level craft producers suffer the most if a project fails but might not hold the implementation level responsible, because they have no power to and lack the awareness that they could do so. This self-image of CFIP stakeholders also contributes to the reinforcement of the system's top-down dynamic. The GIGA-map shows very thin communication lines starting from the target level but thick ones starting from the political and implementation levels. Such top-down power hierarchies are very difficult to disrupt, even though stakeholders are aware that they are counterproductive for the empowerment of target-level stakeholders, the craft producers.

3. Large-scale with fuzzy boundaries
> *Sense of field, sense of degree of complexity*
The visualised system reaches far and wide, encompassing international development aid stakeholders as well as local groups of producers in villages and urban low-income communities, case projects, and affiliated partners from the NGO sector, academia, industry and society.

The craft for empowerment system is embedded in the larger system of international aid politics and is connected to academia, the economy, civil society and philanthropy. Each of these fields could be visualised and understood as a system in its own right, embedded in and connected to other systems. Besides its geographical and discipline-specific connections, the craft for empowerment system also extends to long time horizons, as the cultural and historical meaning of craft in South Asia still impact the motivations and objectives that drive CFIP stakeholders. The colonial past is also reflected in the values and strategies of CFIPs that are guided by international aid politics when transferring knowledge to the Global South. At the same time it is important to better understand such historical impacts when thinking about how CFIPs can have a more empowering impact in future. With acknowledging these complex entanglements of aspects that belong to different disciplines, to historical and cultural developments, and to current global aid politics it is difficult to define the boundaries of the craft for empowerment system. For this research project the system's boundaries are defined by the information gathered from the empirical research partners who form the boundary of the visualisation of the craft for empowerment system.

4. Differing network strengths
> *Sense of gestalt, sense of required effort, sense of resistance*
The GIGA-map lays bare the different strength and density of supportive networks of CFIP stakeholders at different levels of the craft for empowerment system. The

supportive network of stakeholders at target level appears thin and fragmented. As a result the target-level people's desperation to earn an income gives opportunities to non-supportive networks of exploitative middlemen. Stakeholders at implementation level have dense and dynamic supportive networks among themselves and diverse networks with political- and target-level stakeholders. Those at the political level have less diverse but still strong and powerful networks on their own level and on the implementation level. This supports the empirical data findings that those on the political and the implementation levels have strong relationships horizontally and upwards. Downwards the network gets more fragmented, but CFIP managers at implementation level have the advantage that they maintain closer links to the target level than those at the political level or most other stakeholders of their own implementation level, such as academics or designers.

One could argue that this visualisation is misleading because it is flavoured by the fact that most empirical data was accessible through stakeholders at implementation level, and therefore the visualisation appears denser on that level. However, the action research project with the Tarogil women in particular revealed that fragmented support networks were one of the main obstacles for target-level craft producers trying to establish sustainable value chains. CFIPs strive on supportive networks, so it is important to recognise the challenges posed by fragmentation of networks on the target level and exposure to exploitative networks.

5. Differently detailed contours of stakeholder identities
> *Sense of gestalt, sense of required effort*

At the target level, producers are visualised in large groups, because they are seen merely as a mass of people with craft skills, not as individuals with specific characteristics. In the empirical research, individuals at the implementation level and a few at the political level have clearly defined identities and their names are known in the craft sector. But on the target level this is only true for the few that were highlighted as success stories, while there are millions of more craft producers in Pakistan's craft sector and thousands in ethical craft projects, or CFIPs. These are one of the reasons why this research is relevant: if CFIPs can be supported through design, this research can affect a large number of marginalised craft producers. Stakeholders on the implementation level, especially those managing DFAPs, and on the political level usually know each other professionally and/or personally, but the target level still consists of a very large pool of people, a mass. In smaller projects such as CDIs or CEs the situation is different, because projects usually start with personal contact. Relationships begin with personal contact and are established over longer time periods; as a result, target-level craft producers are perceived as individuals. Being perceived as a mass, such as in most DFAPs or in the general perception of craft for empowerment, rather than as individuals, affects communication with those at target level. They become interchangeable, which leads to less continuity and commitment to particular individuals or communities. Projects that showed such commitment resulted in more successful value chain management, mainly in CEs and CDIs, or in some long-term DFAP projects.

Concluding the bird's-eye perspective

While at first sight the ethical making and selling of craft products seems straightforward, the empirical research and the synthesis and analysis of its data through the systems lens revealed the complexity of the process. Therefore it is paramount to expand the boundaries of thinking about CFIPs to global aid decisions made at the political level and acknowledge their impact on stakeholders, including craft producers on the target level who participate hands-on in CFIPs.

One remarkable finding is that only a few designers are part of the craft for empowerment system, and most of them are active in product development and marketing. They are often employed on a project-based short-term basis, especially in DFAPs. CEs sometimes employ a full-time in-house designer or are owned by a designer, usually a textile or product designer. It is less common that designers shoulder a CFIP's strategic planning, but in two core case sets, Thatta Kedona and Kaarvan, this is the case; the managers have backgrounds in architecture and graphic design.

The contextual review in chapter 3 discussed how design could become a vital force in development structures and processes. Arturo Escobar described the global development aid agenda since the mid-20th century as a giant universal design project with the inherent problem of hegemonic power dynamics. As early as 1979, the importance of designers engaging in development concerns and establishing a design ecosystem was noted in the Ahmedabad Declaration that resulted from the Design for Development conference (National Institute of Design, 1979, pp.1–2). Today, designers globally are increasingly engaging in strategic planning, social and technological innovation and policymaking. The analysis of the CFIPs in Pakistan revealed, however, that these areas are still emerging fields in Pakistan's craft sector and they are only occasionally involved in project planning on the political and implementation levels.

What role could designers play in the craft for empowerment system beyond product development and marketing? A core task could be the development of alternative CFIP strategies, collaboratively with CFIP staleholders, to support the emergence of structures and processes that are more democratic than the current top-down dynamic. One way towards this goal is strengthening craft producers' support networks and making their reality more visible and understandable for project planners.

5.3.2. Part 2: Systemic relations

In order to understand better how the systemic relations between the CFIP stakeholders on the three levels affect the system's shape, character and dynamic, and as such the investigated CFIPs, I differentiated these relations in detail. I derived five criteria from the empirical research for analysing the systemic relations. As a visualisation format I opted for tables instead of different line types, because tables allow for comments. The cells are filled with different shades of one colour, indicating the intensity of that particular systemic relationship.

The systemic relations were analysed between the three levels — political, implementation and target — and within each level. Of course such an analysis is a simplification, because each level contains a variety of stakeholders with different relationships. Systemic relationships were analysed and organised in the following tables:

1. Flows of funding, accountability and business revenue
2. Flows of income through craft making and other beneficial experiences
3. Character of communication
4. Perceptions of each other
5. Stocks and flows of skills and knowledge

The following visualisation of systemic relations is mainly, but not exclusively, based on DFAP experiences, since DFAPs emerged as the most common case type. Differences to CDI and CE are also explained.

1. Flows of funding, accountability and business revenue (table 5.1)

Flow of funds is strong from the political to the implementation level and moderately strong from the implementation to the target level. Target level craft producers usually do not receive monetary funding for taking the lead in planning activities but receive it indirectly through the opportunity to participate in vocational training.

Flow of accountability is closely related to flow of funds but is strong in the opposite direction, from implementation to political. The implementation level aims to be accountable to the target level but cannot always achieve this, for example if it cannot place enough orders with target-level producers after a training course concludes, or if a project has to end because no new grant could be secured for it. The target-level craft producers feel accountable towards its customers, either individual customers in the local market, which includes middlemen in the informal economy, or those that the implementation level has linked them to. The political-level stakeholders are accountable towards other stakeholders on the political level. There is political pressure within international relations to spend a certain budget on aid projects. People on the political level feel accountable for implementing those projects, to make sure they cannot be accused of not spending the budget allocated for aid, but they lack adequate tools and often do not have any contextual insight that would help them conduct activities relevant to the local context of the target level. This is more likely to be a result of political level stakeholders' distance from the target level rather than bad intention.

CDIs and CEs are not much concerned with accountability to the political level, because they usually do not depend on international grants. Therefore the implementation-level stakeholders focus more on their accountability to the target level.

2. Flow of income through craft making and other beneficial experiences (table 5.2)

Flow of income for craft producers through craft projects is the true goal of CFIPs but this is not achieved to a satisfactory level if measured by success at training independent craft entrepreneurs. By no means all producers become involved in sustainable value chains after a project or training course finishes. Some find customers in local

Direction between levels	Flow of funds	Flow of accountability
Political to Implementation	Large amounts	Occasionally, once projects commence or are in process
Implementation to Political	—	Yes, highly accountable according to the requirements of the political level's donor
Implementation to Target	Yes, not directly but in form of capacity building trainings and other activities	Yes, if an NGO operates like a social enterprise and continues to facilitate the value chain between customers and target level producers Ideally not necessary if training participants become successful independent entrepreneurs, though that is not always the case
Target to Implementation	—	Occasionally, when completing orders; otherwise, little during projects. If tasks are not completed there is no direct consequence in the form of punishment, just no income through craft
Political to Target	—	Little as their is hardly personal contact
Target to Political	—	—
Direction within levels	Flow of funds	Flow of accountability
Within Political	Between international donor agencies and governments	Governments receiving aid from international donor agencies report back
Within Implementation Level	If different stakeholders on this level collaborate, grants are divided	If different organisations/institutions/enterprises/designers etc. collaborate and they report to the partner who leads the collaboration
Within Target	Through informal support when in need	May occur if grants are shared If money was lent between community members

Table 5.1: Flows of funding, accountability, and business revenues

Direction between levels	Flow of income through craft making	Flow of other beneficial experiences
Political to Implementation	—	Access to supportive networks e.g. through study grants, events, and exchange of knowledge
Implementation to Political	—	Access to the target level which is the cause to work on for the political level
Implementation to Target	Fragmented Depending on orders, often not enough to provide work for all craft producers	Exposure to markets and supportive networks Advocacy regarding citizen and labour rights
Target to Implementation	Not through craft making but through conducting CFIPs	Exposure to crafts, especially traditional techniques Exposure to living conditions at grassroots level
Political to Target	—	A sense of purpose by helping the global poor
Target to Political	Not through craft making but through launching aid programmes	Insignificant / no direct contact
Direction within levels	Flow of income through craft	Flow of other beneficial experiences
Within Political	—	Expanding professional networks
Within Implementation	Good sales for some craft-based labels	Expanding professional networks
Within Target	Regular sales in local bazaars for some craft producers	Exchange of experiences in CFIP Doing something different from daily routine

Table 5.2: Flows of income and other beneficial experiences

bazaars, some continue to produce for exploitative middlemen, and some work in other jobs. Some receive better orders after participating in vocational training in DFAPs. CDIs and CEs are better able to connect to markets, but again this is not always the case. Therefore the implementation level struggles to identify more customers who will place orders. Within the implementation level, designers who order handcrafted elements from the target level, do not earn through CFIP engagement per se but through adding a special quality to the products of their labels. Similarly almost no CFIP managers earn hrough selling crafts but through other jobs: their NGO job, their university job or their main business.

Flow of other beneficial experiences include access to supportive professional networks, to markets or to legal rights support. They can also include hard to measure improvements such as increased confidence. Implementation-level stakeholders, in particular, expand their networks at political and target levels and within their own level to stakeholders of other sectors. Similarly the political level gains a larger network, although there is little interaction with the target level due to sparse direct contact. Some target-level craft producers gain supportive contacts on the implementation level and connect to stakeholders within their own level. Apart from contacts, stakeholders also experience a sense of purpose, especially stakeholders on the political and implementation levels. While those on the political level gain a more abstract satisfaction of helping the global poor, those on the implementation level feel a personal desire to support fellow citizens in more marginalised circumstances. Implementation-level stakeholders also feel that they learn something about their own culture through engaging with craft producers. Some target-level craft producers also enjoy doing something different from their everyday routines.

Especially in CEs, but also in CDIs, value chains are usually operating reasonably well, and therefore more revenue is generated for target level producers. This advantage is also a result of the usually smaller scale of CDIs and CEs than DFAPs, in which personal relationships between implementation and target level are established over longer time periods.

3. Strength and character of communication
This systemic relationship was looked at in two ways: the character of cross-level communication and the character of intra-level communication

Character of cross-level communication (table 5.3)
Initiation of contact with another level: The political and implementation levels have a strong ability to initiate ideas for CFIPs, and they also have contact to potential project partners on their respective levels. Political level operatives approach grant distribution bodies and NGOs on the implementation level; these bodies can, to some extent, negotiate the specifics of a grant scheme with the political level. Target-level producers who want to initiate a CFIP usually do not have contacts on the other levels. Some might remember a contact in an NGO from a previous project, but even if they manage to get in touch, fruitful collaboration is not guaranteed.

Direction between levels	Initiation of contact with another level	Articulation of concerns and change suggestions	Project information transparency	Visits to locations of other levels	Personal contact in relation to number of people
Political to implementation	Easy Often	Easy Often Dominant, because political-level stakeholders provide the grant	High Often Large amount of bureaucratic information and grant conditions	Easy To NGOs' offices Less to others on implementation and rarely to target level	Small number of people involved, therefore personal contact possible
Implementation to political	Easy Often	Easy to doable Often Ability to voice opinions about projects and grants but with little impact on typical aid procedures	High Large amount of information	Easy Often	Small number of people involved, therefore personal contact possible
Implementation to target	Doable Frequently	Doable Possible for the duration of the project, depending on contact opportunities	Selective Information about trainings Less about overall planning, budgets, and reporting	Doable to easy, depending on location and distance	Difficult to maintain personal contact with all of them Many producers and community members involved
Target to implementation	Very difficult for first contact Doable for contacts from previous projects	Doable Ability to voice concerns occasionally depending on contact opportunities Barrier because the overall project is not clear	Sufficient Information about the progress and problems during training courses	Difficult, depending on location and distance	Difficult after a project concludes Large number of people involved Possible for producers who are active after a project concludes
Political to target	Very difficult	Very difficult Hardly any contact opportunities Physical, cultural and demographic detachment	Almost nothing Very rare Very little information	Very difficult, depending on location and distance, and on travel restrictions	Very few to insignificant
Target to political	Nearly impossible	Nearly impossible Hardly any contact opportunities Physical, cultural and demographic detachment	Very rare to insignificant	Nearly impossible	Very few to insignificant

Table 5.3: Character and strength of cross-level communication flows

Articulation of concerns and suggestions for change: The political and implementation levels have the ability and possibilities to voice concerns regarding grant application processes or project strategies. The target level stakeholders cannot easily do this, because they lack exposure to and knowledge of project management outside their own environment, and hence platforms and audiences to initiate debates on their ideas. Mostly they can only voice them when they are asked to.

Project information transparency: Political level representatives communicate grant conditions and parameters, such as objectives, expected outcomes, time frames or budgets mainly to implementation-level stakeholders, especially from NGOs. Those are experienced in understanding this kind of information from donor agencies. NGO managers are familiar with the terminology and the typical expectations and even if they might not agree to those they are able to adjust their application accordingly, for example referring to a specific number of trainees or time frame. But target-level craft producers are exposed to projects. They have no option but to rely on information provided by implementation-level stakeholders regarding training structure and content, time frames or quality expectations. Background information about a grant scheme's underlying concept is not always revealed to the target level in an understandable way. Neither do craft producers have an understanding of the larger aid sector's ideologies and debates, despite being its target group.

Visits to geographical locations of stakeholders from other levels: Political- and implementation-level stakeholders meet regularly in their offices or universities, usually located not far from each other in urban centres. Personal contact between implementation-level stakeholders, such as NGO managers, university faculty, social entrepreneurs or designers, will vary according to the kind of project. Political-level stakeholders in particular rarely travel to visit target-level communities in remote areas. They mostly delegate this task to implementation-level organisations, especially NGOs, and rely on their feedback. It is difficult for producers to travel to urban centres for regular meetings. They have family responsibilities at home and are often limited in their mobility. While representatives of producer communities at the target level occasionally visit the offices of implementation-level NGOs, it is very rare for them to meet political-level stakeholders.

Personal contact in relation to number of people: The implementation and political levels consist of a smaller number of people compared to the target level, which consists of millions of people, of whom many engage in craft production. Therefore personal contact between implementation- and political-level stakeholders is easier than for either of those two levels to make contact with target-level producers. Some craft producers have relatively close contact with implementation-level stakeholders if they have previously collaborated on projects, but the majority of target-level craft producers do not. Between target and political levels, in particular, there is almost no contact.

Character of intra-level and cross-level communication (table 5.4)
Communication within a single level is usually strong. On the political level, stakeholders agree on umbrella themes, budgets and parameters for grant schemes. Stakeholders within the implementation level are also widely connected with each other, depending on the CFIP's main focus. The assumptions made about NGOs and aid projects by the women of the Tarogil village project, and other conversations with target-level craft producers, suggest that they also have good connections with their peers.

Cross-level communication gets weaker towards the bottom of the system. The political and implementation levels have the closest and most dynamic communication

in both directions. Between the implementation and the target level communication is weaker, but it still exists when stakeholders know each other through previous projects. Between the political and the target level there is almost no direct communication. The target level's ability to engage in cross-level communication is weak because its stakeholders have few to no supportive contacts in the other levels and find it harder to identify potential contacts. This is especially true for contact with the political level. The political level might have difficulty in contacting the target level directly but uses the implementation level to make this contact. The advantage of using the implementation level is that it has fairly good contacts in both directions. Other aspects that affect cross-level communication:

- Political-level stakeholders are unfamiliar with the language, terminology and worldview of the target level. Many implementation-level stakeholders, especially CFIP managers, can usually relate to target-level concerns and communicate in a way that target-level craft producers, while stakeholders at the political level are usually unable to do so.
- Between the target level and the two other levels there is often a large physical distance, which makes personal meetings more difficult.
- Implementation-level stakeholders, especially CFIP managers, engage with hundreds, sometimes thousands of target-level producers, and as a result personal contact remains difficult.

Political-level stakeholders often lack first-hand experience of the target level environments that they fund and conceptualise development grant schemes for. This turned out to be one of the main challenges for CFIPs, especially DFAPs.

CDIs and CEs do not communicate much with the political level. Only occasionally they apply for grants. They are also usually initiated through personal contact, so communication functions relatively well from the start. Unless a CE is very large, CDIs and CEs involve much smaller numbers of target-level producers, which also enables better cross-level communication.

Intra-level communication	Level of strength
Political	Strong
Implementation	Strong
Target	Strong
Cross-level communication	Level of strength
Political to implementation	Strong
Political to target	Insignificant
Implementation to target	Moderate to strong
Implementation to political	Strong
Target to implementation	Moderate
Target to political	Insignificant

Table 5.4: Intensity of intra-level and cross-level communication flows

4. Stocks and flows of skills and knowledge

It is not easy to assess skill and knowledge transfer among the three stakeholder levels, both at the beginning of a CFIP and changes during the CFIP's implementation, because many aspects can hardly be measured. Growth in skill and knowledge lies at the heart of a CFIP, but who really learns what in the craft for empowerment system? Such an analysis is very difficult, because learning is a non-linear, very individual process. Often it takes place subconsciously. Nonetheless it is useful to examine aspects of learning for the three levels. This analysis looks at:

- Stocks: Skills and knowledge before and after a project
- Flows: Skills and knowledge transfer

Stocks: Skills and knowledge before and after a project (table 5.5)

Political-level stakeholders understand the concepts and procedures of the international aid sector. They are familiar with the latest focus topics and grant application procedures. They understand and apply the aid sector's specific terminology through which they communicate with implementation-level stakeholders from NGOs and partners from the political level. Their knowledge appears distanced from the target level's realities and knowledge, however, and this changes only little during a project. Implementation-level workers know the concepts and procedures of the aid sector well, but NGO managers, for example, are expected to adjust to it rather than shape it.

However, their advantage is that they also know the realities of the target level and of many other stakeholders in the craft for empowerment sector through having worked in the sector for a long time. Target-level producers usually have specific or random craft skills, and sometimes they also have experience from previous projects. Some have previously experienced having a regular income after a training but for many nothing further happens.

It is significant that during a project the implementation-level stakeholders have the steepest learning curve, because they gain insights from both levels and from other stakeholders on their own level.

Flows: skill and knowledge transfer (table 5.6)

In CFIPs it is predominantly the target-level producers who are supposed to learn the skills to adjust to and participate in existing market processes. Indeed, this is the reason CFIPs are initiated. While target-level producers do learn something through the training courses organised by CFIP managers, an important observation is that stakeholders at all three levels learn through collaborative activities in CFIPs. The scope and intensity of learning between stakeholders of different levels varies, however. Implementation-level stakeholders in particular gain a rich, diverse and cross-level understanding of the political level, its processes and perspectives in the international aid sector, and of target-level realities and perspectives. They also learn about different stakeholders at their own implementation level who engage in CFIPs, such as academics or designers. They learn through their continuous engagement in different areas of grassroots empowerment.

Systems level	Skills and knowledge before project	Skills and knowledge after project
Political	Working in the international aid sector already provided knowledge about: – International relations – Concepts of aid – Focus topics – Networks with local partners – The aid sector's terminology	Knowledge increases a little regarding challenges and project strategies Knowledge increases significantly in those rare cases where a project was implemented with an outstanding or radically different impact
Implementation	Previous projects provided knowledge about: - How the political level operates - How the target level operates - Grant application procedures - The work of project partners - The landscape of potential partners in academia, business, civil society, local communities	Knowledge increases with each project, because each project is different
Target	Sometimes previous projects provided knowledge about: – More marketable product designs – Quality standards – Project outcomes that will not always materialise as promised	Knowledge increases to varying extents regarding product design, production management and value chain management Often this knowledge increase is small and / or confusing because projects discontinue

Table 5.5: Stocks of skills and knowledge

Stakeholders from the political level often do not work in Pakistan permanently. By the time they have gained contextual insights, their stay might be over. Whether located in Pakistan or not, they usually work at some distance from grassroots realities, making it difficult to gain deep understanding of the environments that they release grant schemes for. Target level producers' learning experiences are often disrupted when projects are discontinued. This means that they learn important aspects of managing craft production, value chains, group management and market trends, but do not have the opportunity to apply this new knowledge because there are not enough customers afterwards. They also struggle to update their knowledge regularly with little access to supportive networks.

An interesting observation is that implementation-level stakeholders, who often coordinate the transfer of skills, are the ones who learn the most. Stakeholders from the political and from the target level hardly learn anything from one another because they rarely meet directly. Both of course learn through their activities, but their knowledge gain is predominantly linked to their interactions with the implementation level and with stakeholders on their own level. This is important to note, because the political level has great power over how CFIPs with target-level producers are conducted.

Direction between levels	Methods of skill and knowledge transfer during a project	Kind and amount of new knowledge and skill acquired during a project	Relevance of new knowledge and skill for future work
Political through interaction with implementation level	Learning through collaboration with each other	Some information about target level realities, filtered through the implementation level Information about implementation-level experience in projects	Gradually included Has to fit the overall paradigm of international aid
Implementation through interaction with political level	Learning through collaboration with each other	Latest developments in international aid	Slowly included if at all Has to be approved by the political level
Implementation through interaction with target level	Learning through collaboration with diverse strategic partners from academia, business, civil society and more	Information about abilities and limitations regarding: – production skills – tools and machines – mobility – time	Only useful if continuous value chain management and order placements happen after a project or training Might or might not be relevant for another work environment or context
Target through interaction with implementation level	Learning through training components and workshops	Information regarding – Production management – business basics – group management – quality expectations – target market and customers Most skills and knowledge are attempted during a training but can only sink in if practised, which is only possible if orders continue after a training	Useful to include in future project planning
Political through interaction with target level	Insignificant No direct contact	Insignificant No direct contact	Insignificant No direct contact
Target through interaction with political level	Insignificant No direct contact	Insignificant No direct contact	Insignificant No direct contact
Within level			
Political	Unclear Mutual exchange of experiences Reading reports and literature	Unclear	Unclear
Implementation	Learning through collaboration between NGOs, designers, design schools, entrepreneurs	Experience exchange regarding: – grants – implementation challenges – expertise of other stakeholders on this level	New insights are difficult to filter back into current and future projects
Target	Learning through mutual exchange	From successful peers: – how to manage craft value chains successfully From disappointed peers: – how to not trust false promises	Informal discussions

Table 5.6: Flows of skills and knowledge

The impact of newly gained knowledge on further projects is difficult to measure. Political- and implementation-level stakeholders lack opportunities to apply new knowledge after a project concludes. However, in rare cases some stakeholders have applied new knowledge by integrating it in new project proposals and were able to convince donors about the benefits of trying such better practices. The impact of target-level producers' knowledge gain is also difficult to measure, because contact with many training participants is lost after a CFIP concludes. Some continue to sell their products individually in the larger informal craft sector, but whether they apply the new knowledge is impossible to track and measure.

CDIs and CEs are by nature conceptualised as learning-by-doing processes over long periods of time but not explicitly termed capacity building trainings. This gives CDIs and CEs better opportunities to apply and experiment with new knowledge.

5. Perceptions of each other (table 5.7)

Insights into how CFIP stakeholders perceive one another fall into three categories:

1. **Preconceived roles:** Generally speaking, stakeholders at each level look downwards to offer help and upwards to seek help. Their role as assitants and beneficiaries is silently agreed upon. This has implications for the general perception of who has to learn what from whom.

2. **Visibility and invisibility:** The political level and the target level appear so far apart and disconnected from one another that they are scarcely aware of each other. Target-level producers seem barely aware of the political level's existence and cannot differentiate between the implementation and the

Levels' stakeholders' perception of one another	Kind of perception
Political level stakeholders perceive implementation stakeholders level as:	Implementation partners for their grant schemes
Implementation stakeholders level perceive political level stakeholders as:	Financial enabler Conceptual barrier
Implementation level stakeholders perceive target level stakeholders as:	Beneficiaries who could turn into partners Traditional, authentic, pure
Target level stakeholders perceive implementation level stakeholders as:	Diffuse group of supporters, who want to do something good, but it is not clear what the benefit will be or should have been Supportive partners in cases in which functional value chains are established
Target level stakeholders perceive political level stakeholders as:	Not at all or the same as implementation level or as very far distanced and therefore inaccessible
Political level stakeholders perceive target level stakeholders as:	Beneficiaries Anonymous mass A cause to work on

Table 5.7: Stakeholders' perceptions of one another

political level. Target-level producers simply recognise that someone wants to conduct a project with them. Political-level stakeholders of course know that the target level exists, but they have very little direct contact.

3. ***Differentiated picture:*** Compared to stakeholders at other levels, those of the implementation level have the most differentiated perspective. They perceive the political level as both an enabler and a barrier: the political level keeps financing projects through grants but poses conceptual barriers by setting parameters that are disconnected from target-level realities. The political level recognises the target level as an anonymous mass and cause – the global poor – to work on. Those at the implementation level view target-level stakeholders as beneficiaries and aim to assist them in becoming partners. At the same time, the implementation level looks at target-level craft producers with a slight sense of nostalgia, projecting their vision of a pure and authentic lifestyle on them, a vision that has gone distinct among people of the implementation and political level.

In CDIs and CEs, craft producers are also perceived as beneficiaries, but they are involved as business or community development partners from the beginning. CEs and CDIs could not exist without craft producers' valuable expertise regarding a craft or a community.

Concluding the systemic relations analysis

The most important characteristic emerging from the systemic relations analysis is that there are a large socio-economic, cultural, demographic and physical distances between CFIP stakeholders from which alienation between some of these stakeholders results. At the same time the systemic relations show how these stakeholders want to collaborate with one another but struggle to establish more lively interactions, especially between those stakeholders at the edges, the target-level craft producers and the political-level decision makers in global aid politics. Those distances pose the main challenge for establishing sustainable craft businesses and for creating empowering holistic learning experiences and for inclusive communication.

It is remarkable that stakeholders from the political and target levels have practically no contact with one another, considering the significant impact that the development and empowerment strategies developed on the political level have on CFIPs conducted with target-level craft producers, who are one of the main reasons for CFIPs to exist. These craft producers also remain uninformed regarding the political level's objectives and decision-making procedures, so they have no opportunity or audience to voice their perspective. Political-level stakeholders know so little about target-level craft producers that they can only view the craft producers as a cause, not as people with individual concerns, needs and ideas. This distance supports mutual stereotypes forming the basis for project planning. Such barriers are difficult to break when opportunities for personal contact and understanding are rare. In order to bridge distances, a large amount of responsibility is put on the implementation level. Especially CFIP

managers are predestined for taking on this responsibility because they have a good understanding of both political level expectations and the specifics of different target level conditions.

CFIP managers' broad understanding of the overall craft for empowerment sector's situation also results from the fact that they have the most insightful learning experiences among all craft for empowerment stakeholders. After each project their understanding of the target level diversifies, deepens and gets more holistic over time. It enables them to conceive more context-sensitive CFIP approaches, even if they are not able to implement them due to grant regulations laid down by the political level; over time CFIP managers also learn to steer a better path through these regulations by bending their project activities to the political level's aid schemes, informed by emerging trends and topics. The target-level craft producers are expected to have a very steep learning curve because their skill enhancement is a key motivation for initiating CFIPs. But while they might gain some insights regarding production and quality standards, they often have no opportunity to apply and further expand this knowledge if the project concludes without linking them to sufficient numbers of customers. Political-level stakeholders usually gain information about the target level at one remove, through the implementation level; they lack first-hand insights, which reflects in how they perpetuate old patterns in aid schemes. It would be helpful though to adjust those with contextual relevance. NGO managers in particular are accountable to both the political and the target level, but the continuation of their work depends on satisfying the political level in order to secure the next grant. Of course the dynamic is more complex; the political level evaluates the implementation level's achievements on the target level but according to its own indicators, which might lack relevance for target-level environments.

Underprivileged and privileged marginalisation

The analysis of systemic relations revealed different forms of marginalisation, which I will term underprivileged and privileged marginalisation.

It is not surprising to see target-level craft producers often being excluded from project planning; the empirical research revealed this, and the problem is widely discussed in debates on empowerment. What is less in line with the common view on development aid is the observation that political-level stakeholders are also marginalised: they are kept apart from the people and contexts for which they develop grant schemes, largely based on second hand information they receive from the implementation-level stakeholders but without many first hand experiences.

Target-level craft producers are in a position of underprivileged marginalisation. Even if they wanted to, they could not easily accesses the spaces, debates, markets and power structures of the political and implementation levels. When a project concludes without a positive impact for them, they have little to no opportunity for offering evaluations and suggestions for improvement, in other words feedback beyond a final discussion. They have no platform or audience and no transparent information regarding the political level's agenda and processes, all of which are vital if they are to be included in CFIP planning of implementation processes.

Political-level stakeholders are in a position of privileged marginalisation. They choose not to interact more closely with the target level, even though they have opportunities to do so through their partners on the implementation level. It is difficult to say how far political-level stakeholders are aware of their privileged marginalisation and their lack of a differentiated picture of the target level. The impression is that they have a genuine interest in supporting target-level craft producers and trust second-hand information received through the implementation level. This information is usually honest on the one hand but on the other project results are formulated to please the political level and not lose the opportunity for further grants. The marginalisation of political-level stakeholders is also privileged, because they do not face negative consequences when a CFIP is not successful; they simply move on to the next project or job.

This observation of underprivileged and privileged marginalisation resonates with Amartya Sen's concept of freedoms (2000), here the choices available to stakeholders at different system levels: those at the target level cannot easily engage with political-level stakeholders, who on their part choose not to engage more with those at the target level.

There are also gaps between implementation-level stakeholders, such as academics, designers, NGO managers or social entrepreneurs. Not all of them engage directly with craft producers regularly and hence do not have a differentiated picture of target-level circumstances, although CFIP managers usually do have this picture. But none of them is as marginalised from stakeholders at their own or any other levels as the target-level craft producers are. They have the means and opportunity to contact stakeholders from any level if they wish.

Projects in the format of CEs and CDIs also face challenges rooted in the alienation between stakeholders' backgrounds, although here the political level plays a smaller role all together, because CEs and CDIs do not depend on grants. The political level's only stake is through transmitting mainstream concepts and values regarding development aid in fields such as business or development studies, which also impact CE and CDI managers who often emerge from the design field.

In conclusion, analysis of systemic relations revealed alienation among CFIP stakeholders, especially between political and target levels, as one of the core challenges when conducting CFIPs that aim to empower target-level producers. CFIP managers from the implementation level could play a central role in bridging these gaps between marginalised stakeholders, whether privileged or underprivileged, as these managers have a deep understanding of the overall craft for empowerment system and of both political- and target-level conditions.

5.3.2. Part 3: The ZIP analysis

The ZIP analysis looks at current experiences in CFIP value chains from the perspective of three main stakeholders: craft producers, customers and CFIP managers.

The basic value chain

In general terms, a craft business requires at least two kinds of stakeholder: craft producers and customers. There is usually a third kind managing the interaction between the two: a manager or business owner. Most CFIPs exist to bridge the gap between craft producers and customers in an ethical way as an alternative to the exploitative practices common in the craft sector. Therefore, in CFIP value chains, at least three stakeholders are involved: craft producers, customers, and CFIP managers facilitating the interaction between the first two, even if at some point in the future they might not be required and the craft producers and customers could communicate on their own. Other stakeholders, such as fashion, textile, product and communication designers, academics or community mobilisers, belong to the CFIP manager's strategic partners and are not a part of each CFIP. Craft producers are on the target level, and the CFIP managers and customers are on the implementation level. Customers can also be strategic partners when they share ethical values of CFIPs and order regularly from craft producers. The political level is not involved in craft businesses or value chains, but it brings about CFIPs of the DFAP type through grants. The main challenge currently is to find enough customers.

Cycles of motivation and reward or disappointment

The experiences of different stakeholders in CFIP value chains can be viewed as cycles of motivation and reward or disappointment, driven by the kind of feedback they receive. The following cycles were developed based on the empirical findings in order to visualise the experiences of three main CFIP stakeholders: craft producers as the target group of CFIPs, CFIP managers such as NGO managers or social entrepreneurs, and customers such as fashion designers or industrialists from the textile sector who order from craft producers.

The depicted cycles I simplified. In reality they can differ for the same person or within one project. There can be rewarding moments sandwiched between cycles of disappointment, or an overall successful process can face setbacks. Experiences of individual stakeholders differ, but patterns could be observed. It becomes clear that all three often experience cycles of disappointment and discontinuity, resulting in disempowering experiences.

It becomes clear that the disappointing dynamic often starts once a project or a grant comes to an end, which is the point when CFIP training participants, the craft producers, should ideally have become independent entrepreneurs. But reality rarely unfolds in such an ideal way, and craft producers and CFIP managers face the challenge of identifying sufficient customers. The craft producers' interest in joining a CFIP shrinks or they become indifferent to new CFIP efforts (fig. 5.2.). CFIP managers struggle to

9a.
GOING BACK TO OLD JOBS
AND PRACTICES

9b.
GIVING ANOTHER VOCATIONAL
TRAINING A TRY

8.
SHRINKING DESIRE
TO PARTICIPATE AGAIN IN A CFIP

1.
BEING ASKED TO JOIN E.G. A VOCATIONAL
TRAINING WITH THE PROSPECT OF
BEING LINKED TO MARKETS

7.
FEEDBACK DISCUSSION, POINTING
OUT DEFICIENCIES, WHICH
CAN BE DEMOTIVATING

2.
QUALITY ASSESSMENT THROUGH
SAMPLE-MAKING

CRAFT PRODUCERS

6.
COMPLETING ORDERS BUT OFTEN
UNABLE TO FULFIL DEMANDS
IN TERMS OF QUALITY, QUANTITY
OR DEADLINE

3.
PARTICIPATION IN TRAINING
COURSES OF VARYING
CONTENT

5.
WAITING FOR ORDERS, WHICH
OFTEN DO NOT COME IN

4.
DISPLAY OF PROTOTYPES AND SAMPLES
AFTER A CFIP CONCLUDES

AFTER GRANT EXPIRES   DURING CFIP ACTIVITY

Fig. 5.2. Cycle of motivation and disappointment for craft producers

9a.
RISK TO LOSE CURRENT
PRODUCER GROUPS

9b.
OCCASIONAL OPPORTUNITY TO APPLY
FOR NEW GRANTS TO CONTINUE WITH
AN EXISTING PROJECT

8.
DIFFICULTY IN CONTINUING WITH
CURRENT CRAFT PRODUCER GROUPS
IF GRANT SPECIFICATIONS
ARE NOT APPLICABLE

1.
PREPARATION OF GRANT PROPOSALS
TO SUPPORT MARGINALISED
CRAFT PRODUCERS

7.
PREPARATION OF NEW GRANT
PROPOSALS

2.
NETWORKESTABLISHMENT WITH
PARTNER ORGANISATIONS AND
POTENTIAL CUSTOMERS

CFIP MANAGERS

6.
DIFFICULTIES IN IDENTIFYING
CUSTOMERS FOR CRAFT
PRODUCERS

3.
CONDUCTION OF TRAINING COURSES
WITH VARYING CONTENT

5.
REGISTRATION OF PARTICIPANTS IN
A PRODUCER DIRECTORY

4.
DISPLAY OF PRODUCTS FROM
TRAINING COURSES

AFTER GRANT EXPIRES   DURING CFIP ACTIVITY

Fig. 5.3. Cycle of motivation and disappointment for CFIP managers

9a.
TURNING TO OTHER
CRAFT SUPPLIERS

9b.
GIVING IT ANOTHER TRY

8.
SHRINKING DESIRE
TO ORDER AGAIN

1.
MOTIVATION TO ORDER: ENHANCING THEIR OWN
PRODUCT LINE & SUPPORTING
CULTURAL HERITAGE

7.
FEEDBACK:
UNSATISFACTORY ORDER

2.
CONTACT WITH A CFIP AT E:G. A
SALES FAIR OR PERSONAL
CONTACT

CUSTOMERS

6.
DEFICIENCIES OF THE ORDER
IN TERMS OF QUANTITY,
QUALITY OR DEADLINE

3.
REVIEW OF CRAFT SAMPLES

5.
PROVISION OF DESIGNS

4.
AGREEMENT ON SPECIFICATIONS: KIND,
QUANTITY, QUALITY, TIME FRAME

AFTER GRANT EXPIRES

DURING CFIP ACTIVITY

Fig. 5.4. Cycle of motivation and disappointment for customers

provide continuous support to the same producers but lack financial support and time because they get involved in new projects (fig. 5.3.). Customers are important because when they are disappointed by a product or process they are less likely to order from the same craft producers again (fig. 5.4.).

These typical patterns of the motivation and reward cycles were mainly observed in DFAPs, because CEs and CDIs are generally more long-term oriented. However they can also face the challenges of insufficient order volumes or disappointed customers. Revealing the disempowering direction these cycles often take. Looking at examples of typical situations, based on the empirical insights, helped understanding what causes these disappointments.

Example 1: Products are not sold in sufficient quantity or regularity

Customers such as shop or label owners send their feedback to CFIP managers when products do not sell well. Reasons typically include:

– The products did not meet customers' taste.
– The products did not meet quality expectations.
– The products were not produced in the expected quantity.
– The products did not reached the customers at all or or not in time.

CFIP managers need to address such feedback, find more customers and convince disappointed customers to try another order. This means being honest about the level

of standardisation and precision that craft producers can achieve. Another challenge is to communicate the feedback to craft producers in a way that will encourage them to improve.

Example 2: Other reasons that producers do not deliver

Customers such as shop or label owners wait for their order, but producers cannot or do not deliver. Reasons might be related to skill or to time, such as when crops must be harvested or a wedding or funeral demands attention. Producers send feedback to CFIP managers that:

- They cannot produce within the promised time.
- They cannot produce the expected quantity.

Sometimes producers indicate beforehand that they cannot meet certain expectations, but it also happens that they simply do not deliver without warning. This poses a challenge for CFIP managers, because they must negotiate with disappointed customers and calm them down while educating producers about the importance of fulfilling commitments.

Example 3: There are no customers

For CFIP managers, a lack of customers after a training concludes is a demanding situation. While they are busy winning (back) old and new customers, simultaneously they have to keep producers and trainers motivated to ensure quality and work on new grant applications. The pressure on them is high and they send feedback to craft producers that:

- Customers are still waiting for their products.
- There are no customers yet, but there will be if producers make good products.

CFIP managers also send feedback to potential customers that:

- Next time the products will be better (to already disappointed customers).
- Craft producers can satisfy their product needs (to new customers).

Keeping these promises puts a lot of pressure on them and is often an impossible task.

Concluding the ZIP analysis

The motivation and reward cycles show disappointing experiences of three key stake-holders of CFIPs. Of course some of them have also rewarding experiences. But it is more difficult to draw rewarding cycles than disappointing cycles, because rewarding cycles are rarer and emerge when craft producers, customers and CFIP managers experience a positive impact through attracting large enough orders and delivering products of satisfactory quality within a reasonable time frame.

So what goes well in the rewarding cycles that goes wrong in the disappointing cycles? One can view such cycles as a black box or as several black boxes — another concept of systems thinking, outlined in chapter 3. What happens inside the black box — a CFIP with its typical procedures — when the cycles become disempowering?

What happens in empowering cycles? The empirical research reveals some indications of what makes CFIPs more rewarding:

- Close contact between CFIP managers and craft producers
- Long-term commitment of the stakeholders involved, including craft producers, CFIP managers and customers
- Working on a scale small enough to establish personal relationships between CFIP managers, craft producers, and ideally customers
- Scaling-up as a gradual process that allows for balancing order placements, quality control and time management expectations between customers and craft producers
- Flexibility and creativity among CFIP managers and also as a learning objective for customers and craft producers in CFIPs, to help them adjust to changing conditions
- Negotiation in participatory processes in CFIPs and the integration of target-level craft producers' ideas, and adjustment on the implementation level to the demands of customers
- Encouraging customers to take inspiration from craft producers' ideas for the development of new products

While it is not possible to define what happens in the black boxes of CFIPs, it is possible to change the input and observe the output. The input includes for example debates and changed perspectives of aid and its stakeholders' roles as learners and teachers, beneficiaries and helpers.

5.4. Conclusions from the systems lens analysis

In this chapter the craft for empowerment system has been established by mapping out the empirical data and has been described from a bird's-eye perspective. Through this process it became a tangible object of design for this research to work with. The system's shape and dynamic and the systemic relations between stakeholders were analysed in order to understand the operational pattern of the system. Cycles of motivation and disappointment were examined by zooming in to typical CFIP processes of establishing craft value chains and the experiences of three main stakeholders.

The resulting insights allow for drawing conclusions regarding the current quality of the craft for empowerment system and for formulating the objective and the design task of this research in the following chapter.

5.4.1. The consolidated quality of the craft for empowerment system and the challenge to generate change

Structures and processes and underlying concepts of the craft for empowerment system, as well as the perspectives of different stakeholders, appear to be relatively static

and locked-in. They have consolidated over time, despite different CFIP stakeholders realising the limitations of the top-down power dynamic, the distances and marginalisation, and the assumptions about other stakeholders.

Continuous repetition reinforces the structures and procedures of the system. For its stakeholders, the system's status quo is a given, and while they can imagine how it might operate differently it is very difficult to generate such change, because the system is complex and the challenges it addresses, such as poverty, are wicked. The scale, from international relations to hands-on activities in grassroots environments and involving extremely diverse viewpoints on how to do it right, adds to the challenge.

Nonetheless disrupting the current system would mean leaving a comfort zone for most stakeholders except the craft producers who are already in a difficult situation but also in no position to change the system. But the current system, despite its flaws provides a comfort zone for many stakeholders because it continues to operate and support DFAPs, both financially through grants and conceptually through maintaining the notion that CFIPs offer an opportunity to support poor craft producers and simultaneously preserve cultural heritage.

The importance of valuing what is already present in a system when aiming to generate change was outlined in chapter 3. The most important force for change towards more contextual sensibility in CFIPs and in sustainable value chains in the craft for empowerment system are its current stakeholders. They are experienced, knowledgeable and dedicated. In exceptional cases, the managers of the DFAPs in the case study have achieved what could be viewed as small systemic changes. For example when an alternative grant implementation strategy suggested by a CFIP manager after testing against what has been prescribed by a donor is so convincing that the donor changes its overall grant scheme and includes the alternative strategy.Such attempts must be acknowledged as seed activities to further expand on. CE and CDI managers operate independently from donors according to their main objective and apply different strategies to maintain this independence. How to tap into the potential of their approaches becomes a key question for the last part of this research.

In order to develop a design strategy that challenges the consolidated systems character the distance between stakeholders at all systems levels must be addressed, especially that between the political and target levels. The ruptures in their relationships, described in detail in the systemic relations analysis, often cause CFIPs to function below their potential. Addressing the top-down power dynamics is important, because decisions regarding how to empower craft producers on the target level are largely made on the political level with input from the implementation level – but without direct input from the target level. This dynamic is fed by often subconscious hive-minds among many CFIP stakeholders from all systems levels. Challenging those would be inevitable for setting in motion activities towards generating systems change.

One hive-mind that affects the craft for empowerment system is the common sense regarding the roles assigned to CFIP stakeholders. Who is considered a helper, who a beneficiary? Who needs to learn skills and capabilities? Who can transfer the required knowledge? Which knowledge is more useful and which is less?

The common notion is that stakeholders on the political and the implementation level consider themselves enablers and helpers. Those on the political level see their task as helping the implementation level and the target level, and those on the implementation level aim to help the target level. In contrast target-level stakeholders do not generally view themselves as enablers for the other two levels but rather as beneficiaries of their support. Disruption of such hive-minds is possible through critical reflection. This became evident in the focus groups. It also became evident during subsequent collaborative activities, independent of this research, when stakeholders experimented with new approaches. Also during the focus groups the women and the studio attendant from Tarogil village contributed the genuinely constructive idea of a laboratory space on campus in which they could teach students embroidery and receive support in product design and marketing. It shows the women's desire to exit the beneficiary space mentally and to redefine their role.

Three aspects are remarkable: firstly, the women voiced this idea for a laboratory after years of collaboration. In the beginning they did view themselves as beneficiaries when they thought they could take whatever material or tools were given to them. They have since then gone through a process of critical reflection, leading to a change in how they view themselves in this collaboration: as people with an expertise that they can contribute to collective activities and to the students' projects. Secondly, similarly trust grew over many years of interaction between them and myself, and sometimes faculty and students, showing the importance of endurance in cooperation as prerequisites for stakeholders' roles and perceptions, including ones own, to change. Thirdly, the fact that they suggested a collective workspace changed their position in the focus groups and the other participants viewed them as partners rather than beneficiaries.

One important requirement for fostering critical reflection that has the potential to trigger change is creating opportunities for collective critical reflection without the pressure of formulating a project or grant proposal. The focus groups and the subsequent project collaboration strongly indicate the importance of such opportunities. They are rare, but this free exchange turns out to be essential for generating creative ideas about alternative CFIP approaches and supportive partnerships.

Similarly, in conversations during the case study, CFIP stakeholders at the implementation level reflected on how their perspective of the target-level producers had changed through interacting closely with them. They realised how much they learned from the craft producers' perspectives. Not all of the craft producers' ideas were feasible, because they lacked exposure to markets and information about the CFIP's overall organisation, but the will and the skill to develop ideas is there, and so is the willingness of implementation-level stakeholders to acknowledge them.

Objectives for generating change in the craft for empowerment system

The systems analysis of this chapter demonstrated that top-down power hierarchies, distance between stakeholders, and privileged and underprivileged marginalisation are the main challenges to CFIPs. These ruptures between stakeholders, paired with

collective hive-minds regarding the stakeholders' roles as beneficiaries and helpers reinforce the current craft for empowerment system's shape and dynamic and those structures, processes and mindsets that drive them. They have consolidated, and to some extent they ensure that CFIPs continue to exist, because the same motivations and procedures keep repeating. However these structures, processes and mindsets pose substantial limitations and thwart change towards more sensible and contextually relevant approaches. Therefore this research project aims to contribute to change in the consolidated craft for empowerment system guided by two main objectives:

1. The empowerment of all CFIP stakeholders
2. A more democratic craft for empowerment system

These objectives might seem unrealistic, and the first one may seem almost cynical. Why would political-level stakeholders need to experience empowerment? They are already in power. Their privileged marginalisation, though, which was revealed by the systems analysis, does not enable them to make informed decisions regarding contextually relevant grant schemes. In chapter 3 the ability to access information, participate in debate and make decisions based on critically reflecting on different information was highlighted as a characteristic of empowerment. Naturally in this research the focus is on the empowerment of craft producers, but the empirical research and the systems analysis revealed that their empowerment cannot be achieved without fostering empowering experiences of CFIP stakeholders at all system levels. Target-level craft producers require collaboration partners who are interested in their circumstances, needs and ideas. Only then can they establish supportive partnerships and networks. But it means the political level stakeholders must overcome their privileged marginalisation and engage more closely with the target level.

Similarly, democratisation refers to opportunities to participate in planning and decision-making, especially for target-level craft producers but also for CFIP managers, who have the most nuanced picture of the craft for empowerment system and its different stakeholders. A more democratic system also means that stakeholders from the political level would become able to routinely develop contextually relevant CFIP strategies in partnership with their target group.

Therefore the two overarching objectives, even if idealistic, are important as a way to create an environment in which sustainable craft businesses, holistic learning experiences and inclusive communication are enabled, which vice versa will support an ecosystem to emerge in which CFIPs can have an empowering impact. Lastly, what becomes evident is the importance of decreasing stakeholder hierarchies and of creating an environment in which CFIP stakeholders can grow closer together and embrace their differences as a valuable and fruitful input for CFIPs.

6. Designing for coalescence: a theoretical design framework and a corresponding lab format

The craft for empowerment system was chosen as the object of design for developing a design strategy, which is introduced in this chapter as the result of this research project and which consists of two parts:

1. A theoretical design framework entitled 'designing for coalescence' that aims to encourage CFIP stakeholders to grow together in an effort to foster ethical approaches in Pakistan's craft sector'
2. A concept for a collaborative lab format as one possible means to implement this framework

Both the framework and the lab format aim to initiate activities for CFIP stakeholders to become more equal partners, their different backgrounds, perspectives and practices, and address the challenges they face in their efforts to establish income opportunities through craft-making; advocate for social justice; and preserve cultural heritage.

Central to the proposed theoretical design framework is the term 'coalescence', which is the name I gave to the proposed framework's paradigm. In addition, I introduce the terms 'co-release' and 'reciprocal care' to describe two principles that inform the corresponding design methods. I will elaborate more on these terms when I introduce the framework. Briefly, though, 'coalescence', which means 'the process of coming or growing together to form one thing or system' (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021b) for this research indicates the desirable emergence of synergies between CFIP stakeholders from the three levels of the craft for empowerment system. Coalescence here is meant as a way of growing together while embracing diversity in personal background, circumstances and perspectives, or in other words: a way of increasing the understanding and tolerance in a diverse ecosystem of craft project approaches.

'Co-release' is a term I created in reference to the participatory and integrative character of design fields such as co-design and co-creation, summarised in chapter 3.

'Co-release' though involves a desired direction: collectively generating systems change in the craft for empowerment system towards more contextualised approaches and equality in the hierarchical structures (formed by institutions and organisations), processes (established through dominant implementation methods), and mindsets (represented through stereotypical perspectives regarding stakeholder roles and relationships in development aid) that have consolidated over time. While these structures, processes and mindsets currently ensure the continuity of grant schemes and hence allow new CFIPs to commence, they also cause dependency. This dependency disrupts the efforts of CFIPs to establish and sustain ethical craft value chains and create empowering experiences.

'Reciprocal care' challenges the current unidirectional top-down transfer of skills and knowledge. It seeks to foster multidirectional exchange, understanding, respect and care between CFIP stakeholders from all systems levels by supporting continuous loops of interaction and cooperation. In particular, stakeholders on the implementation and target levels can learn how to support each other's projects by sharing insights, expertise and resources. When this stronger dynamic results in more successful CFIPs in terms of economic as well as social and cultural empowerment, stakeholders on the political level can create grant schemes with more contextual sensitivity and relevance. These political-level stakeholders would also have empowering experiences as a result, because they could make better-informed decisions. After all, they are interested in achieving a sustainable impact with their grant schemes.

The collaborative lab format is outlined in the second part of this chapter as one way of implementing the proposed theoretical design framework. At this point it can only be a suggestion, of course, because at the core of the concept lies the principle that lab participants should develop the structures, processes and activities themselves.

6.1. Background

6.1.1. Relating the design task to the overarching objectives

In order to understand how the theoretical design framework and the concept for a collaborative lab were conceived, it makes sense to recall both the design task, derived from the findings of the empirical research in chapter 4, and the overarching research objectives, derived from the systems analysis in chapter 5. Relating them to each other directs the focus towards the importance of strengthening the agency of all CFIP stakeholders, not just craft producers, in the craft for empowerment system.

The design task of this research was defined as fostering 1) sustainable craft businesses, 2) holistic learning experiences, and 3) inclusive communication. These three components are closely linked in all CFIPs. Opportunities for inclusive cross-level communication and peer-to-peer exchange within each level are important for learning from and about each other. This fosters a clearer understanding of the different needs,

opportunities and abilities of the different stakeholders in sustainable craft value chains. Applying the systems lens to the empirical data led to the formulation of the overarching objectives of creating empowering experiences for all CFIP stakeholders, and generating a more democratic craft for empowerment system.

The three areas of the design task are already present in most CFIPs. Sustainable craft businesses, inclusive communication and holistic learning experiences are explicit goals of all CFIP types and reflect in their capacity-building programmes: craft producers are supposed to learn the practical skills and knowledge important in craft value chains through trainings, such as product development workshops, quality assessment trainings, market exposure visits and customer communication trainings.

In contrast, the two overarching objectives — empowering experiences for all CFIP stakeholders and a more democratic craft for empowerment system — are not widely articulated in the planning of CFIPs, especially not using this terminology or the systems perspective, because the craft for empowerment system is not established, visualised and communicated in the way it is in this research project. But the concerns that emerged through the systems analysis, and which led to the overarching objectives of this research, can be seen in the empirical data about donor relationships, in CFIP stakeholders' motivations for engaging in craft initiatives, or in CFIP managers' and designers' reflections about how they learn from their engagement with craft producers.

Being aware of the overarching objectives shifts the perspective of how to approach the three areas of the design task: instead of dwelling on how to teach the practical content of business, learning and communication to craft producers, which many CFIPs already do, stakeholder relationships in the current craft for empowerment system become the focus of this research. Analysis revealed that unequal power relations, alienation from each other and top-down management have a disruptive effect on CFIPs. These disruptions require different strategies than simply teaching practical skills and knowledge to craft producers.

6.1.2. Towards stakeholder agency

When embedding the design task of developing business, learning and communication strategies into the overarching objectives, increasing the agency of different CFIP stakeholders becomes of central importance. Bell (2016) defines the term 'agency' as 'the capacity of an individual to actively and independently choose and to affect change' (n.p.). This definition points to the importance of increasing agency for all CFIP stakeholders so that they can make decisions that foster sustainable craft businesses, holistic learning and inclusive communication. This will help create more empowering experiences for all stakeholders and more democratic operations of the craft for empowerment system. Central for increasing agency for all stakeholders is creating opportunities for collective critical reflection and action, so that power inequalities can be observed, debated, questioned, and challenged. This is not an easy task and possibly

not fully achievable in light of the consolidated structures, processes and mindsets of the craft for empowerment system's, but generating increased stakeholder agency lies at the heart of the proposed theoretical design framework.

The definition of agency quoted above resonates with Amartya Sen's concept of 'freedoms' outlined in the contextual review in chapter 3 (Sen, 2000). 'Freedoms' describes people's abilities and choices under given circumstances and includes the possibility of participation in decision-making regarding political issues, civil rights, economic and social opportunities, information transparency, and security. In the context of grassroots empowerment, having freedoms or agency means that people can make informed decisions and take responsibility for their actions. Gaining agency is not only important for disadvantaged or powerless people but also for those in more powerful positions. While it seems that they already have agency, it might not be so, because also for them having agency involves knowing different possibilities before making an informed decision. Therefore expanding horizons of time and scale, remaining curious about diverse perspectives and needs of people different from one's own group, and considering those in their decision-making is vital for being an empowered person with agency. Translated to craft for empowerment this means that powerful stakeholders have agency when they plan CFIPs with a good holistic understanding of the target-level craft producers, ideally together with them. While implementation-level CFIP managers can do so, political-level stakeholders usually do not have the required understanding and hence little agency, despite being in the most powerful positions of the whole craft for empowerment system. This example shows clearly that being powerful and being empowered by having agency are not the same. When powerful people learn to accept, respect and trust the opinions and practices of less powerful people — even if they do not agree to them — a dialogue can take place between those groups and both gain agency through learning about their different perspectives.

Such a way of thinking about agency and empowerment resonates with Paulo Freire's (1970) concept of 'critical consciousness', in which oppressor and oppressed move forward together by critically reviewing and changing their relationship and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's (1999) theory of all-encompassing care as a human right rather than an obligation. Second-order cybernetics is a field of systems theory that holds that all participants are simultaneously observers, and it suggests that ideally each participant will act for the betterment of the overall system (Glanville, 2003, 2009). These theories do not view empowerment as a unidirectional process of uplifting the powerless. Rather they highlight the importance of generating new relationships in which more equality emerges. Activities that involve collective critical reflection, articulation, action and experimentation are commonly considered helpful in processes of empowerment.

How leverage ramifies through a system and generates systems change cannot be planned but only observed over time. Leverage can be inserted differently, perhaps by changing a certain behaviour or part of the system or by introducing a new activity or part. Here I recall the theories of systems change, detailed in chapter 3. Donella Meadows (2009) describes different leverage points and suggests that leveraging into

the paradigm of a system is the most radical trigger of systems change. However it is also the most difficult one, because it means generating change in the underlying values that drive a system. Frank W. Geels (2011) explains the differences in dynamics between the larger socio-technical landscape, the socio-technical regime, and niche movements, and examines the impact of these dynamics on sustainable change. Danny Burns and Stuart Worsley (2015) describe how change happens in small pockets before it reaches a critical mass of changed mindsets and behaviours that hit a tipping point, resulting in larger systems change.

The following theoretical design framework and the concept for a collaborative lab format were developed as a form of leverage towards more equally shared agency and more democratic and empowering operations in Pakistan's craft for empowerment system.

6.2. Designing for coalescence: a theoretical design framework

A good point of departure for developing the theoretical design framework for increased and more equally shared agency between CFIP stakeholders is to recall the three concepts that connect most of the topics in the contextual review in chapter 3: pluralism, more equal centre–periphery relationships, and a holistic understanding that the well-being of the whole and the parts of a system are closely related.

In order to describe the new proposed theoretical framework 'designing for coalescence' (fig. 6.1.), I begin with explaining why I named the paradigm 'coalescence'. The paradigm is rooted in the three concepts mentioned above — pluralism, equality and holism — and responds to the large physical distances between CFIP stakeholders, the cultural and demographic alienation between some of them, and the top-down dynamic in CFIP management processes and their inherent power imbalance. 'Coalescence' aims to encourage opportunities for actively involving CFIP stakeholders from different backgrounds and integrating their perspectives and motivations, their practical methods and the institutional processes they are associated with.

The paradigm 'coalescence' for the proposed framework is also introduced as a critique of the current unidirectional top-down character of CFIPs and the alienation between CFIP stakeholders. These characteristics represent the opposite of coalescence. Increasing stakeholder agency is currently associated with capacity-building for craft producers; it is hardly questioned that other CFIP stakeholders already have a high level of agency. The current processes largely involve transferring skills and knowledge downwards to craft producers and their communities so that they can operate efficiently in existing craft value chains, ideally those catering to high-end markets. However, these unidirectional attempts to increase craft producers' agency are misleading, as is the notion that all other CFIP stakeholders already have agency.

These are strong points of critique, because conceptualising and implementing

DESIGNING FOR COALESCENCE

Coalescence
of people, perspectives,
practices and processes

— PARADIGM —

Co-release
Reciprocal Care

— PRINCIPLE —

Equally shared agency in sustainable
craft value chains

— GOAL —

Mutuality
Equality

— VALUES —

Participation
Integration

Contextual
Pluriversal

— CHARACTER —

Open-ended
Emergent

— DESIGN METHODS —

Looping cross-level and
peer-to-peer learning

Forming
supportive alliances

Complementing
each others' projects

— IMPACT —

Contextually sensible, feasible and
connected CFIP

Rewarding experiences
in craft value chains

Gradually increasing autonomy from
top-down dependencies

Fig. 6.1: Proposed theoretical design framework for Pakistan's craft for empowerment system

CFIPs is dominated by the top, the political-level's structures, processes and underlying mindsets, or, if one applies the centre–periphery model of development, by those at the powerful centre. While well intended and thought through these strategies are often not feasible in the circumstances of the craft producers in the periphery or here at the target level. At the same time, little room is made in the early stages of project planning for what craft producers themselves regard as useful and feasible, especially regarding production management, customer acquisition, and communication.

On the other hand some universal standards for design, quality and customer relationships are helpful. The proposed new framework and this dissertation do not suggest excluding external influences from the political level or from CFIP stakeholders unfamiliar with Pakistan and its culture. The aim is also not to view contextual and universal knowledge and expertise as binaries. Indeed, coalescence suggests the opposite: growing together in order to generate new synergies. The empirical findings

and systems analysis revealed that unequal relationships are causing significant challenges to CFIPs, but these unequal relationships persist, more by habit and the lack of alternatives than by deliberate bad intention.

Whether the top-down transferred skills and knowledge are useful is of little concern for this argument. More importantly, the unquestioned repetition of top-down transfer is in stark contrast to the nature of agency. Such top-down imposing lacks the qualities of empowerment gained through exploration, flexibility, dialogue, critical reflection and action, and autonomous decision-making. This means that the process of moving towards shared agency must shift from unidirectional to multidirectional.

The goal of designing for coalescence is to generate more equally shared agency in CFIPs. This requires focusing on the weaker stakeholders — the craft producers and their communities — to give them equal involvement in CFIP planning (fig. 6.1). An important aspect of strengthening their voice is increasing the agency of other CFIP stakeholders, so that they too can make more informed decisions.

In the coalescence paradigm it is important that people from across the craft for empowerment system share their perspectives, practical approaches, and processes when planning and implementing CFIPs. It is especially important that weaker voices from the target level are heard, because these individuals are the experts on the environment in which CFIPs are implemented and the experts in their own living conditions. They are the people for whose improvement CFIPs are often conducted. But their voices are drowned out by the louder voices of other CFIP stakeholders. At the same time, external connections and input are vital for enabling craft producers to become equal partners in value chains. This means that the top-down dynamics of capacity-building cannot be countered with bottom-up revolts. What is required is cross-level and peer-to-peer exchanges that support the emergence of more equally shared agency and contextual sensitivity.

Central to the designing for coalescence framework are the principles of 'co-release' and 'reciprocal care' (fig. 6.1).

'Co-release' refers to the collectiveness that is required for developing and implementing design activities with more equally shared agency and challenge the craft for empowerment system's consolidated top-down approach. While performing project tasks and routines it is difficult for stakeholders to remain aware of this larger picture and counter it, but it is important that they retain a critical awareness in order to gradually generate the desired change by trying alternative approaches. This is one area where design can help people to be alert to disempowering or patronising processes and methods.

'Reciprocal care' refers to the importance of mutuality in learning processes between CFIP stakeholders, again in response to current unidirectional capacity-building approaches. A prerequisite for shared agency is that stakeholders come to understand each other better through first-hand encounters and collective learning experiences instead of hearsay, second-hand information and stereotyping. In particular,

closer exchange between marginalised stakeholders, both privileged and underprivileged, is vital for reciprocal care. Reciprocal care is not only a pragmatic design principle that shows how to engage in co-creation; it aims to foster an attitude of mutual care, even if stakeholders sometimes find it impossible to understand each other due to the gulf between the worlds from which they hail. Reciprocal care is inspired by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1999) who encourages a neutral, non-judgemental embrace of differences between people of very different backgrounds and life experience. This unconditional embrace is vital, not only vertically across all three systems levels but also horizontally within each level. Such reciprocity is significantly different from the current process of streamlining the transfer of skills and knowledge according to the requirements of the stakeholders at the top of the system.

Therefore mutuality, care and embracement of others are central to the process of growing together that informs the framework's coalescence paradigm.
Co-release and reciprocal care are principles intended to inform the applied design methods that foster more equally shared agency (fig. 6.1). These methods include:

1. ***Looping cross-level and peer-to-peer learning and cooperation.*** This refers to the importance of feedback loops in systems and here to critical reflection activities between CFIP stakeholders at different project stages
2. ***Complementing each other's projects.*** This refers to bringing together CFIP stakeholders with different areas of expertise in order to investigate how they can contribute to each other's projects
3. ***Forming new supportive alliances.*** This refers to sharing expertise, resources and infrastructure between CFIPs which are managed in different sectors such as the industry, academia, and development

The precise design activities cannot be predicted in this dissertation, though could include known design methods for making information accessible to different CFIP stakeholders through documenting, archiving, publishing results and developing further activities. Other known methods include experience maps, participant documentation and ideation techniques, among others. Most important is that designers and CFIP stakeholders choose methods and techniques, modify known ones and develop new ones with a focus on equal involvement and its implications for language, literacy and access to communication technology.

In the second part, which describes the collaborative lab format, I will provide some initial suggestions for potential activities.

Co-release and reciprocal care serve as principles informing design methods that focus on fostering closer interaction of multiple CFIP stakeholders. While it could be considered utopian to try to involve stakeholders of extremely diverse backgrounds, it is vital to actively engage them in such collaborative processes. Therefore I formulated the following four sub-principles to encourage perseverance, even if change might take a long time and be difficult to recognise during the process:

Attention is concerned with curiosity, the willingness to view other stakeholders without judgement. Some stakeholders, especially craft producers, are often included in projects only when plans have been finalised. However turning towards different stakeholders from all systems levels is vital at a much earlier stage for a project to gain contextual relevance for those craft producers, who are the main reason to initiate it. This principle of attending to different stakeholders represents a dynamic of 'caring for' as it represents the wish to understand those different from oneself.

Involvement is concerned with encouraging different CFIP stakeholders to participate for the first time in CFIP activities, while acknowledging their different motivations for and expectations of the benefits of participation. This principle represents a dynamic of 'bringing into', which is not easy when aiming to involve stakeholders from the system's margins.

Commitment is concerned with establishing a sense of ownership and responsibility for collective activities among CFIP stakeholders, including accepting and learning from failure. It requires endurance, patience and flexibility, because unforeseen setbacks will inevitably occur. This principle represents a dynamic of 'hanging in' that is needed when things are getting difficult and it is tempting to give up on a CFIP.

Exchange is concerned with encouraging CFIP stakeholders from different levels and areas of the craft for empowerment system to experience the perspectives of those from other levels and areas. This principle represents a dynamic of 'permeating through' referring to the importance of stakeholders crossing boundaries and interacting more with stakeholders on different system levels.

These four sub-principles open a conceptual space between the dynamics of 'caring for', 'bringing into', 'hanging in' and 'permeating through'. This conceptual space aims to encourage those who plan CFIPs to leave their comfort zones by reaching out before the planning phase to those stakeholders who they do not know well and understand easily, but who are the CFIP's target group, the craft producers and their communities. Formulating this conceptual space is also a reminder that endurance in a CFIP might be difficult but important for continuing even when the progress feels slow or when there are backlashes. It also aims to encourage the CFIP stakeholders from all system levels to find ways forward together when CFIP progresses appear futile. As such the four principles and their dynamics help to reflect on the current status and mood of a CFIP and to respond with developing useful strategies.

The beneficial impact (fig. 6.1) of the proposed framework and the coalescence paradigm is not easy to measure. Through establishing new partnerships and collaboration formats across all system levels CFIPs can be more responsive to changing circumstances and thus become less dependent on political-level support.

The empirical research indicates that different CFIP stakeholders seek new coalitions and formats because in those instances when they were able to establish them, often the experiences were empowering. The CFIPs became more contextually relevant, than when they were predominantly top-down managed without the required

knowledge of the local circumstances. Value chains were more sustainable because direct and frequent contact supported better communication and management, and as such CFIP stakeholders felt that their agency increased and was better shared when, for example, donors took their suggestions serious and included them into future project planning. However, being able to recognise such positive change might take a long time and is not a linear process.

Last but not least, the values and the character of the 'designing for coalescence' framework must be mentioned (fig. 6.1). Values include mutuality, equality, integration and participation, and all of them highlight the importance of achieving partnerships and collaboration between CFIP stakeholders. The character of the proposed framework can be defined as open-ended and emergent, with no predefined termination date, because gaining and sharing agency is an ongoing process for everyone involved. Further, when perspectives, practical approaches, processes and places are growing together to become an empowering ecosystem, the framework's character can be defined as contextual and pluriversal, for which the current top-down dynamic is a significant barriers. Further, while individual projects and activities might terminate at a certain point, the designing for coalescence framework considers the design tasks – business, learning and communication – and the overarching objectives of empowering experiences for all and democratic systems operation as open-ended processes.

6.3. Terminology of the framework's components

An important yet unexpectedly challenging step in formulating the proposed framework was the search for terms that represent its different components appropriately so that it can be differentiated from how the current craft for empowerment system operates. 'Coalescence' was chosen as the term for the paradigm because its meaning of 'growing together' indicates a slow process and a sense of different parts coming together to a relatively similar degree or with a relatively equal amount of input. It involves the emergence of something new that combines the characteristics of the different parts (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021b). It also resonates with the emergent character of any systems change.

Interestingly, after I finally settled on my choice of terminology I discovered that coalescence is also used in the field of sociology to describe the second stage in social movements. After an urge for change emerges, in the second stage people join forces or 'coalesce' and begin to organise themselves and raise awareness about the issue that prompted the movement. This occurs before the demand for a particular change becomes formalised and bureaucratic in the third stage, and before the outcome of the movement is known (Charles Tilly as cited in Social Science Libre Texts, 2021). This use of the term resonates with its use in this research, as it describes the process of CFIP stakeholders gradually organising themselves in a different way in order to tackle the challenges they face in the current craft for empowerment system.

'Reciprocal care' was chosen because it indicates mutuality. 'Reciprocity' is defined as 'the practice of exchanging things with others for mutual benefit, especially privileges granted by one country or organization to another' (Oxford University Press, 2022e).

For the development of the proposed framework, the debate over whether reciprocity supports or challenges hierarchies is interesting. Reciprocity is often viewed as a process that creates social and moral norms through applying what anthropologist David Graeber terms a 'web of customs' (2011, pp.110), for example the historical obligation to give presents to kings in order to receive their social protection. Such customs become norms through repetition. Not only do they reinforce hierarchy, they also cement the perception of a person's character and rank — peasant, aristocrat. For instance, if a friend brings a present on one occasion, one might want to reciprocate by offering a present of similar value. If the friend often brings a present, one takes it for granted and might not offer a present in return each time, instead labelling the friend as generous. According to Graeber, these dynamics of exchange do not represent reciprocity, which would be based on equality rather than hierarchy. He points out that such different customs of exchange do not represent different types of society but describe co-existing moral principles that inform relationships between people, and each person engages in both, equality and hierarchy forming exchanges. Graeber further argues that reciprocity is usually embraced when justice or a just society are imagined and debated, because reciprocity evokes ideas of balance and symmetry (pp.109–115).

The sociological concept of 'liking reciprocity' is also helpful, referring to the mutuality of caring and giving that reflect in a sense of the self and its social existence. 'Liking reciprocity' represents altruism, helpfulness, truthfulness, kindness and trust (Kolm, 2008, pp.19–25). However, while reciprocity predominantly describes positive interactions, it can also have negative connotations, such as revenge (p.25).

These different perspectives on reciprocity influenced the invention of the term 'reciprocal care' for the proposed framework. They offer a valuable reminder of the need to maintain a critically reflective awareness of power inequalities as well as the need to tackle them by developing different practices of giving and caring. Reciprocal care requires equal partners, but currently CFIP stakeholders are from very different socio-economic, cultural and demographic backgrounds and therefore not equal. While the elimination of hierarchies and power imbalances is unrealistic, 'reciprocal care' as a principle encourages to reflect critically on current CFIPs, their hierarchies and the widely agreed roles of aiders and beneficiaries, teachers and learners.

Co-release is not a term that has been debated elsewhere, because it was coined for this research. It refers to co-creation and co-design, and adds the desired direction of 'release' to such co-creative processes. The dictionary defines 'release' as 'allow or enable to escape from confinement; set free' (Oxford University Press, 2022f). For this research, the definition refers to actively changing the consolidated power structures, processes and relationships in the craft for empowerment system. Both reciprocal care and co-release were conceived as abstract design principles that inform practical approaches towards more equally shared agency.

6.4. Comparison of the designing for coalescence framework with a framework deconstructed from current conditions in CFIPs

The choice of terminology was also important for articulating the proposed theoretical design framework, designing for coalescence, in response to the current situation in CFIPs. Therefore I formulated a deconstructed framework that accounts for the current condition of the craft for empowerment system. This deconstructed framework also serves as a tool for revealing what is new, perhaps radically new, in the proposed framework and its paradigm of coalescence. It is helpful to ask: which paradigm informs the deconstructed framework of the current craft for empowerment system? Which term describes a current paradigm best?

6.4.1. The current condition of craft for empowerment: designing for appropriation

The paradigm that currently informs most CFIPs I identified as 'appropriation', based on the empirical data and its synthesis and analysis from a systems perspective. 'Appropriation' refers to how conceptual and practical approaches currently focus on bringing craft producers into existing craft value chains by teaching them how to meet market standards and expectations. This goal is not wrong per se. Indeed, one goal of the proposed framework is to enable craft producers to become part of sustainable craft value chains. But the current top-down capacity-building approach, which I have identified as appropriation-led, contributes to value chain disruptions and disappointing stakeholder experiences, because it reinforces craft producers' dependence on more powerful stakeholders. This is in stark contrast to the proposed coalescence paradigm, with its intention of increasing all stakeholders' agency and challenging top-down dependency.

The deconstructed and proposed frameworks were juxtaposed by placing the framework components in the centre with the newly proposed framework on the right and the deconstructed current one on the left (fig. 6.2).

The most important aspect of the deconstructed framework is the appropriation paradigm, which refers to the skills of the craft producers in relation to craft market demands. Most CFIPs offer capacity-building training to craft producers with the goal of enabling them to meet the expectations of existing craft value chains in terms of quality, design and production management. Meeting these expectations should enable producers to sell more products and thus experience economic, cultural and social empowerment. The reality can be disappointing, however, with disruptions typically occurring when value chains are not sustainable. Part of the problem is that CFIP implementation strategies often follow a streamlined step-by-step process, universally applied to craft projects, which does not always allow for adjustment to changed circumstances or unexpected project turns, and also does not resonate with contextual feasibilities and sensitivities, for example due different infrastructures and social

DECONSTRUCTED DESIGN FRAMEWORK OF THE CURRENT CRAFT FOR EMPOWERMENT SYSTEM		PROPOSED DESIGN FRAMEWORK OF A DESIRED EMERGENT CRAFT FOR EMPOWERMENT SYSTEM
Designing for appropriation	FRAMEWORK	Designing for coalescence
Appropriation of craft producers' skills to mainstream market expectations from across the system	PARADIGM	Coalescence of people, perspectives, practices & processes from across the system
Craft producers' empowerment as partners in existing craft markets	GOAL	Equally shared agency in sustainable craft value chains
Universally streamlined CFIP implementation Risk of disappointing experiences in craft value chains Dependency on relaunching project grants	IMPACT	Contextually sensible, feasible and connected CFIP Rewarding experiences in craft value chains Gradually increasing autonomy from top-down dependencies
Market orientation Adjusting to existing standards	PRINCIPLES	Co-release Reciprocal care
Unidrectional skills training for craft producers Product development Marketing strategies	DESIGN METHODS	Looping cross-level & peer-to-peer learning Forming supportive alliances Complementing each others' projects
Inclusion into mainstream Patronage Philanthropy	VALUES	Mutuality Equality Participation Integration
Universal Formalised Project based Taught	CHARACTER	Contextual Pluriversal Open-ended Emergent

Fig. 6.2: Juxtaposition of the proposed designing for coalescence framework with a deconstructed framework based on the current situation of CFIPs in Pakistan

constraints. These undesired disruptions are often tackled by focusing on the demands and expectations of customers and trying to adjust products and production processes to meet those demands. Trainings commonly then in ever more detail focus on product design, production management and marketing skills. This however creates a situation in which they struggle to keep up with customer demands but are not always able to, which often adds to the feeling of never being good enough.

The character of the deconstructed framework can be defined as universal and formalised, following a dominant understanding of empowerment that ascribes the

need to learn solely to the craft producers. Producers are taught skills within a predefined project timeframe so that they can earn money through existing craft value chains after the project terminates. At least, that is the plan. But it has already been discussed that in real life this formula is often disrupted, because sustainable craft value chains frequently do not materialise when a CFIP terminates, after which it becomes increasingly difficult to provide further support to craft producers.

The values underlying the deconstructed framework's paradigm of 'appropriation' are by no means ill intended or false; neither are the resulting principles and design methods. But they do not always achieve the positive impact to the anticipated extent. Bringing craft producers into mainstream existing craft markets is ambitious. Improving their economic situation will affect other aspects of their lives, such as the education of children, the ability to afford health care or exposure to further possibilities for income generation. Additionally, many CFIP stakeholders from the political and implementation levels provide some form of patronage to craft producers, going well beyond their actual manager job descriptions. Such philanthropy to help poorer members of society, drives many CFIPs.

6.4.2. Designing for coalescence to support equally shared agency

Taking a closer look at the deconstructed designing for appropriation framework and juxtaposing it with the proposed designing for coalescence framework reveals the latter's potential for contributing to systems change towards more equally shared agency for CFIP stakeholders. This juxtaposition also reveals how the gap occurs between the goal of creating economic, social and cultural empowerment and the often disappointing reality, when income generation opportunities do not materialise to the desired extent. Instead what often remains is dependency on continuing practical support and new capacity-building grant schemes, which may or may not be available.

Unravelling how this gap emerged links back to the importance of critically reviewing the quality of the applied processes in CFIPs and the conceptual paradigm that informs them. Where the new proposed coalescence framework suggests 'co-release' and 'reciprocal care' as guiding principles for CFIP processes, in the deconstructed appropriation framework the dominant principles were identified as 'market orientation' and 'adjustment to existing standards'. Co-release and reciprocal care propose the development of design methods that consist of continuous loops of collective learning between stakeholders at all system levels, complementing each other's projects through shared expertise and resources and the formation of new supportive alliances. In contrast, market orientation and adjustment to existing standards inform design methods that consist predominantly of the unidirectional teaching of skills and knowledge to craft producers in order to fulfil existing customer expectations.

At first sight the appropriation paradigm makes good sense, reflecting the rich and long-standing experience of CFIP managers and many other stakeholders, including some craft producers and designers. In light of craft producers' generally poor economic situation, creating income opportunities for them by conducting

capacity-building activities remains the main goal of the proposed framework also but it involves all CFIP stakeholders in changed roles. The equation of appropriating craft producers' skills to market demands and income opportunities and empowerment will emerge is too simple. That gap between the goal and the outcome is connected to the unidirectional top-down method of transferring skills and knowledge during CFIP implementation processes.

Here the critique of the current craft for empowerment system that operates according to the paradigm of appropriation becomes obvious, and the argument for the proposed paradigm shift towards coalescence becomes more evident.

Currently the obvious approach is to teach craft producers how to implement the standards expected from existing craft markets. The point of departure is that the craft producers are in need of income, and the craft market can provide income opportunities. Therefore project coordination with the focus on meeting market demands is vital, because CFIPs make no sense when customers are unsatisfied and craft products are not sold. But while appropriation is well-intended, its top-down approach of imparting skills and knowledge to craft producers is problematic for the aim to foster them so that they develop into independent craft business partners. CFIP managers often try to save the situation of disrupted value chains after trainings conclude by offering more specific skills training in order to satisfy customers. This strategy to offer more specified trainings is understandable, but it leads to a situation in which craft producers struggle to fulfil more specific demands, which they often are not able to, no matter how many more trainings they join. At the same time it would be more important that they learn how to communicate with customers themselves and to negotiate details with different customers and gain exposure not only to markets but to people in similar situations as themselves. If the craft producers are not able to negotiate and make their own position and capabilities clear they run after demands formulated by others. As a result they do not own their work while additionally they develop a sense of never being good enough. A demotivating negative cycle emerges.

This is the problem with the appropriation paradigm: it focuses on technical and fact-oriented skills training to fulfil expectations of environments that craft producers are distanced from. Craft producers largely depend on information provided by their supporters, who require funding or agree to volunteer. This means that craft producers remain dependent on those supporters. This is a key reason for the gap between the goal of empowerment and above described undesired disappointing experiences. Although skills and knowledge are vital, what remains undeveloped in such training programmes is the ability to critically observe, analyse and react to changing environments and conditions in one's own community or beyond in the larger craft market. Change is currently viewed as a threat rather than an opportunity, because that change may render the acquired skills and knowledge unsuitable.

Vital to gaining awareness of changes is that CFIP stakeholders have frequent opportunities to come together and exchange their perspectives, observe and decide how to operate under changed conditions.

The designing for coalescence framework was developed to provide a different way to achieve empowerment. It is proposed also to recognise that the deconstructed current framework of how CFIPs operate is flawed because it views only craft producers as being in need of empowerment, whereas the goal of the proposed framework is the empowerment of all CFIP stakeholders. The coalescence paradigm was developed because it highlights that craft producers' empowerment can only truly occur when all other stakeholders critically review their perspectives and roles, and undergo a transformation towards being learners as well. This approach interweaves the insights from the systems synthesis and analysis of chapter 5, the empirical research results of chapter 4, and the theories of empowerment discussed in chapter 3.

These theories have reflected in first hand collected empirical data, and in the system's approach to the data synthesis and analysis. But they did not only help to understand the craft sector better but also impacted the development of the designing for coalescence framework conceptually.

If all CFIP stakeholders, including those in more powerful positions, realise that they and their projects gain through collective learning-by-doing activities, they can gradually become more equal partners. For example, when craft producers do not struggle to fulfil unrealistic market demands but instead are able to negotiate with customers, each stakeholder gains agency, because each can make better informed decisions. Therefore when the division between stakeholders begins to blur, true empowerment for all and a democratic craft for empowerment system can emerge.

In conclusion it is important to note that designing for coalescence is not developed as a counter-strategy to the current conditions informed by appropriation but rather as a proposal for leveraging into those aspects of current processes that keep producing disappointing results.

The coalescence paradigm was developed by observing promising activities that were already used by CFIP stakeholders (research participants) and which surfaced both during the empirical research. The potential benefit of bringing different stakeholders together to exchange views became evident during the field research, in conversations, in interviews, in the action research project with the women from Tarogil village, and especially in the focus groups.

The promising after-effects of these relatively brief exchanges encouraged the development of the designing for coalescence paradigm. Systems theory suggests the importance of paying attention to small starting conditions (Burns and Worsley, 2015), niche movements (Geels, 2011) or what is already working well in a system (Meadows, 2009). Designing for coalescence challenges the consolidated hierarchical top-down dynamic of the current craft for empowerment system. The initiatives taken by research participants after the focus groups indicate an awareness of this problematic top-down dynamic and a willingness to change it.

Lastly, the systems perspective helped proposing a shift in the underlying values. Mutuality, equality, participation and integration are suggested values of the

coalescence framework, where currently inclusion (of craft producers), patronage and philanthropy inform CFIPs, both conceptually and practically. The current values can be viewed as thoroughly positive, reflecting good intentions to help craft producers, and are still required. The wish to help, as represented by patronage and philanthropy, are good points of departure for CFIPs, but an important difference lies in the detail: focus should be not only on changing the position of the craft producers but on changing the position of all CFIP stakeholders, including the patrons themselves, as they negotiate their roles in equally shared agency.

The character of the proposed coalescence paradigm indicates an open-ended process rather than a focus on final success indicators that need to be achieved within predefined timeframes. While CFIPs can remain project-based — and those projects can possibly be assessed but that is another topic — it is important that such projects are embedded in an emerging craft ecosystem that continues to initiate new and support on-going projects rather than terminate them prematurely.

To conclude, one of the key insights from the empirical research and the systems analysis is that the goal of empowering craft producers in such a way that they do not require any further support in terms of product design or business skills is not only unrealistic but also conceptually flawed. In reality, craft producers, like all CFIP stakeholders, require continuous support in the sense that none of them can conduct their projects completely independently. Rather, their projects benefit from complementing each other and sharing expertise and resources. Such sharing strengthens ethical craft projects against disturbances in the craft for empowerment system. The coalescence paradigm is rooted in CFIP stakeholders' desire of for shared agency.

How such theoretical thoughts could translate into design activity is outlined in the next section, in which I introduce a lab format as one possible implementation strategy of the designing for coalescence framework.

6.5. Designing for coalescence: a lab format

A concept for a lab format that fosters cross-level and peer-to-peer collaboration is introduced here as one way to implement the designing for coalescence framework. At this point it can only be a projection, because an essential element of the coalescence paradigm is that stakeholders initiate activities informed by it themselves and exchange their perspectives and practices from an early stage of project planning.

Outlining the concept for such a coalescence craft lab is the most uncomfortable part of this dissertation, not because I am unable to derive promising design strategies from my research insights, but because any such definition risks resembling the top-down strategies that CFIP stakeholders on the implementation and target levels are already exposed to. For this reason I contemplated excluding such a concrete concept from this dissertation. However, I came to acknowledge that it would be useful to show how the coalescence paradigm could inform design practices that leverage into the current craft for empowerment system, informed by the appropriation paradigm.

The lab is conceptualised as an independent entity at the centre of the craft for empowerment system. It aims to enable CFIP stakeholders to meet, learn from and with one another, support each other's projects and form new alliances. Here it is described as a physical space with a permanent team, but it remains open for exploration whether that is required or whether lab participants could also coordinate activities to encourage coalescence within their respective spaces and infrastructure.

As an entity, the lab combines characteristics of a company (generating revenue), an educational institution (enhancing learning experiences and capabilities), and a design firm (designing products and information strategies). In other words, it integrates sustainable business, holistic learning and inclusive communication (fig. 6.3). The coalescence craft lab's main activities therefore include:

Business
1. Establishing the lab's own label of products
2. Providing product design and production management services
3. Sharing expertise through research and consultancy services

Learning
1. Offering opportunities for co-creation
2. Facilitating regular individual and collective reflection

Communication
3. Making information transparent through simplification and the use of widely understood vocabulary and local languages
4. Increasing the frequency of communication
5. Visualising information — processes, experiences, insights, project ideas — so that complex information becomes better understandable for diverse CFIP stakeholders
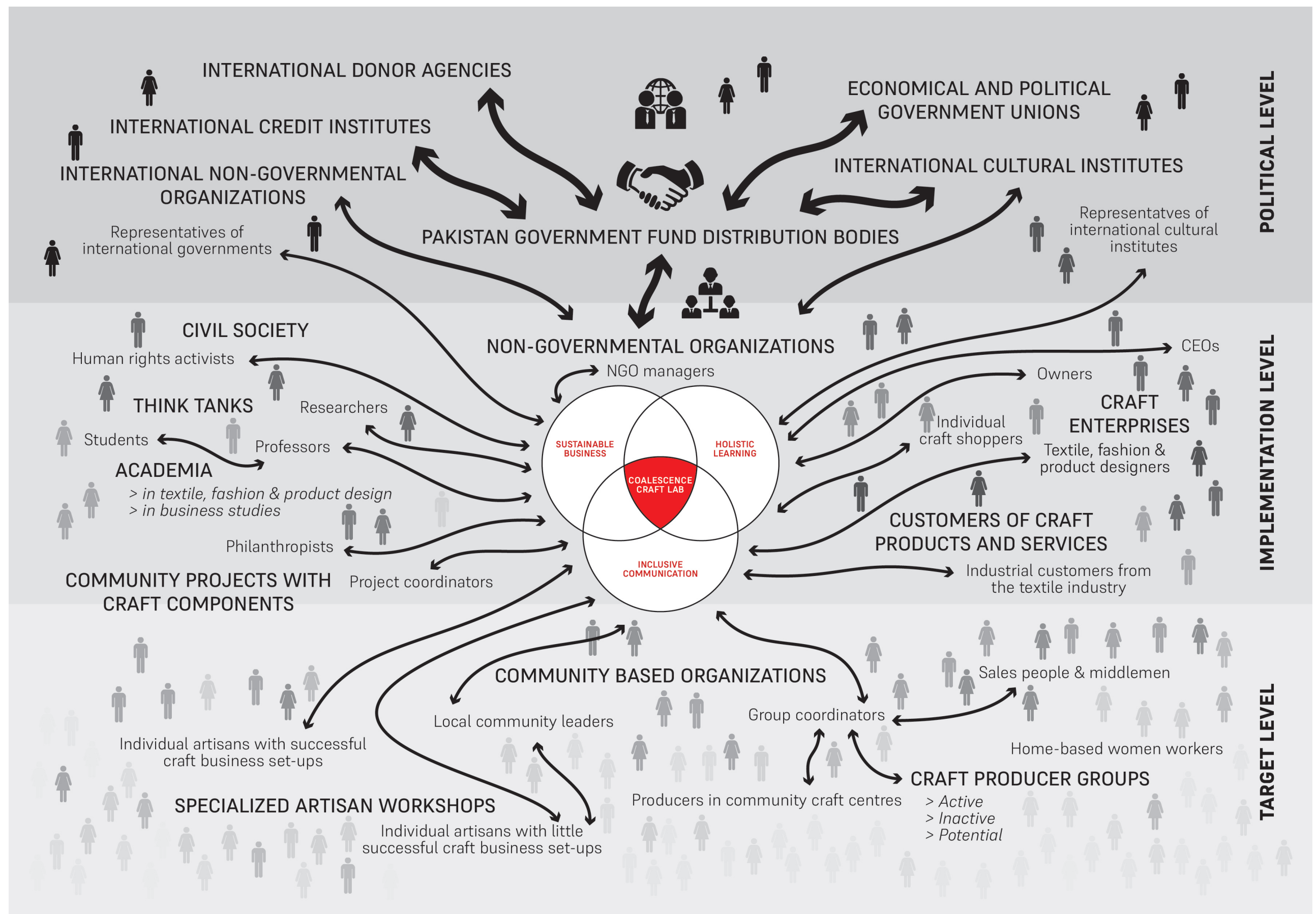
Fig. 6.3: The lab in the craft for empowerment system

INTERNATIONAL DONOR AGENCIES

INTERNATIONAL CREDIT INSTITUTES

INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Representatives of international governments

ECONOMICAL AND POLITICAL GOVERNMENT UNIONS

INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL INSTITUTES

PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT FUND DISTRIBUTION BODIES

Representatves of international cultural institutes

CIVIL SOCIETY

Human rights activists

THINK TANKS

Researchers

Students

Professors

ACADEMIA

> in textile, fashion & product design
> in business studies

Philanthropists

COMMUNITY PROJECTS WITH CRAFT COMPONENTS

Project coordinators

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

NGO managers

SUSTAINABLE BUSINESS

HOLISTIC LEARNING

COALESCENCE CRAFT LAB

INCLUSIVE COMMUNICATION

Owners

CEOs

CRAFT ENTERPRISES

Individual craft shoppers

Textile, fashion & product designers

CUSTOMERS OF CRAFT PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

Industrial customers from the textile industry

COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATIONS

Local community leaders

Group coordinators

Sales people & middlemen

Home-based women workers

Individual artisans with successful craft business set-ups

SPECIALIZED ARTISAN WORKSHOPS

Individual artisans with little successful craft business set-ups

Producers in community craft centres

CRAFT PRODUCER GROUPS

> Active
> Inactive
> Potential

The lab's independence is important; it should not get absorbed into the typical structures and processes — especially those identified as counter-productive — of existing organizations, institutions or enterprises. For instance, if the lab were part of an NGO, its implementation would depend on fulfilling donor requirements and hence loose its conceptual independence. If the lab were to be associated with a university, for instance as an incubator at a design institution, it would risk being viewed primarily as a learning space for students and faculty or as an enterprise run by the university.

The lab would thrive on the participation of CFIP stakeholders from across the craft for empowerment system, with their diverse socio-economic, cultural and demographic backgrounds. It would aim to foster coalescing processes between stakeholders, especially those who are otherwise distanced from one another.

Not all lab participants would look primarily for business advantage from their lab involvement; there are other ways in which they could benefit. They could take insights and networks gained from collective activities back to their CFIPs. An NGO could expand its network of experts who could offer product design input, or potential customers for graduates of donor funded aid projects (DFAPs). A community development initiative (CDI) could send producers for product development or customer communication training. A craft enterprise (CE) could identify suitable producers for new product lines. A university's textile design department could introduce students to craft techniques as well as to societal questions and the field of social innovation. A fashion designer as a customer could improve product lines through the application of available craft techniques. Representatives of donor agencies could gain first-hand insights into the experiences of project partners to whom they provide financial aid. Most importantly, craft producers could strengthen their support networks and benefit from the exposure to different ethical craft sector stakeholders.

The lab concept is not meant to replace current CFIP formats. Rather lab participants integrate their engagement at the lab with their tasks in their respective organisations and institutions. However, the desired outcome is that the lab's activities would gradually lead to the emergence of more democratic and empowering processes, partnerships and CFIP formats.

6.6. Bringing the lab to life

This section introduces the concept of the lab through considering and describing the following aspects:

1. Types of people associated with the lab
2. Organisation and activities
3. Geographical location
4. Physical space
5. Scale
6. The lab as a three-layer business model

1. Types of people associated with the lab

Six types of people would engage as participants in the lab (fig. 6.4):

1. Permanent team
2. Members
3. Adjuncts
4. Customers
5. Affiliated partners
6. Board

The types of people are defined independently from the three systems levels, because the aim of the lab is to encourage equal professional collaboration, and lab participants could come from any part of the current craft for empowerment system. However, extra attention is given to involving participants from the system's margins, especially craft producers. The following participant types are suggested:

The permanent team

A small team would be employed full-time at the coalescence craft lab, coordinating learning-by-doing processes of designing, producing and selling craft products and activities where lab participants support each other's projects with their expertise and resources. Suggested team members include:

A strategic designer, who would make complex processes more understandable through inclusive communication strategies for all lab participants, and would conceptualise and plan activities with the rest of the permanent team, lab participants and others
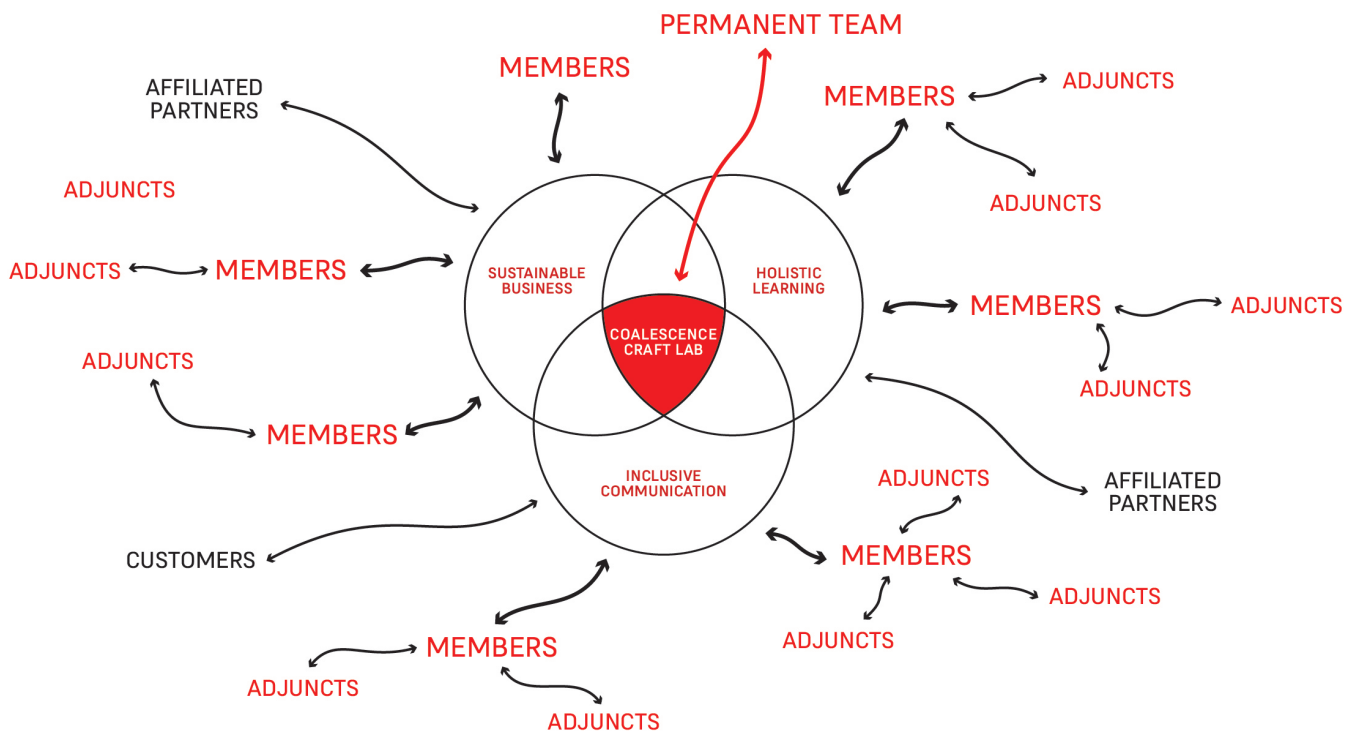
Fig. 6.4: Types of lab participants

The manager, who would have a background in the NGO/aid sector or in business and an interest in crafts and social innovation, and would be responsible for coordinating between the permanent team and lab participants and building a support network

The product designer, who would work with craft producers in the lab. The designer would know market trends and be familiar with the different craft techniques and skill levels within large groups and hence be able to integrate producers with weak skills by designing attractive items that require only simple skills. The designer would travel to producer locations and see what can realistically be produced in terms of design, quality and production management

A craft producer group, who would work permanently at the lab's workshop. Their presence would be important for demonstrating successful craft production to lab participants and visitors and for developing prototypes together with them. This would mean that, for example, craft producers who are new to CFIPs could develop products alongside the permanent producer team and the product designer

A small team of office assistants consisting perhaps of a technical assistant, a driver, a cleaner, and a kitchen assistant, all of whom ensure that daily lab routines run smoothly

Members

Lab members could be any CFIP stakeholders from across the three system levels as well as people who are interested in engaging in ethical crafts. Members would not only take away new input for their own projects but commit to regularly contributing their expertise and resources. Contributions could include conducting regular activities, sharing expertise and resources, or simply paying a regular membership fee. Craft producers, for instance, might not be able to pay a membership fee, at least not in the early stages, but they could offer space in their communities for production, workshops, display and sales. They could also commit to joining and conducting training courses or host other lab participants from elsewehre in their communities for workshops. Travelling to the lab might be difficult because of insufficient transport infrastructure or domestic duties, but committing to, say, two meetings a year could significantly contribute to their sense of inclusion and hence the desired coalescent and dynamic between CFIP stakeholders.

Adjuncts

For CFIP stakeholders who would be interested in participating in the lab but were unable to commit, there could be other forms of participation. Adjuncts would be lab participants who are associated with a lab member. For example, there are many craft producers, potentially thousands in CFIPs associated with the lab, country-wide in the millions, but only those in charge of production would need to be members. Those craft producer members could join lab activities, negotiate with customers and manage production along with adjunct producer groups in their communities. Similarly, in a university not all students participating in a lab workshop would need to be lab members, only their faculty members, their department or those students and graduates who saw this type of work as a future career option. Only the owner of a fashion label

would be a lab member, rather than all craft producers and company workers, even though they could all participate in a lab activity when it makes sense.

Another kind of adjunct could be experts who are hired to give specific input, such as consultants from the education sector or communication trainers.

Customers

Customers would pay the lab for its products and services. A desirable scenario would be that over time they become members or adjuncts. Instead of simply purchasing from the lab, they would participate in activities and become part of new alliances and projects. Participation in the lab could enhance their business, helping them to develop innovative products or offer services such as customisation. Different types of customers could include:

1. Individuals who would buy single items of the lab's own label or place customised orders
2. Managers and designers of lifestyle and fashion brands or other companies, such as hotels, airlines or museums, who seek crafted elements or products; they would use the lab's product development and production management services
3. Research institutes, organisations, academia, aid agencies, companies or individual researchers interested in fields related to craft for empowerment, who could commission research and consultancy services and benefit from the lab's experience

Affiliated partners

These would be individuals, organisations, companies or institutions in grassroots empowerment with a work focus different from crafts, or in the field of arts, crafts and design but without a focus on grassroots empowerment. These partners could involve the lab in projects that would benefit from a craft component, contribute materials or equipment, fund specific activities, or volunteer in lab activities. Partners could also include experts for specific assignments or gatekeepers who could facilitate access to otherwise difficult-to-reach stakeholders.

Advisory board

People with expertise in relevant fields would be elected as advisory board members. They could be academics or people with experience in grassroots empowerment, outreach or social innovation projects, for example a home-based woman worker or a community activist. The advisory board would meet regularly to discuss projects, challenges and new directions.

Participants from the system's margins: producers and international donors

Two kinds of lab participants deserve special attention, because involving them in co-release and reciprocal care would be particularly challenging. The most obvious group is the craft producers, who face underprivileged marginalisation. Creating income

opportunities for and with them is currently the main reason for CFIPs to exist. Involving craft producers would be more challenging than for any other lab participants because they often live in remote areas, face social constraints on engaging outside their communities, have a much lower level of formal education and exposure to markets than other participants, and are much more numerous than any other stakeholder group. Additionally, craft producers are generally not perceived as partners in project planning and business but as a target group that is exposed to the finalized project plan and receives aid in form of business training. Even craft producers themselves often accept and do not question this position. In Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's terms (2008) they are the subaltern, lacking voice, audience and the consciousness that their expertise could be valued and desired. For this reason, it is more difficult to engage producers in collective activities than any other stakeholder. Breaking stereotypes surrounding stakeholder roles in craft for empowerment is part of the paradigm of coalescence and the principles of co-release and reciprocal care, but creating such change of stakeholder roles is very difficult and requires awareness of this issue when developing design approaches.

It is also difficult to engage with representatives of international donor agencies on the political level. In the lab they experience privileged marginalisation, and do not visit remote areas often, despite many craft producers living and working there. Further they prefer to delegate engagement to their implementation partners, such as local NGOs. In my view, more direct contact would enable these representatives to make more informed decisions about grant schemes, hence their integration into lab activities would be vital.

In an ideal scenario grants would not be required and craft businesses would be financially sustainable and involve craft producers as business partners. But that is not the reality of craft for empowerment and dependence on grants is difficult to overcome. It would be easier to overcome this dependence if grant requirements were better adapted to target-level conditions. Therefore bringing target level craft producers and political level stakeholders together is very important becaue the negative impact of the political-level stakeholders' privileged marginalisation should also not be underestimated.

2. Organisation and activities

As an auxiliary tool for conceptualising organisational strategies and activities, I developed a template with fields representing the different stages of the journey when different people engage with the lab, from when they decide to join until the takeaways and follow-up tasks when their lab engagement ends or they experienced it for some time. The template consists of the following fields:

1. Who am I?
2. My current work consists of ...
3. My current challenges are ...
4. I'm interested in joining the lab because ...
5. Activities that could be supportive of my work include ...

6. I can contribute ...
7. I need feedback and input on ...
8. For my work I take away ...
9. My follow-up tasks are ...
10. My commitment to the lab consists of ...

I then projected the experiences of four typical potential lab participants onto the templates, trying to apply their perspectives, based on insights from the empirical research and from the systems analysis: an NGO manager (fig. 6.5), a home-based woman worker (fig. 6.6), a textile design professor (fig. 6.7) and a fashion designer as a customer (fig. 6.8).

I will not analyse each component of the templates for the four stakeholders in detail here. After all, they are a projection, albeit rooted in research results that provide interesting hints. When taking on the perspectives of these four potential lab participants, the possible benefits of collaborating at the lab become clear. The projections in the templates show the expertise and other contributions that each of them could bring to the lab, the motivation to initiate or join lab activities, and what each could take from the lab. For instance, NGO managers and home-based women workers look for product design input, which fashion designers as well as textile design professors and their students could provide. Home-based women workers could expand their support networks and initiate collaborations, which would give them the opportunity to become more involved in project planning.

These templates could also serve as the basis for a tool for reflection and debate that supports lab participants in communicating their positions to one another, while reflecting on their own motivations, abilities, needs and responsibilities. In this research the templates helped me to become aware of different lab participants' expectations, to see the challenges participants face and assess their ability to tackle them.

Additionally, two points of departure informed projecting the concept of the coalescence craft lab and its operations.

One is the concept of the black box, a imaginative auxiliary device in systems thinking that is discussed in the contextual review in chapter 3. In cybernetic terms, the lab could be described as a black box, because it is not possible beforehand to define and describe exactly what happens inside a black box, or inside the lab. It is only possibly to know the input and analyse the output. What input would the lab contribute to the craft for empowerment system? What output in form of change in the craft for empowerment system would ideally emerge due to the lab's input? With the desired output in mind to generate more equally shared agency between CFIP stakeholders, the question is: What happens at the lab?

The second aspect informing conceptualising of the operations of the lab is the observation that after conducting the focus groups, participants who could also be considered potential lab participants, formed new partnerships independently of my research activities.

MY COMMITMENT TO THE LAB CONSISTS OF …

Regular interaction even though I'm far away

Manage production and communicate well if there are changes or challenges

MY FOLLOW-UP TASKS ARE …

Produce the required products

Coordinate production in my community

Design new prototypes

Plan future projects

FOR MY WORK I TAKE AWAY …

Ideas for product designs

Ideas for collaborations

And expanded network

A larger and commited customer pool

MY CURRENT WORK CONSISTS OF …

Doing house work

Raising children

Delivering to middlemen if they place orders

MY CURRENT CHALLENGES ARE …

Small budget to cover the family's expenses

Little payment from middlemen

Irregular order placements

I'M INTERESTED IN JOINING THE LAB BECAUSE …

I need input on product designs that sell for a good price

I do not know enough customers who could order from me for a decent wage

ACTIVITIES THAT COULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF MY WORK INCLUDE …

Meetings with potential customers, especially those interested in longterm collaboration and those of a certain scale

Product development with designers / design students

WHO AM I?

Home-based Woman Worker

I NEED FEEDBACK & INPUT ON …

Product designs & quality expectations

Customers demands such as their time frames for production and required quantities

I CAN CONTRIBUTE …

Craft skills such as embroidery or crochet

In-depth and extensive knowedge of conditions in grassroots environments

Space for production

Fig. 6.5: Projection of experiences for a home-based woman worker

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MY COMMITMENT TO THE LAB CONSISTS OF …

Contributing contacts and infrastructure

Involving lab members into the planning of funded projects

MY FOLLOW-UP TASKS ARE …

Plan future projects

Debate encrusted strategies with donors

FOR MY WORK I TAKE AWAY …

Ideas for collaborations

Expanded network

Larger and commited customer pool

MY CURRENT WORK CONSISTS OF …

Implementing projcts according to aid grant schemes

MY CURRENT CHALLENGES ARE …

Continuity and sustainable impact, e.g. ethical and sustainable value chains

Donor requirements
– Large numbers of producers
– Limited time frames

I'M INTERESTED IN JOINING THE LAB BECAUSE …

Certain skills are lacking among our usual team members and partners, e.g. product development skills

ACTIVITIES THAT COULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF MY WORK INCLUDE …

Meetings with potential customers, especially those interested in longterm collaboration and those of a certain scale

Product deveopment with designers / design students

WHO AM I?

NGO Manager

I NEED FEEDBACK & INPUT ON …

Impact on the target level

Product designs

Customers and their demands

I CAN CONTRIBUTE …

In-depth and extensive knowedge of the reality exeriences in grassroots environments

Network and partners on all systems levels

Infrastructure

Fig. 6.6: Projection of experiences for a NGO manager

MY COMMITMENT TO THE LAB CONSISTS OF …

Engaging design students in projects

Training components for vocational trainers and producers

MY CURRENT WORK CONSISTS OF …

Teaching future textile designers

MY CURRENT CHALLENGES ARE …

Finding craftspeople who can show students traditional skills

Social awareness

Entrepreneurial awareness

I'M INTERESTED IN JOINING THE LAB BECAUSE …

My students should familiarize with

Craft techniques

Social awareness and responsibility

ACTIVITIES THAT COULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF MY WORK INCLUDE …

Creating opportunities for students to participate in multi-stakeholder outreach projects

Forming partnerships for class proejcts

MY FOLLOW-UP TASKS ARE …

Plan future projects

Adjust curriculum

WHO AM I?

Textile Design Professor

FOR MY WORK I TAKE AWAY …

Contacts to integrate design education, social responsibility and entrepreneurship

I NEED FEEDBACK & INPUT ON …

How students can interact ethically in underprivileged environments

How students can be sensitized for the challenges in these environments

I CAN CONTRIBUTE …

Future designers, who I can encourage to engage in this field professionally

Academic knowledge and research

Fig. 6.7: Projection of experiences for a textile design professor

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MY COMMITMENT TO THE LAB CONSISTS OF …

I'm not sure yet if I will commit to more engagement, it depends on how satisfied I will be with the production management

If satisfied I might order a certain quantity every season

MY CURRENT WORK CONSISTS OF …

Designing fash-ion collections in different price ranges

– A luxury line
– An economical line

MY CURRENT CHALLENGES ARE …

Differentiating my collection from other fashion designers

Finding craftspeople who can provide high quality embroidery within given deadlines

I'M INTERESTED IN JOINING THE LAB BECAUSE …

I can get an overview of different techniques

I think it makes sense to develop prototypes together with craft producers

I want to use the lab's service for production management

MY FOLLOW-UP TASKS ARE …

Make designs based on the input I got at the lab

WHO AM I?

Fashion Designer

ACTIVITIES THAT COULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF MY WORK INCLUDE …

Meeting craft producers

Going through archives and compendiums of available techniques

Developing prototypes

Meeting young design students interested in the field, maybe they can do an internship with me

FOR MY WORK I TAKE AWAY …

Product ideas

Information regarding what is possible in terms of timelines, quantities and quality

I NEED FEEDBACK & INPUT ON …

The feasibility of my ideas regarding product design, quantity and anticipated deadlines

I CAN CONTRIBUTE …

Design expertise

Market expertise

Merchandise opportunity through my label

Fig. 6.8: Projection of experiences for a fashion designer

The two lines of thought — understanding the lab as a black box and seeing potential lab participants' desire to engage in experimental CFIP approaches — form the basis for a proposal for organisational strategies and activities. However, at this point the proposal can only be hypothetical, because the lab has not been implemented and therefore there has been no opportunity to observe real inputs and outputs.

With the designing for coalescence framework in mind, the principles of co-release and reciprocal care inform the following outline of how to bring to life strategies for looping cross-level and peer-to-peer learning, complementing each other's projects, and forming new supportive alliances. The focus is on how teams could be formed and encouraged to collaborate. Important aspects include feedback cycles for critical reflection, the inclusion of marginal lab participants in all activities, and the integration of lab activities with participants' existing tasks and projects.

Team building and coordination

One important aspect is that lab participants would form partnerships and collaborate. Teams would be arranged horizontally, with the main management team at the centre. Each team would operate independently while closely coordinating with one another and the main management team. The following teams, consisting of permanent members and temporary lab participants from across the craft for empowerment system, are suggested:

The customer facilitation team would identify new customers and work out realistic production plans with them as well as create design briefs with existing customers. The team would also facilitate co-creative activities such as prototyping.

The product development and production management team would develop new product ideas, either for the lab's own label or in collaboration with customers. The team would compile information about producers' skills and abilities, make this information accessible to customers and project partners, all by involving craft producer communities, who on their part establish and manage production units.

The co-learning team would bring together stakeholders who do not often get the chance to collaborate directly with each other. Bridging the gap between people from the political and target levels as well as between others of different backgrounds would be this team's main task. Experts in adult learning, especially those based in grassroots environments in South Asia, would be valuable team members; they could develop activities for and with lab participants.

The communication team would ensure access to information for different lab participants in terms of language, terminology and technology. The team would also publicise the lab externally to potential lab participants.

The research and consultancy team would collect CFIP-related data and make it accessible to researchers and CFIP stakeholders in a library or resource centre. It also would take on consultancy work for clients in sectors such as academia, media, governmental and non-governmental development organisations, and companies.

Since the lab has only a small permanent team, one person could be part of more than one team, and each team could include adjuncts and affiliates with particular expertise. While exchange between each team's members and between the teams might happen informally, it is important to implement regular feedback and critical reflection activities. Feedback loops can be constructive when they involve many of those who are affiliated with a project. When, for instance, a CFIP experiments with an approach that differs from that dictated by a donor agency, it would not make sense only to discuss the results internally; it would be vital to engage with political-level donor agencies who develop grant schemes, because they could use the information gained in these discussions to make their programmes more relevant.

It is difficult to envision how exactly the lab's activities could be implemented, because these activities would evolve over time. Obvious activities would include holding workshops on topics such as product development; documenting and mapping craft techniques, experiences, ideas, or project processes; prototyping products together with craft producers and customers; and offering field visits or mutual counselling. Beyond these, the following could serve as initial ideas:

A jour fixe could be held every few weeks at the lab or in the communities of the craft producers to exchange updates and ideas and would require to actively ensure the participation of lab members who live far away, usually the craft producers, through in-person or online meetings.

Regular retreats in the location of certain CFIP stakeholders could help with developing context specific approaches for specific aspects.

Chowk, which translates as 'marketplace' or 'bazaar', could serve as an online and offline platform for voicing ideas at any point for connecting with others.

Carrier pigeons in the form of certain lab members who ensure that information reaches concerned lab participants, including those on the margins.

Anonymous hatches, online and offline, could serve lab participants as a possibility to provide feedback without disclosing their identity, for example if they fear harsh reactions because their opinion is criticising somebody.

Feedback tools in the form of templates, games, maps or questionnaires could serve as ways to foster for critical reflection and action.

The godparent programme would be a peer-to-peer mentoring between senior and junior lab participants who have similar roles and cross-level mentoring programme for lab participants with different backgrounds, motivation and expertise.

Continuing education could support senior lab participants in becoming supervisors or mentors for junior participants.

A residency programme would allow lab participants to spend an intensive period in locations of other lab participants as a form of immersive learning about the circumstances of project partners.

Role play as a form of embodied learning, enables lab participants to put themselves in the shoes of other lab participants and simulate working on their tasks and challenges and under their conditions.

Some of the suggested activities could take place in lab sessions lasting a few hours, while others are open-ended long-term activities. The residency programme would require lab participants to be able to spend a few days or weeks in the environment of a project partner. Similarly, a godparent match requires mentor and mentee to regularly spend time with one another in locations relevant to their projects. Such peer-to-peer mentoring could take place between craft producers within one group or between different craft producer groups, among design faculty members, and in companies or NGOs. An extreme example for cross-peer mentoring would be if a consultant of an international aid organisation and a home-based woman worker could become each other's godparent and spend time in each other's work environment as part of the residency programme. This example might be unrealistic for logistical reasons and may even sound naive, but if such close interaction were to become possible it could help to bridge cultural, socio-economic and geographical distances.

This outline is a projection of how the lab might be guided by the principles of co-release and reciprocal care. Of course these strategies are not set in stone, because some of these suggestions are likely to be adjusted, expanded, discontinued or replaced by others.

c. Geographical location

While one important goal of the lab is to familiarise craft producers with their partners and markets in urban centres, another is to familiarise other lab participants with craft producers' living and working conditions. The main lab would be located in an urban centre, because most participants other than craft producers are located in urban centres. In remote craft producer communities, there could be liaison labs and mobile labs for communities that are not able to run their own workshop spaces (fig. 6.9).
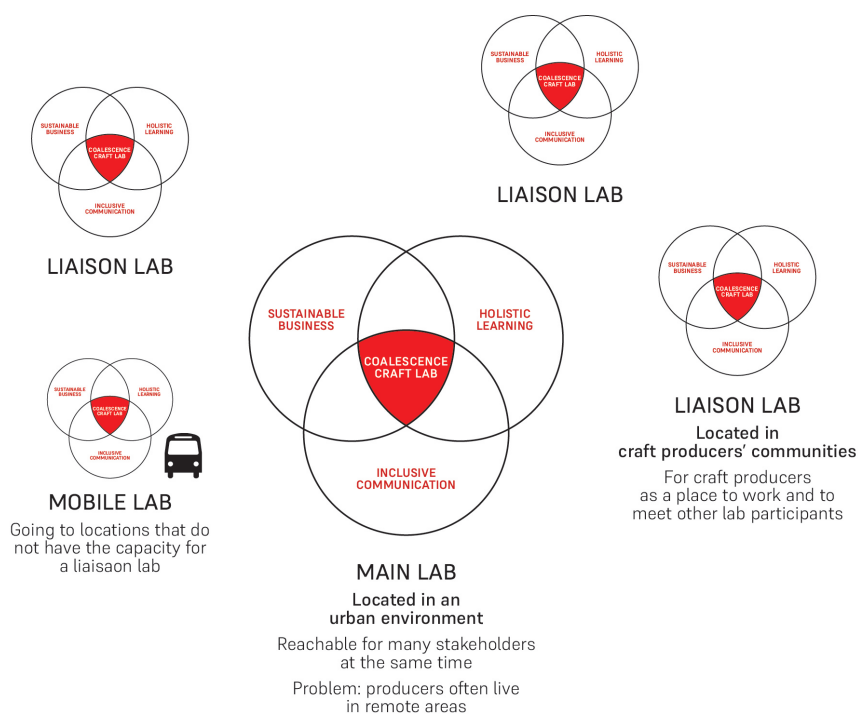
Fig. 6.9: Main lab, liaison labs and mobile lab

The main lab — even though it may sound like a contradiction — would be located in an urban centre, while involving craft producers who often live in remote areas is an explicit aim. Therefore the lab should be located in a craft producer community but some reasons speak against such a remote location. Firstly, craft producers live in all areas of the country, and any lab location would inevitably be a long way away from most of the producers. Secondly, most stakeholders who are supportive of producers are located in urban centres. These stakeholders could travel to remote areas but not on a regular basis. It is also difficult for craft producer group representatives to travel, because they live far away, have families and homes to care for, and social constraints might not support the idea of women travelling alone. Nonetheless it is important that they get exposure to collective activities as well as to the markets for which they produce, so that they understand how these urban high-end markets differ from their local bazaars or the demands of exploitative middlemen. It is vital that the travelling craft producer group representatives share these insights with fellow craft producers at home, so that production can better be managed according to customer expectations and develop new product ideas in line with market dynamics.

Liaison labs would serve the purpose of production management and the facilitation of co-creative activities with stakeholders visiting craft producer communities, especially the developing, prototyping and planning of new product designs. These labs would also help craft producers gain a sense of being members of the lab and initiatives that work towards sustainable craft value chains.

Mobile labs would reach craft producer communities that have neither the means nor the experience to maintain their own liaison lab. Participants in the main lab or the liaison labs could visit these communities and conduct activities such as skill assessment and sample-making, or consult on how to set up a liaison lab.

These labs would not imitate the main lab but would complement it. They could serve as production centres or additional learning units and help create a dynamic atmosphere in craft producer communities. It would be difficult to bring the same diversity of stakeholders together as in the main lab, but liaison and mobile labs would provide opportunities for participants from all systems levels to experience and understand better the environments of the craft producers, particularly the constraints and opportunities. The physical locations of the main, liaison and mobile labs would pose a significant challenge to those managing the lab in general due to their distance from each other. Establishing such labs would be a strategy to foster closer exchange between far-flung CFIP stakeholders by distributing locations and responsibilities.

d. Physical space of the co-release craft lab

When conceptualising the physical space of the lab it was important to consider the many tasks that it would have to accommodate:

1. Product design, production and marketing of the lab's own products
2. Product development and production management services for customers
3. Research and consultancy services

4. Documentation and archiving
5. Customer meetings for viewing samples, prototyping and negotiating orders
6. Practical workshops with groups of up to 25 people
7. Meetings for planning projects and activities
8. Online presence and communication
9. Internal and external communication
10. Catering for permanent team and guests
11. Accommodation for up to 25 people

The space would ideally have an open and flexible floor plan, perhaps set in a two-storey house, typical in Pakistan's cities, or unused industrial buildings. One floor could accommodate the lab's working areas, such as an office, a meeting room, a library and media resource centre, a craft production workshop and a kitchenette. Another floor could provide storage, dormitories and bathrooms, with a flexible design so that the space can be reconfigured as needed.

It is important that activities at the lab are visible. When members, adjuncts, affiliated partners, customers, or other interested parties visit the lab, they would need to encounter a dynamic and inspiring atmosphere that reflects the lab's integrative values. Products and information about current and planned projects should be visible, because besides designing, making and selling products, the lab should foster an ecosystem of people who are interested in working with crafts in the context of empowerment.

e. Scale

The question of the lab's scale is complex. On the one hand, the empirical research revealed the benefits of smaller projects that allow for personal interaction. On the other, however, for generating sustainable change in Pakistan's craft sector, it would be important that more CFIP stakeholders from across the craft for empowerment system gradually begin to participate. In smaller-scale projects it appears to be better possible to find a balance between craft producers' capacity and customers whose expectations could be met. Smaller projects were usually of open-ended character, because they are often based on personal relationships and can be managed without large grants and alongside other work duties. This open-ended nature is vital for co-release and reciprocal care. DFAPs or large CEs with several hundred producers face more difficult challenges, both with customer acquisition and satisfaction and with long-term engagement. Therefore the lab would start small, because it could not be implemented with a large number of people immediately.

Scaling-up is one of the main objectives of many CFIPs. This objective would remain important,. But unlike the appropriation paradigm the coalescence paradigm does not aim to replicate products and practices but those critically reflective methods that have proven successful in some case projects and that help to identify feasible and useful ways forward for each project. Scaling-up guided by such a paradigm would mean that more craft producers gain agency.

f. The lab as a three-layer business model

The lab would ideally become financially independent, though craft products are not very viable financially, because making them is labour-intensive and slow, and customers are not always able or willing to pay a high enough price. Therefore I devised a business model canvas for the lab. It consists of a template with nine blocks that are important for any business, from microbusinesses to large companies (Osterwalder and Pigneur, 2010). Informed by the designing for coalescence framework and by the task to integrate business, learning and communication activities in the lab, I complemented the business model canvas (fig. 6.10) with two additional canvas layers, one for learning and one for communication (figs. 6.11 and 6.12). Together they form a canvas that represents the lab (fig. 6.13).

The three layers of the lab canvas

Of these three layers, only the business layer is actually a model that returns monetary benefit. The layers for learning and communication include benefits in different forms such as enhanced skill, knowledge and understanding, which feed back into improved business processes, mutual support, more contextually relevant CFIP approaches, and increased and more equally shared agency.

I will not go into every detail of each component of the three canvas layers and the lab canvas, but rather describe the focus of each layer briefly and then how some components combine aspects of business, learning and communication and form the layer of the lab in light of 'designing for coalescence'.

The business layer concerns the lab's financial viability and is the only canvas layer that generates revenue through:

1. Design, production and merchandising of the lab's own product label
2. Product design and production management services for customers
3. Research and consultancy services for customers

These three business areas would make the lab more financially stable by increasing the requisite variety, a concept taken from systems thinking, outlined in chapter 3. When revenue from selling craft products is too low to maintain the lab, it makes sense to offer services in production management, research, and consultancy to generate additional revenue streams, which might also contribute to the knowledge needed to improve business though craft making and selling.

In an ideal scenario, the three business areas would generate enough revenue to cover the expenses of the lab, including maintenance, equipment, salaries, project expenses, and travel expenses. (fig. 6.10), and this cost structure component is identical to those of the learning and communication layers and the overall lab layer. But assuming that the three business areas can cover all costs is a risky calculation. Learning and communication infrastructure and activities are cost-intensive but do not generate revenue directly. Therefore it is possible that the lab would require additional financial support, for example through grants for particular activities. But the lab's very

BUSINESS LAYER

KEY BUSINESS PARTNERS	KEY BUSINESS ACTIVITIES	VALUE PROPOSITION	CUSTOMER RELATIONSHIP	CUSTOMER SEGMENTS
Craft producers Production managers in craft communities Industry partners for production and retail support Product and communication designers	Establishing a diverse pool of customers from the industry, academia, NGO, civil society and the larger public	Sustainable craft business – Craft products of the lab's label – Product development and production management services – Research and consultancy services	Shared ethical values Co-creation opportunities Membership agreements	Individuals who buy the products of the lab's own label Customers of product development and production management services such as: – Fashion or home accessories designers and companies – Hotels, airlines and others who order customized craft products Customers of research and consultancy services such as: – Organizations – Research institutions – Companies

BUSINESS RESOURCES

Lab's
– Team
– Spaces
– Infrastructure & equipment
– Resource centre and library

Lab members' shared resources

Volunteers

Investors

Donations

CHANNELS

Personal interaction
– In the main lab, liaison lab and mobile lab
– In producer communities
– At sales points

Online shop for lab label's products

Online information about offered services

Printed information about products, services and activities

Multimedia (SMS, TV, radio)

COST STRUCTURE

Space

Infrastructure, equipment, material

Running costs and maintenance

Salaries for permanent team and freelancers

Expenses for documentations, archive and publications

Travel expenses

REVENUE STREAMS

Selling craft products

Fees for different services

Membership fees of participants

Other sources, e.g. crowdsourcing

Sharing resources, infrastructure and expertise

In specific cases grants for enhancing business activities

Fig. 6.10: Business layer canvas

LEARNING LAYER

KEY LEARNING PARTNERS	KEY LEARNING ACTIVITIES	LEARNING PROPOSITION	LEARNER RELATIONSHIP	LEARNER SEGMENTS
Education experts for facilitating collective learning activities Coordinators in communities, organizations, institutions and companies NGO sector for expertise Academia for research support	Workshops on product design, production management, group management, communication and about each other's perspectives, circumstances, needs and abilities Research Documentation Archiving Mapping craft techniques, ideas, experiences and project processes Implementing lab programs such as: – Regular retreats – Residency program – Godparent program – Continuing education – Role play	Holistic learning – Collective learning-by-doing with all lab participants – Co-creation opportunities	Shared ethical values Mutual curiosity and respect Mutual support Critical reflection Neutrality / without judgement Membership agreements	All lab participants

LEARNING RESOURCES

Lab's
– Team
– Spaces
– Infrastructure & equipment
– Resource centre and library

Lab members' shared resources

Volunteers

Investors

Donations

LEARNING CHANNELS

Learning-by-doing

Personal interaction
– At physical workspaces at the main lab, liaison lab and mobile lab
– In the field, e.g. at customers

Online workspaces

Digital learning material & tools

Physical learning material & tools

COST STRUCTURE

Space

Infrastructure & equipment

Salaries for permanent team and freelancers

Material

Production costs for publications

Travel expenses

Running costs and maintenance

LEARNING IMPACT

Increased ability to innovate products and services

Increased knowledge about value chain processes

Better understanding of different participants' circumstances, perspectives, needs and capabilities

Better understanding of customer demands

Fig. 6.11: Learning layer canvas

COMMUNICATION LAYER

KEY COMMUNICATION PARTNERS

Coordinators in communities

Language translators

Communication designers

Communication trainers

Communication technology companies

NGO sector for expertise

COMMUNICATION RESOURCES

Lab's
– Team
– Spaces
– Infrastructure & equipment
– Resource centre and library

Lab members' shared resources

Volunteers

Investors

Donations

KEY COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES

Bridging gaps in:
– Language, socio-economical, cultural and educational background
– Profession
– Geography
– Experiences, exposure and understanding of craft markets

Adjusting content to different media

Implementing lab programs such as:
– A Jour fixe
– Chowk
– Information pigeons
– Anonymous hatches
– Feedback tools

Informing the larger public

COMMUNICATION PROPOSITION

Inclusive communication
– Access to information for all
– Internal & external representation of the lab's values and services

COMMUNICATOR RELATIONSHIP

Shared ethical values

Dialogic

Regular and frequent

Understandable and transparent

Honest and respectful

Membership agreements

COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

Material in different languages

Material for illiterate participants

Personal interaction

Digital interaction

Accessibility of specialised terminology

COMMUNICATOR SEGMENTS

All lab participants

COST STRUCTURE

Space

Infrastructure & equipment

Salaries for permanent team and freelancers

Material

Production costs for publications

Travel expenses

Running costs and maintenance

COMMUNICATION IMPACT

Increased involvement of all lab participants, especially those from the margins

Increased efficiency of business and learning processes

More reciprocally shared information across systems levels

Fig. 6.12: Communication layer canvas

LAB CANVAS > DESIGNING FOR COALESCENCE

LAB PARTNERS

All business partners

All learning partners

All communication partners

LAB RESOURCES

Lab's
– Team
– Spaces
– Infrastructure & equipment
– Resource centre and library

Lab members' shared resources

Volunteers

Investors

Donations

LAB ACTIVITIES

Guided by principles of:
– Co-release
– Reciprocal Care

Design methods:
– Looping cross-level & peer-to-peer learning
– Forming supportive alliances
– Complementing each others' projects

Character of the activities:
– Contextual
– Pluriversal
– Open-ended
– Emergent

LAB PROPOSITION

Coalescence of people, perspectives, practices, processes and places

LAB PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIP

Equally shared agency in sustainable craft value chains

Empowering experiences for all CFIP stakeholders

Shared values, including:
– Mutuality
– Equality
– Participation
– Inclusion

Membership agreements

LAB CHANNELS

Main lab

Liaison lab

Mobile lab

LAB PARTICIPANT SEGMENTS

All lab participants

LAB COST STRUCTURE

Space

Infrastructure & equipment

Salaries for permanent team and freelancers

Material

Production costs for publications

Travel expenses

Running costs and maintenance

LAB IMPACT

Slowly generating change in the current craft for empowerment system:
– Contextually sensible, feasible and connected CFIP
– Rewarding experiences in craft value chains
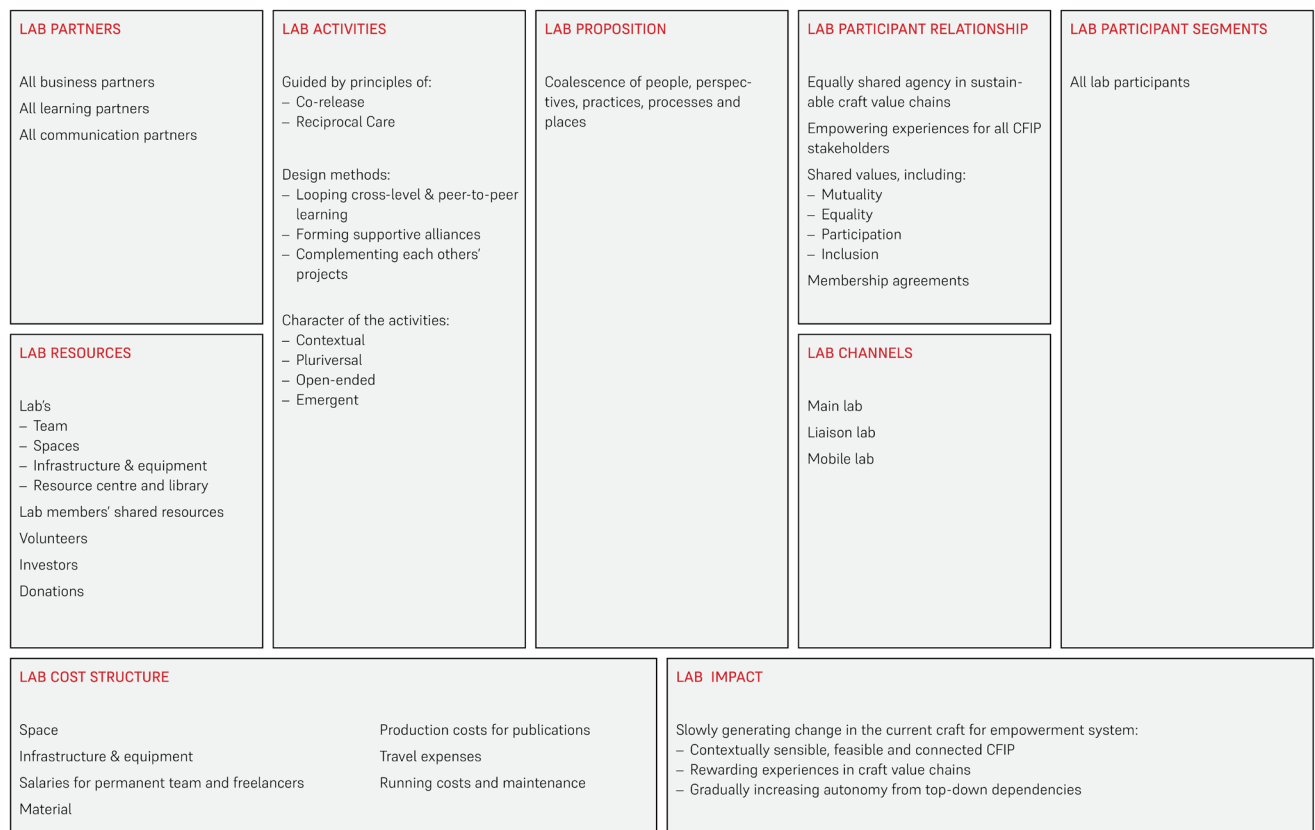– Gradually increasing autonomy from top-down dependencies

Fig. 6.13: Combined lab canvas

existence should not depend on grants. That would negate the goal of achieving conceptual and operational independence. Alternatives such as crowdsourcing or ways to save money, such as using volunteers or sharing resources and expertise, are other possibilities. Lab membership fees, whether in the form of money or the provision of infrastructure and space, could also provide assistance.

It is important to mention that the only individual lab participants who directly earn money through their engagement in the lab are the permanent team, who receive a regular salary; specialised freelancers, who receive an honorarium (though adjuncts should mostly cover such tasks); and, most importantly, craft producers, from whom the lab orders products for its own label. Other stakeholders do not earn money through their lab engagement but are paid by their employer, which might be a company, an academic institution or an NGO; or they take away experiences and information that benefit their own projects.

The learning layer concerns the development of collective learning experiences that take into account the perspectives, needs and abilities of different lab participants. The most important aspect is the collective and co-creative nature of the learning proposition that informs the learning activities. Those include learning-by-doing workshops, research, documentation, archiving, and lab programmes such as retreats, the residency and the godparent programme, continuing education, and role play (fig. 6.11). Learning content includes busines-related aspects of designing, producing and selling craft products, but also aspects of learning about others' perspectives, circumstances, needs, and abilities.

Learning can take place in linear as well as in non-linear processes, depending on the complexity of the learning content. Calculating product pricing, for instance, is a relatively straightforward matter, whereas critical reflection about project management, power structures and one's own position in a CFIP or a craft value chain is a long, demanding and non-linear process for all participants. Developing understanding is not an easy or quick process. However, critical reflection through observation, documentation, visualisation, and debate can have a transformative character when it results in new CFIP approaches.

Learning materials and activities need to address business aspects as well as the alienation between lab participants, especially when the aim is to develop empathy for one another in line with the principles of co-release and looping care.

The communication layer is concerned with inclusive communication, both cross-level and peer-to-peer, which permits access to information for all lab participants; it also includes external communication with the general public (fig. 6.12). The main challenge is bridging gaps, whether of language, socio-economic, cultural and educational background, profession, geography, or experience of and exposure to craft markets. Content would need to be adjusted to different media, because different lab participants have access to different media. Certain lab programmes, such as jour fixe, chowk, information pigeons, anonymous hatches and feedback tools, have the

potential to foster critical reflection and conversation, and the empowering impact of these programmes should not be underestimated. Conversations free of pressure and judgement are important, because they encourage honest feedback. This requires honest and respectful behaviour from lab participants, so that the dialogic nature of communication can result in improved business and learning processes.

Apart from communication between current lab participants, communication with the public and potential lab participants is intended to make project processes, results, and insights from experience and research accessible.

The lab canvas

By connecting the business layer, the learning layer and the communication layer, the lab canvas takes shape. The following section outlines the most important aspects of how the three layers interweave.

Two components of the canvas layers and therefore the lab canvas itself are identical: cost structure and resources. These concern the lab's practical implementation, and since business, learning and communication activities would play equal roles at the lab and be closely connected, the costs and resources required for their implementation would be difficult to separate. The customer segment component is also identical with the learner segment and communicator segment — they each involve lab participants of all types. In the business layer, customers are grouped into three business areas in order to make this layer clearer. However, these different customer types are also included in the lab participants.

Other components complement each other. The business layer's value proposition consists of the three business areas of the lab. Managing these requires co-creative learning-by-doing processes, as mentioned in the learning proposition, and inclusive communication in order to provide access to information to all lab participants, the general public, and potential future participants. The revenue streams in the business layer are of monetary nature whereas the learning impact and the communication impact are less tangible; they involve increased knowledge of business aspects, such as product development and production management, and about the other lab participants' skills, circumstances and perspectives. The key business activities focus on acquiring sufficient customers for the three business paths and on delivering products and services, while the key learning activities focus on knowledge and understanding of business processes, other lab participants' perspectives and circumstances, critical reflection on CFIPs, and documentation and archiving. The key communication activities address gaps in language, background, profession and geographic location and make information available to the public at large. Key partners in the three layers are similar to the affiliated partners described above but could also be adjuncts or even lab members. In the business layer, key partners include industry partners who can provide support in terms of production and marketing, but also production managers in craft producers' communities, while the learning layer could benefit from education experts as well as researchers and NGO professionals with expertise in grassroots environments. In the communication layer, communication trainers, communication designers

and technology companies could provide valuable support. In all layers, coordinators and managers from local communities could serve as gatekeepers for interaction with craft producers located at the margins.

For all relationship components on the business, learning and communication layers and on the lab canvas the most important aspect is that they share ethical values, such as avoiding exploitative practices or patronising and stigmatising behaviour. These components also include agreements between lab participants about the type of participation. Most importantly, the nature of the relationship is characterised by mutuality, inclusion, participation, and the awareness and conscious avoidance of power imbalances. Finally, the channels in all layers combine personal interaction and the use of communication technology.

The three layers combined form the lab canvas and demonstrate that a collaborative lab format that aims to support designing for coalescence cannot solely focus on business. Instead such a lab must include holistic learning and inclusive communication components in order to generate increased shared agency.

6.7. Designing for coalescence: concluding remarks

Since the lab has not been implemented, it is not possible to assess the impact of the design strategy outlined in this chapter. However, there are some indicators that support the strategy. Participants in this research project made it clear that they wished to collaborate and try new formats and methods, and that a change in mindset is needed. Different parts of the lab concept were presented to them on different occasions, for example in guest lectures and feedback conversations. As potential lab participants, they provided valuable feedback, most of which was genuinely positive, even sometimes enthusiastic. Some began brainstorming ideas how to establish such a lab format, or which activities could be included in ongoing projects or are already taking place. None of these ideas would create an ideal lab, given the importance for the lab to be independent, but it would be worthwhile debating them as realistic implementation pathways. After all, the lab cannot be implemented all at once but would evolve over time. Important to note is that the enouraging feedback also resulted from the acknowledgement of what research participants already achieve despite the many challenges they face. The coalescence framework and the corresponding lab concept refer partly back to the successful strategies identified in the empirical research.

A recurring concern was how the lab could not be financially independent at the beginning, and there is no guarantee that it could ever become self-supporting. This is not the main concern, however, because the lab could start on a very small scale with few participants. Activities could take place in lab participants' workspaces. Research participants signalled their willingness to volunteer initially instead of paying a permanent team. It would also be possible to seek donations, sponsorships, and grants as long as their requirements would not impct the lab's conceptual independence.

Treating the craft for empowerment system as the object of design in this research did not make developing the design strategy easier; quite the opposite. Designing for and especially with the whole system transcended the initially anticipated scale of this design research project more than I could have ever imagined. However, bridging dimensions from the design of craft products to value chains and finally to a systems approach that includes global development aid politics as well as real-life experiences of different CFIP stakeholders had many advantages. The continuous dialogue between the whole (the craft for empowerment system) and the parts (individual experiences and specific thematic questions), between the idealistic and the realistic perspective helped me with developing a holistic view on CFIPs' situation in Pakistan.

Based on these insights, a new theoretical design framework, known as designing for coalescence, was developed. This framework proposed an approach to creating empowering experiences, an approach informed by the proposed coalescence paradigm. The framework responds to the 'appropriation' paradigm that currently informs craft for empowerment in a unidirectional way of including craft producers into current craft value chains. Coalescence on the other hand could be viewed as a multidirectional way for people, perspectives, practices, processes and even places, to gradually grow together while retaining their own characteristics. Designing for coalescence aims to inspire CFIP stakeholders and designers who want to support them to develop practices towards such a dynamic of growing together. The collaborative lab format is conceptualised and outlined as one implementation possibility, although it is a projection at this point. Anyone who wishes to design for coalescence is welcomed to try it, change it and develop it further through critically reflective practice. In my view, if that happens, a craft ecosystem that allows more equally shared agency, democratic operations and empowering experiences for all lab participants and CFIP stakeholders becomes possible.

7. Research conclusions

This research project investigated how design can contribute to identifying and addressing the challenges faced by people involved in craft projects in the context of grassroots empowerment.

The main achievement of this research is that information about ethical craft initiatives in Pakistan was collected, analysed and made transparent in its whole complexity by describing the findings of the empirical investigations and mapping out this empirical data through which the craft for empowerment system was established. It was then possible to analyse how this system currently operates. This analysis became the basis for proposing the theoretical design framework designing for coalescence and the corresponding concept for a collaborative lab format as one way to implement this framework. Conceptual and practical approaches to craft projects are usually bound up with larger development and grassroots empowerment concerns such as women's empowerment, poverty alleviation, community development or cultural heritage preservation, but information specific to the craft sector in Pakistan has not been investigated at a meta level. This research project provides such a systems perspective, including the deconstruction of the underlying paradigm that currently informs ethical craft initiatives, which I defined as 'appropriation'. In critical response to appropriation I then propose the alternative coalescence paradigm, which informs the proposed framework and the lab format.

In order to understand the value of this project it is important to recall the long journey this research has taken: from my early interest in the interconnection of craft, design and empowerment to my decision to apply the systems lens and use the resulting empirical data to develop the craft for empowerment system as this research's design object. During this journey, especially during the empirical investigations and reflections, the scope of the research interest underwent significant change and expansion, first from product design to value chain management and then to an integrative multi-stakeholder approach.

All the CFIP stakeholders who participated in this research wanted to make CFIPs more successful; to this end, they had already spend much thought, time, money and

effort on trying new strategies. Besides the limitations of funding dependence and donor requirements, often rooted in the system's top-down dynamics, the craft for empowerment system also features positive qualities: it continues to generate new CFIPs, because new grants continue to be launched while the interest in connecting craft, design and empowerment remains high among NGOs, entrepreneurs, designers, craft producers, academics and other people interested in ethical craft projects.

'Designing for coalescence' I developed as a theoretical design framework because it addresses these complex systemic challenges within the craft for empowerment sector. After analysing the character and dynamics of the current system as appropriation-driven, it is important to understand that those who plan and implement the current concepts and practices informed by appropriation genuinely mean well, and the craft for empowerment system is not completely dysfunctional; on the contrary, it has an empowering impact on some craft producers and other CFIP stakeholders. Appropriating craft producers' skills for existing value chains clearly helps sometimes to increase craft producers' income, and it is understandable that this paradigm continues to guide CFIPs. Therefore currently many CFIP stakeholders replicate appropriation-driven strategies and make much effort to fine tune them in order to affect a larger number of people positively. However, planning this sort of appropriation in ever more detail does not seem to lead to the anticipated success in terms of scaling up. The top-down nature of appropriation strategies has proved problematic despite the best of intentions. Why? The research identified top-down management, power imbalances and stakeholder alienation, especially between target- and political-level CFIP stakeholders, as counterproductive system dynamics that follow as well as feed into the appropriation paradigm. Here lies the reason for proposing coalescence as an alternative paradigm. While the focus remains on supporting marginalised craft producers, designing for coalescence draws on the insight that fostering stakeholder empowerment is closely tied to creating empowering experiences for all stakeholders and more democratic planning and decision-making processes in the craft for empowerment system.

'Designing for coalescence' aims to support the coalescence of different people — or CFIP stakeholders — over their different perspectives, practices and institutional or organisational procedures. When different CFIP stakeholders have the opportunity to learn and to question their roles in development and grassroots empowerment, true empowerment for those in marginalised positions becomes possible. Indeed, stereotypical labels such as 'marginalised' or 'privileged', 'disempowered' or 'empowered', must be critically questioned in empowerment processes as they represent strong hierarchies and power imbalances. However, the knowledge of craft producers and their communities, often considered marginalised, is highly valuable, because it holds contextually relevant expertise that no external expert can contribute.

For these reasons, by proposing 'designing for coalescence' and the corresponding lab format I aim to encourage collective critical reflection and CFIP experimentation

between CFIP stakeholders from all system levels. But by making project information more transparent to all CFIP stakeholders, including craft producers, debate can take place regarding practices that could improve craft value chains under the conditions of the local context. If craft producers are involved at an early stage of project planning they can gradually gain more agency and take on leading roles in making decisions regarding realistic market and customer interactions. But if this empowering transformation is to be enabled, other CFIP stakeholders, for example project managers, designers or customers, need to change, perhaps by unlearning what they think they know about empowerment. If these stakeholders critically reflect on their current approaches and listen to craft producers' perspectives, project coordination could become a task between equal partners rather than, as now, appropriating craft producers' skills in existing craft markets. The character of these craft markets might change when the relationship between CFIP stakeholders, including customers, changes. Strengthening the craft producers' position contributes to everyone's satisfaction; for example, design and production management could be planned more realistically, minimising disappointment and disruption.

Such a transformation might sound utopian at first, because the extreme marginalisation of many craft producers makes it difficult to imagine them in anything other than a beneficiary role. However, the empirical research revealed that many CFIP managers are already attempting to implement such strategies. They also desire opportunities to connect CFIPs of different scale and character, so that they can better plan projects and support each other by sharing expertise, resources and ideas.

Developing the 'designing for coalescence' framework and the collaborative lab concept I consider an useful and original outcome for this design research project because this outcome spans the different dimensions that the research explored. At a meta level, it analyses how the ethical craft sector operates and assesses its strengths and weaknesses. This analysis was shaped by empirical data derived from examining the concrete real-life experiences of a large number of stakeholders, including myself during the action research project. As such, the meta level connects closely to and relates the lived experiences of different stakeholders in CFIPs. This makes the framework valuable for these CFIP stakeholders (and readers) who want to create alternative approaches in which agency gradually is more equally shared between different CFIP stakeholders, especially craft producers.

7.1. Contribution to the field of craft and design in grassroots empowerment

The main contribution of this research to the field of ethical craft projects is that it identified craft for empowerment as a sector in it own right among the many grassroots

empowerment and development undertakings in Pakistan. Empirical investigation of these CFIPs made it possible to visualise stakeholders and the quality of their relationships while conducting CFIPs.

One contribution is that through its visualisation as a system the craft for empowerment sector becomes tangible. Readers will thus be able to observe, debate and analyse its dynamics. Such critical (self)-reflection and better understanding of the dynamics that cause disruptions is a prerequisite for developing alternative strategies and for gradually generating systems change and addressing the top-down dynamics as well as the power imbalances and alienation between different levels of CFIP stakeholders. Similarly, the introduction of the designing for coalescence framework in response to the appropriation-led CFIP strategies help to make readers aware of the thinking that currently shapes ethical craft practices and of alternative ways of thinking that could improve these practices.

The information compiled in the research findings and in the craft for empowerment system focuses on craft-specific information, which was extracted from a much wider pool of information about craft initiatives. In craft for empowerment, people, practices and processes related to craft iniiatives become the focus of observation and analysis and are not overshadowed by wider issues. Those are usually of such crucial and urgent nature, for example when they concern human rights, extreme poverty or health care, that the craft components receive less attention. Here, aspects of those larger concerns are included if they are relevant for the craft perspective.

Further, craft initiatives are usually not viewed in connection with each other; rather, each is assessed within its own context. Visualising the web of craft initiatives, diverse in character and scale, is a contribution through which I hope to encourage readers — among whom there might well be CFIP stakeholders — to mutually support each other when seeing the relationships between different CFIPs: their specific conditions, different and potentially complementary expertise and resources. An ideal outcome of this research would be that it inspires those engaged in CFIPs to form new synergies and partnerships and cross-fertilise each other's projects.

Another contribution is that the research activities themselves supported reflective discourse and even new practical directions among research participants — independently and without my input. The action research project aimed to achieve a benefit for the women of Tarogil village and for the students and faculty members of the nearby university, and even though the measurable impact was small in terms of income generation, faculty members and the village women actively debated future possibilities, for example in the focus groups. The case study turned into a continuing conversation, especially the interviews and the focus groups, inspired CFIP stakeholders to try alternative methods and form new partnerships independent of my research. Observing this dynamic between the research participants indicated their need and the desire for opportunities that foster coalescence around perspectives, practices and processes in CFIPs.

7.2. Contribution to the field of design research

The process and result of this design research project demonstrate the value of a research process that remains open-ended until a late stage. Even the research result does not provide a solution for the problems that CFIPs face but suggests to think differently about CFIPs and developing practical strategies accordingly. This is not to say that developing more concrete design strategies is unimportant. Improving the design of craft products or the management of craft value chains with more coalescence-paradigm than appropriation-paradigm thinking would be important activities. How concrete, coalescence-inspired methods could look like in individual CFIPs I cannot predict as this framework is formulated on a meta level. They can be used to develop concrete implementation methods and strategies, ideally in collaboration between the different CFIP stakeholders themselves, including the craft producers.

This theoretical design framework with open-ended implementation possibilities is the result of applying a methodological combination of bricolage and systems-oriented design, which to my knowledge has not been done before in the field of design research. This process was accompanied by a contextual review of relevant literature and theories that was fed into the research process whenever fresh topics of interest emerged.

Both bricolage and systems-oriented design encouraged me to embrace the research process as an open-ended journey and to let go of the pressure to solve a problem as the expected research outcome. Instead, the question became how to generate change towards an improved craft for empowerment system. Designing for coalescence, with its open-ended implementation potential — for example by implementing the lab — is the resulting design strategy.

The unique methodological combination of bricolage and systems-oriented design holds potential for many design research topics as they continue to diversify and become more interdisciplinary and complex in nature.

The process of deconstructing a paradigm of a current situation as a starting point for developing and proposing an alternative paradigm to guide future design practices could also be applied to other design research topics. Many questions that design researchers deal with nowadays are embedded in complex circumstances that are impacted by underlying paradigms, for example topics related to environmental and social concerns. Since people are not always aware of the paradigms that guide them, creating such awareness of certain paradigms, the impact they have and possible alternatives, is what design research can contribute to complex research topics for which there is no single solution.

My research project demonstrated the value of such an approach for a research located in Pakistan's craft sector. This connects back to the initial research question of what design could contribute to the field of craft, design and empowerment, and similarly this question could be applied to other emerging research topics in design.

Currently topics in design research expand increasingly beyond disciplinary boundaries, involve diverse perspectives and mindsets and feature high levels of complexity. Even topics that initially seem simple unfold into complex scenarios when investigated holistically. By applying bricolage and systems-oriented design the researcher embraces this reality and acknowledges that its wicked problems cannot always be solved, let alone through design.

An open-ended design research approach might be in contrast to the widespread notion that design researchers find design solutions and answers, but on the other hand it recognises the wicked characters of design research concerns. Applying the systems lens to design research allows for developing strategies that can support systems change instead. Since systems change is an emergent process and often takes a long time, it cannot be developed as a design solution that can be implemented in one go and measured immediately.

Applying bricolage to the empirical data collection and structuring and systems-oriented design to the data synthesis and analysis can therefore be helpful for many design researchers. Holistic understanding might not always allow a deep dive into every detail of a topic; the value lies rather in revealing the patterns that lead to problematic, unintended outcomes. The solution for fixing such problems does not usually lie in more detailed micromanagement but in seeing the bigger picture and envisioning and encouraging alternative directions.

Designers often work at the intersection of different disciplines and cannot become experts in all of them. Their task is to form synergies by selecting and combining information to produce different perspectives and develop useful strategies.

This design research approach might lead to results that do not offer pragmatic design solutions. Strategies that involve multiple stakeholders are likely to increase, and these are inevitably open-ended, because they require continuing engagement with different stakeholders and the change processes these stakeholders are likely to go through. Such strategies are systemic in nature and are precisely what is needed to address today's complex challenges. Universal solutions are not always useful where people of diverse cultural, socio-economic and demographic backgrounds, motivations and perspectives are involved. When power inequalities play a role, which is often the case in multi-stakeholder settings, universal approaches can seem patronising, because they are usually defined and implemented by those with more power. Changing power relations is a drastic systems change that takes a long time and the character of the change is not always predictable. Therefore design research outcomes concerned with such kind of complex conditions increasingly can only remain open-ended in the form of, for example, a theoretical framework that supports stakeholders in developing a critically reflective (design) practice.

The contextual review similarly remained an open-ended process and was not treated as a separate research phase. Whenever new questions and interests emerged,

I consulted related literature. The insights from this continuing literature review fed back into the research process and guided it, for example regarding how to apply the systems lens to the empirical data. It also shaped my conceptual position on many aspects, for example on the complex phenomenon of empowerment, the role of design in development projects, or the meaning of crafts in South Asia in regard to politics, cultural identity and design. Many of the conceptual inputs from the literature review were reflected in real-life observation. For example, subaltern theory and the importance of articulation could be observed first-hand in the action research project with the women from Tarogil village. Over the course of the action research, which lasted several years, they gained enough confidence to formulate their own suggestions during the focus groups. Without years of collaborating, going through conflicts and building trust, the women's proactive suggestions would have been unlikely because they were used to others planning projects for them. This episode from the empirical research reflects the theoretical ideas that are concerned with how to create conditions in which powerful and powerless people can create different relationships. This is one example for how in this research project the empirical research, the literature review and the development of the result, the coalescence framework, were closely intertwined.

Similarly, for these reasons, an open-ended literature review could be helpful in many other design research projects.

7.3. Limitations of this research project

This research project has limitations regarding the research outcome and the methodological approach.

I did not develop a design strategy ready to implement and concluded that no simple solution exists for the challenges CFIPs face. Had there been one, CFIP managers and other stakeholders would already have found it, because they are very competent, informed, knowledgeable, creative and dedicated. Understanding that CFIPs' challenges are complex systems problems led to the decision not to pretend that the problems can be simplified and solved but instead to accept that only systemic transformation can improve the situation of CFIPs in the long term. If I had provided guidelines for an ideal CFIP, anyone interested in starting one could have picked them up and could have been successful — but only up to a certain point, because, as previously discussed, such guidelines or road maps have their limitations.

Another limitation is that the craft for empowerment system was visualised as a methodological auxiliary tool to analyse the rich and diverse empirical data. This visualisation is not a design tool for facilitating co-creative workshops between CFIP stakeholders. But if the visualisation of the craft for empowerment sector encourages readers and CFIP stakeholders to reflect critically on the current condition of the sector and on their own and others' positions in it, I consider this a original and valuable contribution. A significant limitation to this is that only those CFIP stakeholders who are

literate and can read this dissertation could use my insights on craft for empowerment. This would be mainly political- and implementation-level stakeholders but exclude the largely target-level craft producers. Therefore exactly what I critique in the data analysis would happen: the craft producers and their communities — the target level — would be excluded from the initial discussions. Developing participatory tools could be one of the activities of the suggested collaborative lab, but in order to be inclusive, the information would need to be made accessible for those who cannot read the dissertation, for example the craft producers.

Another limitation of this research was the sheer amount of data. As an individual researcher I could not transcribe all the recordings of interviews, conversations, long focus groups or sector events. I also doubt that this would have added rigour to the data analysis, and therefore considered it acceptable to transcribe and include in the appendix only those parts that were important to the analysis. However, for a research project this extensive in its empirical investigation phase, a small team of assistants would have been helpful.

The open-ended research process also posed the challenge of deciding when to stop. When to stop collecting data? When to stop looking for further theoretical input? When to stop in-depth investigation of topics that became interesting during the research? One of the biggest challenges was deciding when to stop following the case projects. I found it extremely interesting that some stakeholders began collaborating and developing alternative project activities after my focus groups ended, but continuing to follow up could have extended the research process indefinitely.

7.4. Potential for further research

This design research project and its result offer opportunities for further research about aspects such as the implementation strategies and the impact of coalescence-informed design activities. They can only be investigated when they get actually implemented. Therefore one suggestion for further research is to transfer the theoretical coalescence framework into concrete activities, for example through trying to implement the suggested corresponding lab format.

Researchers and CFIP stakeholders could together plan, observe, describe and analyse an implementation strategy and assess the lab's impact on CFIP stakeholders. One could argue that such implementation of the lab should have been part of the current research process already. However developing different strategies required for the lab implementation, applying and analysing them was intentionally not used as a research method for the present research, because getting the lab off the ground and sustaining it would take a long time. The designing for coalescence framework and the lab concept result from this research's focus on exploring how craft and empowerment

are currently interlinked in Pakistan. The outline of the lab at this point is a projection based on this research's findings, and so are the journey templates for selected lab participants (NGO managers, home-based women workers, textile design professors and fashion designers).

Conducting further research on the lab implementation or other coalescence-informed design strategies would need to be broken down into certain time phases and / or focus on specific aspects regarding methods or smaller projects within the lab context that can be investigated.

Implementing the lab would likely mean to initially compromise on some of the lab's characteristics and requirements that I formulated in chapter 6. For example, one important characteristic is the lab's independence as an entity, but in reality it would probably start in a space provided by one of the participating organisations, such as an NGO or a university. It is unlikely that those people — researchers and CFIP stakeholders — who would implement the lab would have sufficient funds for buying or renting a house and install the proposed facilities and infrastructure. In the beginning engaging in the lab would likely cause the participants additional work while the outlined concept envisions the lab activity to be part of lab participants' onging projects into which they bring back their lab experiences as a support. Also the permanent team might initially consist of volunteers if the lab's activities — product design and consultancies — have not returned sufficient funds for employing a team fulltime. One concern would also be how to involve CFIP stakeholders from the margins of the craft for empowerment system: people from grassroots environments but also donor agency representatives, whose active involvement is vital for moving towards coalescence.

Another question for further research concern would be how to identify indicators for assessing the impact of coalescence-informed design activities on the craft for empowerment system and its different CFIP stakeholders. Defining success indicators is difficult. Going back to the coalescence framework's goal of more equally shared agency between CFIP stakeholders offers some hints. It would not make sense to simply measure the amount of income per craft producer or the number of craft producers receiving orders and payments. Instead more useful indicators could include the project stage at which craft producers are involved in planning and decision-making processes, or the accessibility to information for craft producers through differently designed strategies, for example translations into different local languages or the development of technology applications that can support illiterate lab participants. Apart from looking at the increased agency of target-level craft producers an interesting question is how political-level and implementation-level stakeholders, who currently have a lot of agency in CFIPs, could share it better with target-level stakeholders. Agency is a difficult feature to measure, so any research conducted faces the challenge to define how to assess if agency is shared more equally between different stakeholders in unequal power relationships, and how subsequently these relationships feature greater equality. However, it would be very interesting to identify a possibility to do so.

Lastly, designing for coalescence might well be a useful framework to apply to other areas of grassroots empowerment besides the craft sector. The alienation between stakeholders and power inequalities are possibly also a problem for people who engage in different design for social innovation projects or in development aid initiatives that engage with designers. However, before trying this out, it would be important to become perhaps clearer regarding how to develop and apply coalescence-driven design strategies in the craft sector.

7.5. Surprises of this research project

During the research process I also experienced several unexpected turns, events and surprises.

I was surprised that the importance of the business focus lessened in the process but also at how difficult it was to let go of it. This is not to say that business aspects are not vital for craft producers, whose empowerment, especially economic empowerment, remains central to CFIPs. It would be an arrogant researcher position to say that improving income opportunities for craft producers is unimportant. However, I was surprised by how much all research participants, including craft producers, emphasised the empowering impact of collaboration and mutual support and learning over the empowering impact of earning more money. Even the craft producers, whose economic empowerment drives CFIPs, had a clear position that apart from earning they would like to support other stakeholders' objectives in craft projects. For example, the village women of the action research project suggested that they could teach embroidery techniques to the students of the nearby university.

While focusing on craft value chains I got absorbed for a while in trying to work out a business model with complementary learning and communication layers. This business model was later adapted into the lab concept, but as a sole research outcome it was not needed; business skills were not lacking in the investigated CFIPs and their managers already work with much expertise on linking the craft producers to markets. For more advanced business input they do not require a design researcher like me but professional business consultants, familiar with the specific concerns of entrepreneurial endeavours in Pakistan's grassroots sector.

Another surprise was the difficulty of finding a suitable vocabulary for formulating the proposed theoretical design framework. Especially if the aim is to encourage systems change that includes a paradigm shift, it is important not to use vocabulary that represents the current paradigm. In this research the current paradigm was deconstructed (appropriation) and also criticised for being well-intentioned but insufficient. The difficulty of conceiving a different paradigm (coalescence) involved identifying a vocabulary that would communicate the difference to the current one clearly. This task occupied me to such an extent that I presented an academic paper on the subject at the Design Research Society's biennial conference in summer 2022 (Kulick, 2022).

7.6. Concluding remarks

The extensive original research process, guided by bricolage and systems-oriented design, provided valuable insights that helped to answer the initial question of what design could contribute to the ethical craft sector. The answer was less concrete than expected, however, because no clear design strategy could solve the problems that CFIPs face. A topic that initially appeared relatively simple and linear revealed its remarkably complex and eclectic nature during the research process. The topic transcends scales and demands to continuously switch between viewing from global politics and hands-on everyday practice in concrete community settings in Pakistan. The topic also transcends time-frames from historical to contemporary perspectives on crafts that impact different CFIP stakeholders ideas and practices. Therefore it was important to cover different topics in the contextual review. At first they might seem far-fetched for this research project but different aspects of them were recognisable in the empirical research, for example in the different CFIP approaches and in the challenges CFIP stakeholders faced. The observed stakeholder alienation for example becomes better understandable when being familiar with different theories of development aid and empowerment. Bringing aspects of different topics together and being able to see across scale and time to me seemed the most promising way to approach the research question. The research resulted in proposing designing for coalescence as an alternative theoretical design framework for Pakistan's craft sector. This in turn led to further questions:

- How can 'coalescence' as an abstract paradigm gain a foothold in Pakistan's craft sector, especially for stakeholders who cannot read this dissertation?
- How can 'coalescence' inform practical changes in the craft for empowerment system?
- Could 'designing for coalescence' offer a useful framework for other areas of grassroots empowerment?

These questions all point in a similar direction. In order to make designing for coalescence workable it needs to be translated into languages, both visual and verbal, that the majority of CFIP stakeholders can understand, and into critically reflective activities that are easier to access than reading a dissertation. These tasks go right back to the section on future research, which suggests implementing coalescence-informed activities, for example the lab. This is where the designer comes in. A designer can develop a range of participatory activities, synthesising and visualising complex and eclectic information alongside experts from fields such as education, development aid, communication and business.

This might take time, and the results might not be easy to assess, but in the long run designing for coalescence has the potential to generate change in the craft for empowerment system towards increased shared agency.

Epilogue

One reason for beginning this research project was that during my early engagement as a designer in craft projects I noticed that many people who initiate and manage such craft projects face difficulties in achieving the sustainable income opportunities for craft producers they hoped for. The integration of design expertise and craft skills when addressing different concerns of grassroots empowerment seemed promising on the one hand but less efficient than anticipated. I wondered why.

Linking people who have craft skills but are poor and marginalised to markets for better income opportunities seemed a good idea, to those who initiated such CFIPs and to me as well. I was surprised to realise that the potential for empowerment often does not unfold to the extent CFIP managers hoped for when they began, or that they experienced the process as much more difficult than anticipated. While some craftspeople who participate in CFIP training programmes — often home-based women workers — move on to form their own producer groups and establish links to customers, other CFIP training participants do not; they do not receive a sufficient number of orders and are therefore not able to use their craft skills for earning an income. At the beginning of this research I believed that once I had uncovered the underlying reasons for this problem I could develop a design solution that helps CFIPs become more efficient in achieving their goals. This confidence in a possible design solution though evaporated soon after I began the empirical research process.

A few years and many insights later, I am full of admiration for the achievements of those who work in the field of craft, empowerment and design, especially the initiators and managers of CFIPs of all kinds, whose personal and professional dedication to their projects reaches far beyond job descriptions and pay scales and cannot be emphasised enough. Whereas after my early involvement in craft projects I wondered what had gone wrong, I now wonder how those CFIP stakeholders managed to achieve such empowering experiences for and with so many thousands of people.

This shift in perception is related to a shift in how I view the concept of 'efficiency' when it comes to integrating craft, design and empowerment: demographic, cultural, historical and socio-economic aspects influence CFIP objectives, strategies and the relationship between craft producers and the many CFIP stakeholders who aim to support them. CFIPs cannot be isolated from larger questions of development and global aid politics, with their inherent power imbalances that shape CFIP stakeholders' relationships in their everyday practice. Top-down implementation, power imbalances between stakeholders, the physical and ideological distance between some of them and the resulting alienation from each other's real-life circumstances became obvious when establishing and analysing the craft for empowerment system. This situation cannot be reversed or solved easily through a linear design strategy. Many steps, implemented on many levels over many years — from legal rights advocacy for craft producers to product development, from value chain management to heritage preservation

— may seem little efficient on the first sight, but in their sum they have achieved substantial improvements for many craft producers. These programmes are in fact implemented with the incredible amount of expertise CFIP managers have acquired over a long period. Efficiency here does not mean to make and sell as many flawless products as possible in the shortest time. While functional value chains are crucial for CFIPs, it became clear to me, that they can be achieved only through a more holistic integration of economic, social and cultural empowerment strategies. Understanding the incredible value of the existing expertise and dedication of current CFIP stakeholders made me realise it was an environment to expand and build on rather than one to replace by a fictitious perfectly efficient scenario for a CFIP that in reality could not work. This insight forms the basis for the proposed designing for coalescence framework.

This proposed design framework acknowledges what currently exists — activities guided by a paradigm that I analysed as 'appropriation' — while proposing to gradually shift to another paradigm, coalescence. Since design is an applied subject, it is important to think about the 'how' of generating such coalescence. For this reason, the lab format is put forward as an implementation possibility.

I hope that this dissertation demonstrates the complexity and unpredictability of working in ethical craft projects or other fields in contexts of grassroots empowerment in Pakistan and the value of the achievements of those engaging in craft for empowerment. I also hope that readers of different backgrounds are encouraged to learn more about the many ideological, economical, cultural, social and political aspects that impact the integration of grassroots empowerment, craft making and design and engage in this field with an open mind in order to understand and integrate the perspectives and practices of other CFIP stakeholders.

Lastly, I am keen to re-engage in this field of design practice in a more hands-on way than was possible while writing this dissertation. Completing such a research project creates the pressure that I should now know how to conduct CFIPs 'right', but the insights themselves point in a more exciting and hopefully useful direction: actively supporting and mingling in processes of coalescence alongside other CFIP stakeholders. Such a collective, critically reflective and open-ended practice towards sustainable business, holistic learning and inclusive communication could in my view contribute more to shared agency — and subsequently sustainable income opportunities — among CFIP stakeholders than any one method, tool or guideline I could have fomulated more easily than the theoretical framework designing for coalescence.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 / Contextual Review

1A / Expert experiences

1A-1	**Interview with Salima Hashmi / February 28, 2012 / Min. 0:23 – 11:20**
Salima	I think craft is something that I have been involved in ever since I can remember. Even from my school days because there was, my mother was passionately involved in the conservation and preservation of craft. So this is something if you like which has been a conversation in our home. She was very deeply involved in setting up our national craft collection. This was from the 19 … I would say 70 onwards. And so consequently she and one other woman, Anees Jahangir, they both travelled the length and breadth of Pakistan collecting samples, which consisted of everything from the kinds of implements that are used for drilling the soil and plows and basketry to very sophisticated pieces of embroidery. So it covered the whole range. And she was possibly one of the first people who travelled for collection to places in the desert in Thar, Baluchistan, Hunza – I mean across the length and breadth of Pakistan. But this is the seventies. When I came to join NCA as a student in 1960 I became aware of the fact that NCA had done a major project which was to study the crafts of Swat. And the catalogues are still there in the library of NCA. They put up the first exhibition. It was 1959, on the crafts of Swat. And the larger part of Lahore Museum Collection is all being done by faculty and students of NCA of that time. They did major drawings of the mosques. They studied the carving on the mosques. They bought some of the pieces. They bought the jewellery, the clothes. I remember posing in them. Because they wanted models and I was a young student then. So there was a great understanding that actually you had to look into the crafts before you even thought about contemporary design. And that was a mayo (nu.) of National College of Arts of the sixties, you know fifties and sixties. So the first exhibition was on Swat. It became a very high powered exhibition. It was sent to England to be part of the Commonwealth Talks in 1965, I mean later it was sent. 64 I think, 64 / 65. But the next wave was to study the crafts of the desert. And so Cholistan was the next area of study for NCA and Ahmed Khan and Zuberi, those were the two final year students. At that time there were no roads in Cholistan. So they went by jeep. Special arrangements were made for them, and they did everything from looking at the camel jewellery and camel tracings to you know the mats, every kind of craft that they could find over there and then they based their final thesis project on the crafts (nu.). That collection was not given to Lahore museum. That collection ended up in the National Craft Collection, which is now called Lok Virsa. When my father started that organization it was called The Institute of Folk Heritage. And they looked not just at craft but of course at folklore, at music, at everything to do with craft. #00:04:07-7#
Gwen	It does not exist in this format anymore? Does it? #00:04:11-2#
Salima	Yes, it is. Lok Virsa Museum is there in Islamabad. And that collection that was done by NCA is very much part of their Cholistan collection. #00:04:20-2#
	So this was a kind of (nu.) in the beginnings. But part of growing up in Lahore in the early sixties, you had a group of interested women, who had what they called 'artisans at work'. It was a very established annual exhibition in Lahore. The first time it was done it was in the building that used to be the Lahore Gymkhana, it's now the library in the Quaid-e-Azam complex. #00:04:49-1#
Gwen	Yes, ok, the big white. #00:04:51-4#
Salima	That used to be the Gymkhana Club, and it was held there. And then the next one was done at Al Hamra. Where they brought artisans from all over Pakistan, and that time you had East Pakistan also, so they came from there, and they actually worked. So you could see the demonstration of the process, and then the work was there, and then these women, they had a small display of how these crafts could be used in contemporary interiors. So like making tables out of baskets, or doing magazine stands // #00:05:26-1#
Gwen	But who did the design intervention? The women themselves? #00:05:28-7#

Salima	These women #00:05:29-7#
Gwen	The craftswomen? #00:05:30-5#
Salima	No, not the craftswomen. But this group of women, among them were teachers of NCA. #00:05:34-1#
Gwen	Ok. #00:05:34-5#
Salima	Like Abbasi Abidi, you know there were … (gesture indicating a circle of people). And there were, you might say, some of them were running NGOs for development of women, All Pakistans Womens Organization, and so on and so forth. So a mix of them and they did this thing. So we very, you now as part of psyche, it was there that when you went to Swat, you bought the straw shoes and at NCA you wore them, and you bought a handwoven khadda. And while all the girls in Lahore were wearing these fancy nylon clothes, we you know, all fifteen of us, because there were not so many then at NCA, students, we were all wearing like hand spun cotton and straw shoes, and parandas, and all this sort of thing. And being in a little way, you know, wanting to show that we are rebelling and we are not wearing what everybody else is wearing. #00:06:32-9#
Gwen	So it was like an anti fashion statement. #00:06:36-2#
Salima	Yes, like an anti fashion statement. And I remember going to Saleem Fabrics when Liberty Market just started, it was one of the first shops, and wenting there and saying 'I want pure cotton'. And they looked at me and said 'We don't have pure cotton'. And today when you go, you know, it's one of their brands that they do. #00:06:55-0#
Gwen	They have pure cotton, locally, but they also advertise very much Italian pure cotton. #00:07:00-3#
Salima	At that time they didn't know it. What I'm saying is, in Lahore there was always this hub, or people who were aware of how the craft and design kind of interlinked. And I think certain breakdowns happened but during for example the Bhutto era where everything folk was highly promoted, the crafts were highly promoted also. This is the setting up of the National Institute of Folk Heritage, the Craft Museum, bringing craftspeople, giving them patronage. NCA was given the national project of designing school uniforms for all over Pakistan. so I was one of the people who did studies of different climatic areas, and we knew that we were going to use hand spun material and handwoven. So that was one of the things. So when there going to be brown color for Frontier or grey for Baluchistan, because that was the color of you know what people were spinning and weaving. So everywhere it was taken into account, what was local and what was possible. There was also a lot of interest in studying different motifs from different parts of Pakistan and we tried many a times to have a national index of motifs. #00:08:36-8#
Gwen	National index in the sense like making a compendium of // #00:08:41-3#
Salima	Yes, of all motif // #00:08:42-7#
Gwen	Like this from this, this is from this district // #00:08:44-0#
Salima	Yes. And this comes out of wooden, and this comes out of cotton, and this comes out of you know some carved stone and so on and so forth. #00:08:50-6#
	So there were all these initiatives, and as I said with the going of the Bhutto government and the coming of Zia-ul-Haq, every kind of cultural activity or for that matter more unique educational activity was looked on with suspicion. Because it was not Islamic. You know, and folk became a title for Un-Islamic. #00:09:20-9#
Gwen	Really? #00:09:22-1#
Salima	Yes. Because it was that you know all of these cultures, Punjabi culture and so on, they within them they carry the seeds of say Sufism or animism, or you know all the things that are pre-islamic in our cultures. So they were looked on with great suspicion, and the idea was that you re-write everything, so Pakistan begins with the advent of the first Arabs into this area. And you know there is no Ghandara, and there is no Mohenjo-daro, and there is none of that. Whether it was in music or whether it was in dance or whether is was in the crafts, everything. You were kind of … (gesture indicates 'told') that this is now a priority. Let's put it that way. Regional languages were also discouraged at the expense that Arabic was introduced into the curriculum. So these things are kind of knotted together. And these eleven long years actually were very bad years for the development and propagation and research in many fields, but in crafts also. So when he kicked the bucket, Zia-ul-Haq, and you know there was a change and a desire for change I started looking at new curriculums. After so long, primarily we wanted to just survive without interference. Now it became ok, what can we do new in curriculums and so on. And one of the thingsI I have always cherished for is the idea of ok, going back, going back to the promotion of NCA as a hub of looking at craft, of supporting it, of … and then I wrote a paper on the decline of Sindhi craft, it's somewhere even in my papers, you know. It was for a, in fact Annemarie Schimmel was chairing the seminar. It was in Khairpur in Sindh. #00:11:20-3#

1A-2	**Interview with Ashoke Chatterjee / June 10, 2017 / Min 12:37 – 15:43** **(Interview during a research trip to Ahmedabad in the context of the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation Summer Lab 2017 'Between Chairs')**
Ashoke	#00:12:37-3# So, anyway, coming back to Mr. Romesh Thapar. The Ahmedabad Declaration was a declaration of a value system. And design as a value system. Not as technology and skills, but as a value system that uses technology and skills for human betterment. That was the kind of message. Along with the declaration was a set of recommendations. That what do governments, industries, educational insti-

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tutions in the so called developing world, what do they need to do in order to foster the profession of design? Now, 40 to 50 years later we look back at that. The Ahmedabad Declaration is absolutely up to date, because you can link the Ahmedabad Declaration to the Sustainable Development Goals. Because the first ethic of the Ahmedabad Declaration is for designers to declare war on waste. And also for designers to indicate that identity is important. Design is not mimicry. Design is choosing things, which are relevant to your society, to your needs. What you see around India today is that design is understood as the shopping mall, and as the fashion industry. So we have come right back to what the Ahmedabad Declaration was warning us not to do. #00:14:37-1#

Ashoke   And so what Romesh Thapar also said was that India has an incredible opportunity to demonstrate this, because of the history of the freedom movement, because of the ethic of Mahatma Gandhi, because of its own approach. And Tagore and Gandhi of being open to the world, but not being blown off your feet by anything. So this was, when you look at it today, it's very relevant. And nothing has really changed. Conditions are even worse today than they were then. The challenges are even more, and that openness on which the Ahemdabad Declaration is based that no society has the answers, we all have to find them together, that attitude is under siege. #00:15:43-7#

1A-3   **Interview with Ashoke Chatterjee / June 10, 2017 / Min 00:00 – 00:48**
           (Interview during a research trip to Ahmedabad in the context of the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation Summer Lab 2017 'Between Chairs')

Ashoke   #00:00:00-0# So the Jawaja project started with an effort in tomato cultivation, because it seemed that it was the only thing that we could do there. And some of the students of NID and some of the teachers said 'Look, we didn't come to NID to learn about tomatoes. That's not gonna help us to become designers.' So Professor Matthai said 'If you want to go back to Ahmedabad, you go back. The agenda here is not our (nu.). If they say it's tomatoes, it's tomatoes. They tell us something else tomorrow, we have to try it. But look around and see what skills and opportunities do you find.' And that's when we found that leather and weaving were local skills. #00:00:48-2#

1A-4   **Interview with Ashoke Chatterjee / June 10, 2017 / Min 05:06 – 09:58**
           (Interview during a research trip to Ahmedabad in the context of the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation Summer Lab 2017 'Between Chairs')

Ashoke   #00:05:06-0# There was a third indicator that was given to the design team. The people of the village, of this community were eating once in two days. The third item was: is there anything that we can do to help them eat twice in one day. Which has happened long ago. They now have good homes. They now have sons and daughters who are computer savvy, who come to me and say 'We don't take design assistance. We can take care of that. You know hire a designer, and we tell him what to do, and we know about design. We need entrepreneurship training. We need training in English. We need computer skills. We need social media skills, you know how to do Facebook and this and that and the other. We need professional photography skills, so we can use our cameras effectively, to communicate our products.' We have the women of Jawaja saying 'We want to learn accounting, so that we can keep the accounts.' They are better at it than the men. So empowerment is still in process, is on-going. And today we are working with them at this point, on improving their technology, so that they can reduce the prices of – not the costs, because the market competition is simply huge. All their designs have been pirated. Pirated by other crafts groups, pirated by industry. Fabindia, which was their supporter, has been part of that pirating gang. John Bissell is gone. But some of that original Fabindia support is moving back. #00:07:39-0#

Ashoke   #00:07:39-0# An organization Hyderabad which is in charge of GI – you know what GI is? Geographica Indicators? GI system of intellectual property rights? That's why we cannot make champaign, because the champaign GI belongs to France. Even though we can make champaign, we are not allowed to call it champaign, right? Now, that's a classic example. An organization says 'in Jawaja through this design experiment we have an opportunity for India to have a GI in craft which is contemporary. Not classical craft, like ajrak but a contemporary craft, which is Jawaja. So we would like to work for a GI for these artisans in Jawaja.' The artisans in Jawaja are saying 'Great. How do we manage GI? We've got enough on our hands. What is it? How do we manage it?' We are still struggling with that issue. But you can see how he agenda has moved, from eating once in two days to 'Should we go for a GI or not?' Because the GI application has to start from the craft community. And the craft community is says 'Uh oh, we are not ready for it yet.' And the people in Hyderabad are saying 'If you don't, somebody else will take it. So think about it.' And people like myself are saying 'If you want it, we will do the paperwork. But you have to want it. Because once you get a GI, it also becomes a responsibility of some kind, you know. Its not an easy process to manage.' #00:09:58-3#

Appendix 2 / Empirical Research

Appendix 2A / Case Study

2A-1 List of case projects

In Pakistan:
– Thatta Kedona Dhiroka & Anjuman-e-Falah-e-Aama, Gogera
– Al Firdous Welfare Association (AFWA)
– South Asian Business Association of Home-based workers [SABAH], Islamabad and Lahore
– Sungi Development Foundation, Islamabad
– HomeNet Pakistan, Lahore
– Kaarvan Crafts Foundation, Lahore
– Kashf Foundation, Lahore
– Shubinak, Looptex & Mogh Limited, Lahore and Chitral
– Aik Hunur Aik Nagar [AHAN] / One Skill One Village / Islamabad and Quetta
– Labour and Love, Lahore
– Al Falah Village Embroidery, Karachi
– Polly & Me, Chitral
– Polly & Other Stories, Islamabad
– Karizmah, Chitral
– Koel, Karachi

In India:
– Fabindia, Delhi
– SEWA, Ahmedabad
– Jiyo Crafts, Delhi
– Dastkar, Delhi

Case Set Thatta Kedona

2A-2	**From 'Thatta Kedona – The Toy Village of Pakistan'** **Documentary by Joachim Polzer / 2005 / Part 1 / Min. 03:40 – 06:34**
Senta	And it all started with an invitation for a cup of tea. Norbert, my husband, and myself we were invited by a former student who was trained in Germany as a graphic designer in my school, to see his village, where he was born and to have a cup of tea with his grandma. We went there. It is 170 km South-West of Lahore in the district Okara, which is about half way to Multan. On the GT Road (Author: Great Trunk Road), and then you turn about 30 km inside the Punjab towards river Ravi, a beautiful rural area with green fields and the most fertile landscape in Pakistan. So we went there, harmless, for the cup of tea. And I was so shocked by the poverty of the people, so that on the way out of the village I said to my husband 'I never will come back to such a village. It's so depressing'. So many people starring, and full of dirt and lice and caries and as a single person one cannot do anything. What should we do? And he said 'But didn't you see the nice adobe buildings? You didn't see the traditional mud structures? It's beautiful. We have to come back. And we will make a movie film or a documentary on the daily life of these farmers because it will not be here after ten years. It will disappear. So Joachim Polzer – who is now also shooting – he came half a year later with us to the village. And he made a documentary from morning at 4 o'clock about the house of the village women … how they make butter, how they feed the chicken, how they start the day. And also the farmers, what is their field work, how they feed the buffalos, how they make sugar out of sugar cane, the raw sugar, which they call gurh. And during these four days of shooting I got more and more involved in the problems of the village, and then the village women showed me something like this: a very ancient looking doll.

2A-3	**Interview with Senta Siller, Farzana Zahoor and Norbert Pintsch** **Mrs. Chand and a colleague from Bhara Karu are also present** **30 March 2015 / Min. 01.54 – 10.47**
Senta	And Farzana was trained in handicraft. Her grandmother said one sentence when I visited the village for the first time. She said 'We have no future here.' And so I get still now goosebumps? I asked 'Here they have no future?' No school, no road, no electricity, no clean water. But the school was the most important. No school for so many children. Twelve hundred inhabitants but no school. #00:02:37-0#
Gwen	Not a single one? Not for boys, not for girls? #00:02:43-0#
Farzana	Not for girls. For girls is nothing. Only for boys. #00:02:49-0#

Senta	Under the tree. They had no building. #00:02:50-6#
Farzana	Yes, under the tree for some boys. #00:02:53-4#
Senta	And the government sends only a teacher if you have a brick building, not a mud hut. So they were not supplied by he government with a teacher. Under a tree it was without respect. Then when we went out of the village, I said 'My god. Nobody can have so many people and all in a bad condition.' No health care, no doctor. They were not fed enough, not enough food for so many people, because the fields were laid out for hundred, and now twelve hundred were living in the village. But Norbert, my husband, he said 'We come back in half a year and we make a film.' And then we came back after half a year and made a film. And this film we showed in Germany, in Babylon Uraufführungstheater, to all the people we know or have known. And each person who wanted to see the film about a Pakistani mud village must pay five marks. And from that we could supply the village with the money for a school building which the farmers built by themselves. Only two rooms with bricks, brick walls. And so the whole adventure started. #00:04:39-0#
Gwen	This is in 1990 or 1991? #00:04:42-1#
Senta & Farzana	This was 1991. #00:04:46-0#
Senta	And our daughter Laila who is a medical doctor was just ready with her doctorate. She said 'Oh, this is very interesting. I go and look to the people. So she went on her own expenses to Pakistan all alone as a blonde blue eyed young girl and sat under a tree in the house of Farzana's father and when she opened this // #00:05:25-6#
Farzana	// Clinic // #00:05:26-0#
Senta	// This clinic, 50 persons were already waiting. So whenever she was there, she had 50 people to see. #00:05:38-3#
Farzana	The whole day. Full day. #00:05:40-7#
Senta	Full day. #00:05:42-4#
Farzana	Full day. Morning to evening. #00:05:44-3#
Gwen	How old were you when Senta came to the village first? #00:05:46-3#
Farzana	That time I'm 27. #00:05:50-0#
Gwen	Ok. And after the film then, and when Laila started the clinic, that's also the time when you started staying there? #00:05:58-3#
Senta	When I thought of an early retirement, because … (laughs) #00:06:01-4#
Gwen	That would be my next question: what motivated you to stay there? #00:06:06-8#
Senta	I took my early retirement at 58 and told Laila 'Laila, you wanted to be a specialized doctor for pediatrics. And so I think 18 months are enough of your life, yes, to help people. Now others must come. And I'm ready, I come in November.' And she left, and I came, and we started to work together (means Farzana and herself). But I was in many ways wrong, because I wanted to do // #00:06:48-4#
Gwen	// Just one second (tells Norbert that he can walk through the picture) #00:06:59-5#
Senta	I wanted to teach first teachers. But there were no teachers. So I was wrong. And then I wanted to tell the girls about rich heritage of Islamic art, all the flowers on the tiles in the mosques. And I got many pictures and put them against the mud wall. And they were not interested. They only said to Farzana 'When do we start?' They wanted to learn something. It was new for them to have a school. #00:07:38-0#
Gwen	But they didn't, they weren't interested in that kind of knowledge? #00:07:41-6#
Senta	They only wanted to do something, something new. Because the mud work and all this what was in the village they knew. And I saw the embroideries of big things for the dowry, and I said 'They are perfect in techniques but the material is not so that one could sell it.' And if they make only one spot on such a big embroidery piece, it is not marketable. So we started very small, and after three weeks the girls got (incomprehensible) earning money. I came back from the International Club in Lahore and said 'Dadada (clapping hands) I sold everything.' #00:08:32-3#
Gwen	So what were the products at that time? #00:08:35-1#
Senta	The first products were small embroideries and flat dolls, very ugly but funny. And I put them in a changair, in a basket for the bread, cellophane, a big bow and put them in a 'floiter' (incomprehensible), Schaukel in the club 'Come here, I must tell you a story. There is a village, and they want to make dolls. And these are the first products and they are so nice for beginners. Buy them.' And so they bought them. #00:09:12-3#
Farzan	And then girls get five rupees or four rupees, some are ten rupees, this is very high price, ten rupees. #00:09:19-8#
Gwen	At that time // #00:09:21-6#
Senta	// At that time there was no cash in the village. Only exchange. Give me a bowl of rice, I will give you two eggs and so on. #00:09:32-0#
Gwen	Nothing at all? Even what came from the farms was not sold? #00:09:35-4#
Senta	They had no money at all. The money they got perhaps in the bazaar for some surplus production from the fields they had to give to the numberdar, because he is the tax collector in the village. So this was the first cash they had in their hands. And some weeks later, again my mistake, I asked 'What do you do with the money?'. And then: 'We give it to our brothers. They wanted to go to the mela.' (laughs). I said 'Are you crazy? Money is such a dangerous thing. You must put it either in the bank or hide it and only give to the family half of it. To your mother. She will care for the money. And the other half you have to save for your dowry.' 'Oh' they said 'Money is dangerous? Yes, we have nothing in the hand but we earned already.'

Some of the girls got an account in Muslim Commercial Bank. (makes a gesture showing a finger print) They were all illiterate // #00:10:47-8#

2A-4	**From 'Thatta Kedona – The Toy Village of Pakistan'**
	Documentary by Joachim Polzer / 2005 / Part 1 / Min. 12:18-12:45
Senta	#00:12:06-2# Der Erfolg war so groß, dass ich mit Erfolg ins Dorf zurück kam und mit den Frauen dann beraten konnt 'Wie wollen wir denn Einnahmen verteilen?' Und wir kamen zu dem Schlüssel, dass wir von dem Erlös der verkauften Ware 30% für die Löhne reservieren, 30% um neues Material zu kaufen, 30% für den Aufbau eines Frauenzentrums auf die Seite legen und ansparen, und 10% für die notwendigsten sozialen Bedürfnisse. Zum Beispiel hatten alle Läuse. Wir mussten die Läuse bekämpfen. Es hatten alle Vitaminmangel, also Vitamintabletten kaufen. Oder eine Matte anschaffen, damit wir in der kalten Jahreszeit nicht auf dem gestampften Lehmboden sitzen mussten. Damals gab es keine Möbel. Es gab keinen Schrank. Es gab eine einzige Schere, die ich aus Deutschland mitgebracht hatte. Es gab gute Nadeln aus Deutschland, aber alles andere mussten wir auf dem lokalen Markt finden. #00:13:18-1#

2A-5	**Interview with Senta Siller, Farzana Zahoor and Norbert Pintsch**
	Mrs. Chand and a colleague from Bhara Karu are also present
	30 March 2015 / Min. 12:36 – 13.59
Farzana	In the start we had only five girls, yes. And before when I meet Senta I'm in college for four months training of paintings and four months for leather work and for sewing in Lahore. And later I met with Senta. That's why I started this work with Senta. First she trained me. #00:13:07-3#
Gwen	And what was your motivation in it? #00:13:10-4#
Farzana	What I have in my mind I try to do this. #00:13:15-7#
Gwen	Yes, but what was the reason? Why did you join? Kis vaje se participate kia tha? #00:13:24-0#
Farzana	I like it. I like to do drawing or painting or stitching, everything. #00:13:30-5#
Gwen	Yes, ok. And you did it before the training also? Have you done it earlier? #00:13:33-3#
Farzana	Yes. #00:13:35-3#
Gwen	Where did you learn it before? #00:13:36-5#
Farzana	First at home. I tried to start myself. #00:13:40-5#
Gwen	Ok. #00:13:42-1#
Farzana	Then I go to, after my education, I go to technical institute in Lahore and I got training there. #00:13:48-5#
Gwen	Which technical institute? Was it TEVTA? No? #00:13:50-8#
Farzana	Vocational (incomprehensible) in Lahore. Vocational Institute near Anarkali. #00:13:59-7#

2A-6	**Interview with Senta Siller, Farzana Zahoor and Norbert Pintsch**
	Mrs. Chand and a colleague from Bhara Karu are also present
	30 March 2015 / Min. 19:40 – 21:11
Gwen	But what, like when it was still running in the same way, before you started planning future projects, what were your tasks? What, what kind of things did you do? #00:19:51-3#
Farzana	Many things. #00:19:51-7#
Gwen	For example? #00:19:53-5#
Farzana	For example we think, only we think if we have more new things we started, then it's better for our Women Centre. What we have is mostly dolls. These are not sold, like before. #00:20:12-6#
Gwen	Yes. But so you bring the material? #00:20:16-3#
Farzana	Yes, I bring the material. // #00:20:17-6#
Gwen	// And you distribute the material? #00:20:18-4#
Farzana	Distribute, and also designing some time. For Sindhi dolls we need a shirt: how many mirrors in it or so. Sometime I design. Or how we make it, this panel (means the shirt design I think), you see, to make this design. Or I look somewhere, anything then I can (incomprehensible): ok this looks like very good. #00:20:43-9#
Gwen	And how do you manage how much everybody is doing, how much everybody is earning? #00:20:49-5#
Farzana	Hmm ... I have one card. #00:20:51-6#
Gwen	For each person? #00:20:53-3#
Farzana	Yes. Only for wage card. This is wage card. The girls bring their things, and then I write it. This one thing, this one embroidery. I write 'Embroidery' and 1 or 2, and then price, and its total. #00:21:11-7#

2A-7	**Interview with Senta Siller, Farzana Zahoor and Norbert Pintsch**
	Mrs. Chand and a colleague from Bhara Karu are also present
	30 March 2015 / Min. 31:40 – 35:24
Farzana	#00:31:40-3# Mrs. Chand was also in the village. And she stayed overnight in my only little room. #00:31:48-2#
Gwen	You can write it here, yes. #00:31:49-9#
Mrs. Chand & Coll.	Well, I got to go. It will take ... #00:32:01-9#
Gwen	Yes, yes, no problem. #00:32:04-7#

Pause	(Final farewell of guests with small talk) #00:34:50-5#
Norbert	Also, ich glaub ja, dass das eigentlich das Besondere jetzt ist. Wenn ich daran denke, wie das mal vor drei / vier Jahren war, und wie es halt jetzt ist, mit diese Kooperation. Also, dass die Hilfe, die von nicht (incomprehensible) der Stadt kommt und von NGO zu NGO, das war nicht schlecht, sag' ich der Frau Dr. Gwendolyn. #00:35:16-6#
Gwen	Ja, ja. #00:35:17-6#
Norbert	Und das ist eigentlich so das // #00:35:19-0#
Gwen	// Die machen hier gleich noch ein bisschen weiter. #00:35:20-9#
Norbert	Du hast noch ein paar Minuten bevor Französisch hier stattfindet. #00:35:23-8#
Gwen	Ja, ok. #00:35:24-8#

Case Set SABAH

2A-8	**Interview with Samina Khan / 11 February 2014** **Min. 1:54 – 12.47**
Gwen	Yes, so in that sense I want to ask about three things basically. One is how you yourself became interested in crafts, and the second would be how Sungi started working with crafts, and the third, the main reason why I'm here today is about SABAH. How it started, how it runs, how it functions, objectives. #00:02:15-5#
Samina	Ok, I start with my interest and Sungis' interest in craft, because it is simultaneous in the sense that it was basically the handicraft that was there in very much in Abbottabad, Mansehra and Haripur, but was not visible any more and was not of good quality that one saw, and this is the Jisti, which I call Jisti, we call Jisti and call Pulkhari also, which is the traditional embroidery from that area, so ... (interrupts) Should I look there or there' pointing at Gwen and at the camera. #00:02:47-7#
Gwen	No, it doesn't matter. It is the sound mostly. I was wondering if I should also put on the audio recorder to be on the safe side. #00:02:55-0#
Samina	Haan, I don't know if you just see if the audio is clear or not. #00:02:59-4#
Gwen	I can't check it like this. I think I just ... I was just thinking I switch on the second machine also, then one is really on the safe side. But where is it now? I just unpacked everything ... here, here it is. It will take a little bit to load. You can continue. We have. this is on (pointing at video camera), only that the sound is sometimes not that great. #00:03:29-0#
Samina	So the thing is that since this embroidery was there and I used to spend my summer holidays there, you know, since childhood, in Abbottabad, so we used to have these people coming with bundles of beautiful embroidery and selling in it in the form of maybe just chadors or kurtas. So and we were not in, this was in the early 90s, I hadn't come across such people since the 80s and the 90s. Before that in the 70s they were there. So that's when, because Sungi was already working with women in rural Haripur and Abbottabad, so ... rural Haripur and Abbottabad, han. So I decided to sort of look at this aspect, because the women I knew doing it, but what we saw in the market was not so good quality. And traditional, actual traditional styles were not coming out. So because this link was already there with Sungi, that they were going into the villages, so I as a volunteer and as a founding member, one of the founding members of Sungi, I went with the Sungi staff to the villages and it was quite interesting, because initially the first meeting that I had with the village women. They were about a group of I think about 15 women in the room, and they said that ... and I had, initially my thing was to find out what is the process. And will they, if I sort of give them something, will they do embroider on it or not? So they were very careful in answering back to me. They said 'You know, you have to give us ...' The process was that the weight of the thread is what they work with. So the weight of the thread is how much you pay them. #00:05:33-7#
Gwen	Weight of the thread means ... // #00:05:36-1#
Samina	// weight of the thread means you weigh the thread that is going to be used in the embroidery ... // #00:05:41-1#
Gwen	// If it is 200 grams ... // #00:05:42-2#
Samina	// If it is 200 grams, so 200 grams in the shop costs maybe 100 rupees, then that is the amount that the woman will get. If the (nu.) costs 20 rupees then that's what she'll get. So I realized that it was a very small amount. I can't remember exactly how much it was, but it was I think 35 rupees or something for 100 grams or something like that. And I told them you know 'What if I want to give more?' So they said 'No, no' because they didn't trust me at that point. That was my first visit. They didn't trust me, so they said 'No, I think we will prefer that if we get it according to the weight of the thread.' So I agreed to the, with that. I said 'Ok' though I felt that it was not right, but I agreed to that, so after that I got the cloth from where they were buying it. From the Haripur bazaar I got the cloth and the thread from there. And I matched the colors, had my mother and my mother in law come in, so who give me, you know, the color sense in a sense which color goes where. Because before that my initial thing in the sense from childhood had been in school we used to have craft classes, handicraft classes. So I knew embroidery, and basically ... but other than that in that sense I hadn't been doing to much of it. At home my mother was always interested, so I was doing a little bit embroidery at home before I got married. But after that it wasn't so much then. So I knew a little

bit about thread and you know ...So once I matched the colors with each of the ... And then I got the kurtas stitched. And then I took them again to the village women. And one of them took responsibility that she was going to get it done from all the other women who were sitting there. She would be responsible for hand giving them the thread and everything. And I said initially, I just wanted the basic, you know, around the neck and a little bit on the side of the, of the kurta. So they said 'ok' and then I got I think there were about 24 of them. 24 pieces or something. And I got them back, very neatly done, and I said, because I said I want to sell them in the, in the market. So and I knew that I could sell them for, for, this was I think it was costing me like 150 rupees, having it stitched also. This was in '94. '94 I think. So having it stitched also, and you know, buying the cloth also, 150 or 200. And I thought I could easily sell it for 400 rupees. And even giving them the weight ... // #00:08:35-1#

Gwen	// Wages for the ... // #00:08:36-6#
Samina	// Han, wages for the thing. Then I told them that 'Alright, I give you what it is according to the weight, but I would like to also give a reward.So the ones who have done a better job in you know making something extra in the embroidery or something, I'll give them a reward also. So then I increased their amount, increased their amount and ... // #00:09:07-8#
Pause	*Tea being served and respondent asking for plates #00:09:14-0#*
Samina	So, that was the first lot. And after that, this was not like the exhibition stuff, but I sold all of them. And then I got different colors and sort of made, told them to just let their minds go free and do whatever embroidery they want on it. And that was really a pleasure to look at, because then once it came I had a proper exhibition at the Arts Council in Islamabad. And so they were very excited about this getting the reward part. They were very excited about. And so what was happening was, that the quality was really good of the work. Much better than what was coming out in the other shops, that you know the government craft shops, much better. And the design sense they had a different, they had flowers, they had the flowers and they had pattern in it. They were really very innovative, I mean in the sense it was something coming from their minds, from their tradition but something that wasn't there in the market, but has been there in the old ... (making a gesture indicating 'historically'). So that's how it started. That's how Sungi also got interested in it. // #00:10:22-6#
Gwen	// So until this time it was your private initiative more or less? #00:10:26-6#
Samina	It was still my private in the sense that I was volunteer with Sungi, but the way Sungi got interested in it, because there was a demand coming from the women. They wanted it. So you are starting with one village, then going to the next village, then // So there were about, as volunteer, by the time I got to the eleventh village, it was getting too much for me to handle it on my own, because they were spread out. They were not all very near to each other. #00:10:52-2#
Gwen	But these were the villages that Sungi otherwise was involved in? (nu.) #00:10:55-4#
Samina	In basically rural development in the sense ke getting people to understand their rights and getting them to be able to access those rights. Coming together, you know? Becoming aware first and then coming together, going to the district government to get their rights. That was Sungi's main purpose. But along with that when you say getting your rights, that means if they are not getting any water in their village, and their women have to walk for two hours to get the water, then helping them to get pipes also, making a tank where the water is sourced ... So that was where Sungi would help them out. In agriculture where they were doing already agriculture, getting them to doing it slightly better. And to stay towards the natural fertilizers and not go towards // So these were the things Sungi was doing with them. There wasn't legal aid, but getting them to understand their legal rights, constitutional rights. That was the thing Sungi worked with. So at that time, so it was basically because there was a demand for the ground from the women, that they wanted this as an income generation source. So that is how Sungi got into it. #00:12:16-9#
Gwen	Ok. And that was in? #00:12:18-7#
Samina	That was in // '94 it started, and then '95 it was the main, the big order that they made, and in '96 we had the first exhibition. So but then I joined Sungi as an employee. I think it was '97 / '98. '97. '97 to '98. #00:12:40-6#

2A-9	**Interview with Asma Ravji / 25 June 2012 / Min. 00.58 – 03.38**
Gwen	Maybe you can also tell me once again what Sungi Development Foundation generally is doing. Because craft is only one segment, right? #00:01:04-9#
Asma	Yes, it's one segment. Sungi is a rights based organization and working on the rights. That's our basic main agenda. And that's between different programs to work on these. And then we started with social mobilization, organizing people and then bringing them together for whatever issue they are facing and how to solve (nu.) the issue with other networks and organizations and government. And we have a rights component in each program. So basically craft promotion program started of with this slogan 'Craft promotion for income generation'. #00:01:48-3#
Gwen	'Craft promotion ... ? // #00:01:50-5#
Asma	// for income generation'. So the gradually it became the 'Craft promotion for rural, for empowerment of rural women'. And then it became 'Enterprise Development Program', and then it changes, it is 'Enterprise Development Program' at this time and moment. And we also worked for the rights, earlier, for the craft program, that is the 'Enterprise Development Program'. We have been active in forming this policy,

drafting and then having it approved from the government for the last, we are working on it from 2007 on-wards. So we have taken, this ... Government of Pakistan actually, Ministry of Women Development asked Sungi to develop the policy for home-based women workers. #00:02:38-6#

Gwen   Ok, and how do you define a social enterprise? #00:02:42-8#

Asma   Social enterprise is basically, it's very difficult in a way when you say 'social'. The moment you say 'social enterprise' the first thing that comes to people's mind is that 'Oh, we are not making any profit. Oh, you are doing some kind of a charity.' Which is not, which we feel it is not. It is something which has the values. I feel, what we feel at Sungi is it has to be, it, it, it should cater to the people who are, with whom we are working. Or with the women, right now I'm talking about the women. And it has fair wage component, aur decent income. Decent, it comes under 'decent work' and this. And they should bring, and it should be sustainable. They should be getting enough profit to have it on a sustainablel basis. #00:03:38-9#

2A-10   **Interview with Asma Ravji / 25 June 2012 / Min. 06.10 – 14.56**

Gwen   #00:06:10-0# So if you would have a, if you would also hire a designer and these kind of things, and someone like a social worker for mobilization, that would all come through that ... // #00:06:21-9#

Asma   // No, not at all. We never managed that. Because that was the biggest debate in Sungi also. At one point one of our executive directors, he had come from World Bank, so he had a very typical kind of a business model in his mind, so when he saw this program he said 'This is a black hole in Sungi, in Sungi's you know resources and finances. And why we are supporting this program?' #00:06:49-1#

Asma   Why do you? #00:06:50-9#

Gwen   Yes, why do you? Why is Sungi still continuing it if it is a black hole? #00:06:54-6#

Asma   No, no, no it isn't. But that ... // #00:06:57-8#

Gwen   // But he is saying this? #00:06:58-4#

Asma   Yes, he actually, we had to convince him. He asked the board he wanted to finish this program, and then board asked us to prepare a presentation and show why we should continue with this program. Then we had to make a presentation to the board and convince them. So we were able to convince them. The reason is that it's not that we were not making money. We were not even breaking even. So, so the thing was, but it has made a change. That was the impact that we assessed. That was being quoted, that had been documented. So that was very clear that the areas where this program was working, Sungi, because there are, Sungi is working, at that time Sungi was working in poor districts of Hazara and one in AJK, Azad Jammu Kashmir. And we were not working in each and every village, where Sungi was working. We were working in selected villages, where the demand would come, where we would have a probe (unv.) a certain kind of skills, and they were ready to work. So actually they had made an analysis and they documented, where our program is working, those women were like far ahead from those women who were not working with this (unv.) because they were not getting any income. Once they start earning income, they actually, their lifes start changing. Because that's naturally, money is power. So once they have this money in their hand, they know they will be more mobile, they could have their bank accounts, they can go to market, they can go to the other city. They were more respected. They were involved in decision making. So all indicators leading to women empowerment were met where these groups were. #00:08:50-3#

Gwen   So basically what you are saying is the benefit is not only a cash or a monetary benefit ... // #00:08:56-8#

Asma   // Yes, yes, yes, more social ...// #00:08:56-8#

Gwen   // The benefit is more in the social (unv.), mobilization part which is the core objective of Sungi Development Foundation. #00:09:06-6#

Asma   Yes, yes, basically we wanted to bar women. So this is one of the strategies. Basically this program started of as one of the strategies to empowerment. And once they start earning it, compare they start earning from Sungi say like 1,000 rupees. But they know they can earn more if they, because they were linked with other people, they were linked with designers, they can go to local market and they can sell. So one point, someone coming from Sungi, some from other points, some other (unv.). That naturally gives hem more exposure, more mobility, more sort of confidence, which in that area was very difficult. This way, it's a very, very conservative area. So it's been very difficult. #00:09:52-2#

Pause   *Tea & water being served #00:09:58-0#*

Gwen   So how does in your opinion, like if they earn 1,000 rupees in their income, how does it make women more mobile for example? How is this kind of dynamic happening? #00:10:11-2#

Asma   You know once they start, when they start earning money, when they have money and if this money goes to them, if they are allowed to spend it. Naturally when they have this money they should like go to market. Initially what they say is 'We want to go to market to buy more material to make some more products.' So they start going to the market. They, we ask them to open their bank accounts. We ask them to have their identity cards. The first thing is the identity card, otherwise the areas where we are working, they were very, very conservative and very backwards. So they would not let their women have their ID cards. So once they saw money coming, and that was our condition: 'If you start earning like from 2,000 a month, then we will be sending this money to bank. We will not be paying you the hard cash.' So they were supposed to, it was mandatory for them to open a bank account. So once, so bank account you need to have to open it: ID card. For bak, to deposit the money in bank you have to go to the bank to get the money,

	right? And they have to go to the market to get the material. And once they start doing this, somehow the men become accustomed. And naturally they are also contributing in the household. And that makes them, you know, more empowered in a way they can, what they were saying. They had to listen to them, because they were contributing. #00:11:43-0#
Asma	So when they once ordered 'We are going for an exhibition.' suppose, and it is in Lahore. What does that mean? That means money. If they are going there it (unv.). But Sungi is taking them, all expenses paid. And secondly they are protected. But they will be making money. First one woman, then second, then they will start getting the permission. So once they go there, they are exposed, they know what's happening around the world, and gradually they start making money. Initially we used to take them, then you tell them that, like they used to have an exhibition at NCA. So they just informed us that 'We are having an exhibition.' So these women go and have their stall there. #00:12:25-9#
Gwen	Ok, and have you ever spoken, or have you ever investigated the opinion of the other family members? Like the husbands and children ... // #00:12:37-6#
Asma	Yes, yes, we have a kind of a report, especially for our evaluation reports after all this (unv.) review and this end project evaluation. The external evaluator, they had come, and we also had two external evaluation done. One was done by Shehnaz Ismail and the second was done by, nahin, the one was done by Noorjehan Bilgrami and second was Shehnaz Ismail and Salima Hashmi. So they did it. And they interviewed these women, and they interviewed the family members. #00:13:10-0#
Gwen	This is about what time, what year? #00:13:12-2#
Asma	It was in 2002 and 2004. And then afterwards we had our mid-term evaluation and then end project, and that was in 2009. #00:13:22-9#
Gwen	Ok. How many women all together, do you know how many you have worked with? #00:13:28-0#
Asma	Yes, yes, It's like, we have worked with quite a lot, but we had actually registered women who trained and you know, they were 5,000, more than 5,000 women. #00:13:40-3#
Gwen	Between 1997 and now? #00:13:43-0#
Asma	Now (nods) #00:13:44-0#
Gwen	5,000. #00:13:45-5#
Asma	More than 5,000, who were actually into business. And they were organized into groups. And we had like four hundred or five hundred and something independent business groups. Initially what were doing was that we used to give them material and the design and thread and everything as a gift and then they would just do the embroidery and give it back. And we would pay them labor payment, right? And we'll make the product, finish it and sell it. That was, that was the kind of the thing that they, that would be normal for them. That was ok, they were sitting at home doing nothing, and now they are getting money. That was helping them in a way that they had money so that they could spend it on themselves or something. Gradually we realized, because our program was evolving also, we realized that is one thing: this practice is making them dependent on Sungi. If Sungi is there, only then they will be getting this material and all. And we are not there, then they will not be able to do that. And secondly that is not helping them to come out of their homes or to be mobile, or to see what's happening around. #00:14:56-8#

2A-11	**Reflection on the 'Humnawa' project with BNU faculty members Faseeh Saleem Khan, Iman Bukhari, Kiran Khan, Pakeeza Khan, Rohma Khan, Sahr Bashir and Zeb Bilal** **23 February 2015 / Min. 44:46 – 46:42**
Rohma	Students miss out on other parts of the curriculum (because there is not enough time for them) ... orders for the craftspeople must be ensured, maybe linkages with the industry #00:45:59-9#
Zeb	I just think that you know for ... The students are not getting a bad deal. It's the craftsmen who are getting a far more bad deal at the end. Because they are left. They are trained, they have interacted, and then they do a project, and then that's it. And then what next? So from the beginning when you want to make this sustainable you need to have the market player in the loop. For example that you would be supplying stuff to Macro, who is a wholesaler. Macro has a shelf dedicated to you know interesting craft stuff now. Someone is doing it for them. #00:46:42-5#

2A-12	**Reflection on the 'Humnawa' project with BNU faculty members Faseeh Saleem Khan, Iman Bukhari, Kiran Khan, Pakeeza Khan, Rohma Khan, Sahr Bashir and Zeb Bilal** **23 February 2015 / Min. 49:50 – 50:33**
Gwen	I want to develop something how the institution can develop a partnership with them (the village women) rather than the students, because students come and go. #00:50:05-1#
Sahr	There could be a mentoring program. That's something that has always been really successful. Like pairing of a craftsman with a mentor. Or they could exchange roles as the process goes along. But then again that has to be separate from your teaching duties or teaching time. And it has to also be dealt with in a separate capacity. #00:50:33-2#

2A-13	**Reflection on the 'Humnawa' project with BNU faculty members Faseeh Saleem Khan, Iman Bukhari, Kiran Khan, Pakeeza Khan, Rohma Khan, Sahr Bashir and Zeb Bilal** **23 February 2015 / Min. 41:22 – 43:47**
Gwen	So what about the students? So what was your objective of engaging students in something like that? #00:41:29-3#
Rohma	Primarily exposure. I think it was great exposure. We are such … we are so in our silos. We hardly get out. #00:41:44-1#
Kiran	You can have a meeting with Rafia, one of my 4th year students, who is doing a project with the Haripur women. That's her thesis. And I think it will be nice if she can share her entire journey with you. #00:42:00-2#
Faseeh	I feel we can also ask Rehman. #00:42:03-9#
Kiran	She actually asked me if Rehman could come today. I said it's a too short notice … So I said we can talk to Rehman, because he is working somewhere. They can have a meeting somewhere. #00:42:14-3#
Sahr	Is Rehman still working with those people or not? #00:42:14-1#
Kiran	No. But he is the one who went for fifteen days, and he stayed there. And then of course he did another project later on with Kashf Foundation. They requested us to train some women, and he was part of that workshop. #00:42:30-2#
Faseeh	But he is appointed by Lok Virsa or somewhere. He is working, he is developing something. #00:42:37-4#
Rohma	Do you know about this organization GIZ? he is apparently working on some curriculum development. #00:42:48-6#
Gwen	So but some students caught fire? They continue to work in this kind of area? But you did it with a whole class, right? The Muzzafargarh project. #00:43:03-8#
Rohma	Yes, there some people who weren't as interested. They did not want to go. They did not want to go through the whole… #00:43:11-4#
Kiran	Kiran: Some of them would not get permission #00:43:17-6#
Rohma	Those couple of student who were the most problematic in the beginning, they also took up these inspirations in their final projects. And now when we show the project to our students, they really, they sort of, they push us and they say that we want to go. Also we want to experience this. Because I think that batch had something, we had something to offer to that batch that we did not have again. #00:43:47-2#
2A-14	**Reflection on the 'Humnawa' project with BNU faculty members Faseeh Saleem Khan, Iman Bukhari, Kiran Khan, Pakeeza Khan, Rohma Khan, Sahr Bashir and Zeb Bilal** **23 February 2015 / Min. 37:07 – 29:24**
Rohma	Taking about Talloiries Prize: That for us as an institution was very motivating #00:37:15-8#
Zeb	But then does that trickle down to the grassroots, because you know, when you go to places like Lok Virsa, the Lok Virsa mela. When you go there then they have these craftspeople there, practicing their craft life. Tik Hai. So when you talk to them, … I went many years, 18 years, 15 years probably. Then they show a certificate for their craft practice. And I said Achha. And he said I make silk ki kes, they were beautiful, so I bought one. Then I said … 'My sales are really bad. Nobody wants to use these kes'. This is a Sitara-e-Imtiaz craftsperson who has been acknowledged by the president of Pakistan. So what has the state also done with that craftsperson beyond acknowledging his practice or that he is a master craftsman? And that is something where Pakistan has really lacked as compared to India. #00:39:01-3#
Sahr	This debate extends to all of us. We put this projects in as part of our CVs, we get nominated for xyz awards and we kind of use them for further grants and projects. #00:39:24-5#
2A-15	**Interview with Saamia Ahmed Vine / 23 September 2015 / Min. 17:49 – 18:41**
Gwen	SABAH. So what is the relationship with Sungi nowadays? Because somehow SABAH has started as a kind of spin off from Sungi, right? What is the relationship now? #00:18:00-2#
Saamia	Since I have come, I think there is not much of a relationship at all now. They invited us to their partners conference, and otherwise have not really … We do have to revise our MoU, and I think we might be working on taking somebody from Sungi on the board. But I'm not sure about that also. #00:18:21-2#
Gwen	Because earlier if I remember this right, then Sungi would be responsible for the training in the field, right? // #00:18:28-9#
Saamia	// That same team has come here to SABAH. #00:18:30-5#
Gwen	Ok, so they have transferred and are now kind of employees in SABAH? #00:18:34-9#
Saamia	Yes. #00:18:35-9#
Gwen	Ok, and so now they do the training. Basically SABAH does both now, the training and the marketing and everything? #00:18:41-0#
Saamia	Yes, yes. #00:18:41-9#
2A-16	**Interview with Samina Khan / 3 March 2017 / Min. 00:40 – 01:35**
Samina	What has happened is that Gulshan Bibi has been on the board of SABAH and so has Gohar. And along with them both there are women from Sukkur, from Khairpur, from Quetta and also from Mansehra are on the board. #00:01:03-3#

Gwen	How many people are on the board? #00:01:03-3#
Samina	There are overall 12, exact number is 12, and out of them seven are home-based workers. #00:01:12-0#
Gwen	Ok, and from Quetta, is it Rukhsana from that project // #00:01:17-1#
Samina	Rukhsana, haan. #00:01:18-8#
Gwen	That project that I referred many years ago? #00:01:20-2#
Samina	Yes. Rukhsana. #00:01:20-5#
Gwen	Ok. #00:01:22-7#
Samina	Rukhsana is there and also there is another lady and her name is … Rukhsana and … Zulekha. Rukhsana is from the Hazara tribe, and Zulekha is from the Baluch. #00:01:35-7#

2A-17 **Interview with Samina Khan / 3 March 2017 / Min. 19:06 –19:48**

Gwen	What is the task of chair? #00:19:06-8#
Samina	So the co-chair, why I'm saying this, the staff comes and goes. Now these people, all the members, the ones who are on the board and other also, they have gotten to the point, they have enough experience that this new staff that comes in, the young people they don't have those negotiating skills. they will not be able to say, exactly what you are saying, how many members are there on ground, or you know how many can do this work or this work. And how to see how to satisfy the customer. And these women have developed that capacity. So you know. They know exactly … #00:19:48-6#
Samna	And Gohar herself, why I think she got selected also by everyone is because she has gone through this experience. She has dealt with customers on her own on the individual level, not through SABAH. She has met them through SABAH. For instance Aleema was on our board. And Aleema then left the board also. But Aleema directly, her company, Aleema's company directly dealt with Gohar. And Gohar got Aleema to you know work on a weekly basis. She just had to get stitched made. And I don't know if you have been to Chen One, they were selling those over there. Like getting dresses made. So they were doing that in 2015 #00:20:36-1#
Samina	So Gohar was on a I think four week program, in which she … They had given the thread, the material and Gohar was getting the work done from the women in the villages. She was sending it to Aleema's company office, and she had organized it like that ke that she said … she knew exactly what makes the women work, motivates them. And she said, if they get the money in hand, as soon as they get the money, they are motivated to do the next work. #00:21:06-0#
Samina	So she had worked it out that I think Friday or Saturday she would courier the … all that had been done to the, to Lahore. Aleema's office would get it – I don't know exactly, Gohar will tell you exactly – would get it on Monday morning. Monday morning they would assess the payment, they would courier it, or I don't know use these Easy Paisa, you know where you can just transfer the money. Tuesday they were able to do that. So Wednesday, Thursday Gohar would go around the villages distributing the money and also distributing the next lot of work. So by Wednesday she had distributed the next work, no sorry Monday she had distributed the whole work, the women had made it by Friday or something like that. So she had done this. besides her there are others also, in Sukkur, in Khairpur, who have managed such sort of smaller orders. #00:22:14-8#
Samina	They have managed that. So they are more on top of this that you know what is required to deal with the customer, to keep them engaged. And it's because of the experience they have had with SABAH. Before that with Sungi and now with SABAH. they had this experience. So the thing was to give them more of a role in the management. So now Gohar will also be paid. She can give she said three to four hours a day. And she will give that in the centre that is in Haripur. So she will then be doing all this. #00:22:54-6#

2A-18 **Interview with Samina Khan / 3 March 2017 / Min. 26:05 – 27:10**

Samina	So now you make it and you sell it in SABAH. That definitely, what we have realized in the last year that I have been a little more active, we realized that the women who we had given training to, maybe ten years ago, are now sitting there when we go to meetings, half of them were like maybe fifteen years old or ten years old at that time, ten years ago. And now they are actually the ones who are wanting to work. And they have not been through the trainings. So a whole new generation seems to have come up. And we need to repeat all those trainings with them again. There are also a few who have been through the trainings, they might need a refresher. And some are doing really well without, because they have learned from those trainings. And they have taught others also. But to get the message across of what is selling and what is not selling, probably a new sort of a round of trainings is needed I would say every six years or so. #00:27:10-9#

2A-19 **Interview with Samina Khan / 3 March 2017 / Min. 34:14 – 34:27**

Samina	I would say they are very, very poor. They cannot buy their own cloth, they cannot buy their own raw material to do the … so they wait for orders to come. So then SABAH can link other people with them #00:34:27-1#

2A-20 **Interview with Saamia Ahmed Vine / 23 September 2015 / Min. 15:25 – 17:43**

Gwen	#00:15:25-4# Yes. What do they have to do to become a member? #00:15:27-9#

Saamia	They have ... Nothing, they just sign a form and then our field team gets their profiling done. I can, should I show you a profile? #00:15:36-4#
Gwen	Yes, that would be nice. #00:15:40-7#
Pause	*Respondent goes away to get a file, returns (pictures of files samples taken by Gwen too) #00:15:48-5#*
Saamia	For example ... And I think this is unique in Pakistan. I don't think anybody else has done this. This would be from a village, which is ... #00:16:00-6#
Gwen	Yes. #00:16:01-6#
Saamia	This is the name of the village. #00:16:02-4#
Gwen	And these are the // #00:16:04-8#
Saamia	// women, the members. #00:16:05-9#
Gwen	Ok. #00:16:07-7#
Saamia	This is there ID card with their form, with whatever how much they are earning per month, children ... it's role is a survey of their personal whatever. #00:16:18-8#
Gwen	Yes. #00:16:20-1#
Saamia	And this would be a profile piece. This is something // #00:16:22-6#
Gwen	Something like a sample before any training, before anything they do. #00:16:27-7#
Saamia	To see the quality the quality of their work and // #00:16:29-7#
Gwen	Can I take a picture? #00:16:30-9#
Saamia	Of course, yes. So this is in Sindh. This I think it is beautiful. And we have this for all 3299 members. #00:16:45-3#
Gwen	Oh, that's quite a bit. #00:16:49-9#
Saamia	And they are growing. #00:16:51-6#
Gwen	I wanted to see, yes, this for example. Here it says, what the information of the (incomprehensible) ... #00:16:59-2#
Saamia	The lighting is not great. It's difficult to take pictures here. #00:17:05-8#
Pause	*#00:17:14-7#*
Saamia	So it's a lot of these files from all over Pakistan. So they do this. And now what's happening is, because they are already aware of what SABAH is doing, they usually take a piece, like a sample to make, they take it back to their village. Also because we didn't have funding to go to the villages ourselves. So and it worked for us, that they were able to come to the training facility in Haripur. And just take the sample pieces home and then bring them back. #00:17:43-5#

2A-21   **Email received on 21 February 2014 from Muhammad Saeed Awan / Accountant at SABAH**

Dear Ms. Kulick,

Refer to meeting please note below details:

SABAH Pakistan registered members 31 Dec, 2013:   1897 members

Provided training 31 Dec, 2013:   1560 members

Orders Given to them: 2009: 99 members, 2010: 305 members, 2011: 459 members, 2012: 563members, 2013: 921 members

Entrepreneurial: 86 members (they make their own thing and sell to other market as well)

Please do let me know if any further information is required.

Regards

Saeed

2A-22   **Interview with Samina Khan / 3 March 2017 / Min. 24:15 – 26:05**

Gwen	Does the problem remain that you have producers with no work? #00:24:32-8#
Samina	Definitely. But when we get a new member, we don't tell them that SABAH is the only place where they get work. Our aim is and we have been doing that, to get them to the point where they ... what we call in SABAH 'internal business groups'. So in each locality there are these 5, 10, 20 women, who have one leader with them. They have chosen this one person, who is their quality controller. So this is anyways there in the village. They can get an order from anywhere outside. And for SABAH, we have tried this also, making them our producers and getting a designer to take out lines. We have tried that also. But there is also a limitation to what we can do. You know, you have to have funds to get a designer, then you get your own cloth and everything. A lot of finances are involved in that. So again we were trying out both the things, having these independent business groups also, producing in them independently at home and sending the products to SABAH to sell. So you have seen these with the tags with the women, their village and everything. So that is something we are promoting more, that these women are producing anyways and sending what SABAH has given them, what the length is, what sleeves are like these days and what the colours are. #00:26:05-0#

2A-23   **Interview with Aleema Khan and Samina Khan / 22 February 2014 / Min. 00:00 – 07:00**

Gwen   #00:00:00-0# Today is February 22 and I'm talking to Aleema Khan. And I'm not even quite sure what your position within SABAH is. Maybe you can explain your own background a little bit and how you started working with SABAH, and what your task is. #00:00:28-5#

Aleema   Well, I'm working with this thanks to Samina Khan. Because she basically, Sungi, you know they got this project to set up SABAH. And she chaired for how many years? Three years. And then since June last year I'm the chairperson for the project. Basically to implement some of the systems that are in the professional order, the business industry. So we are basically, this is us trying to marry the business and the social entrepreneurship. It's like this, bringing business concepts and business strategies and professionalizing the social entrepreneurships. #00:01:21-3#

Gwen   Ok. So what does social entrepreneurship or social business comprise of for you? What would be your definition of it? #00:01:32-1#

Aleema   Actually Gwen think, like Samina my passion was basically to save he craft. And if you don't have passion for it, you cannot, this sort of a time a business person cannot devote to it. It's just impossible. I think this is a major reason that the social projects are devoid of the experience is because the business community or people from the business community haven't stepped in to give their time. You need to give time in the setting up stage. So in the setting up stage it is so much work, hat at some point, I was telling you a little earlier, in the past six months even my office couldn't believe I'm giving so much time to SABAH and nothing to my office. And, but I suppose, I also, again, if I wasn't passionate about the craft, the only thing that saved me, or sort of stopped me from giving up, was my passion for the craft. And the passion that we are playing a big role. we have a very important role to give livelihood to the women in the villages. It's something that you believe in. It's easier to believe in something, we can all talk about it, but when you get down to giving it time, basically what it takes away from you is all your, a lot of your time. So what you do, what you have to give up is a lot of your time to do this. Once we are hoping that when it is set up to the level of what we expect, it will be a different thing. But right now we are an entrepreneurship. #00:03:22-9#

Gwen   So you talk a lot about you passion of craft and the passion for preserving craft. But somehow in a business like this it would be linked to empowerment of people, right? #00:03:35-3#

Aleema   Yes. #00:03:36-2#

Gwen   So, what would be your take on or your definition of empowerment of people? #00:03:41-9#

Aleema   Actually for years, I think even before this project, we also, a human being balances their life by taking and giving, it's a give and take. So that creates what you call, some people call it ying and yang. But the idea of contributing to women, I work out of, you know like I've go a buying office, so which means I source out of many factories. And there I have been exposed to a lot of people who come from different parts, a lot of women who would come. And I started challenging this myth that women should leave the house to work. I'm a woman who left the house and believe me I would rather stay in the house, because you miss out on other things. And a lot of the women who came into the factory and if I spoke to them, they would use the word that 'majboori' is like 'we have no choice'. No option but to work, because we need livelihood'. But we would prefer to stay at home, because we have to neglect our children and a woman doesn't want to neglect her children. So there came the idea, the perfect thing is that they should have livelihood close to their home, or they should have livelihood in their houses. So because it's a full job that they do in the houses already. So it's very unfair, which I find that in the West, this idea that women should leave the house is I think, it's going to start changing in the, as I said I export, I have got a lot of exposure to the western mind also for 20 years. So I can see both sides very well. So there is no perfect system in the world, but there can be a bit of both that you can bring together. But there is no perfect system. Women who have to leave their houses in the West are facing a lot of hardship. It's a very stressful thing that they do. And they think this is not, for me this is not progress. I mean progress can't be measured in terms of leaving home and neglecting the next generation. But progress, but these women already have a lot of skill. And I now talk about this to our team members, like even in SABAH's team. We must be aware of the fact that we keep calling women who have sch beautiful craft, we call them workers. We take it for granted. So our mission is alos to bring awareness to the beauty of the product and call them craftspeople, artisans. And I find it, I was telling a designer the other day that 'you know, we call you the designer and the artist. But the person who has crafted this beautiful product is called a worker'. we call them workers.The people who craft it. But then the person who makes a canvas and paints a canvas, we call them or him an artist. But not these people. We call them workers. #00:07:00-4#

2A-24   **Interview with Aleema Khan and Samina Khan / 22 February 2014 / Min. 47:23 – 52:14**

Gwen   #00:47:23-5# So when you say your aim is 10,000 right now. #00:47:28-9#

Samina   10,000 is not right now. It's going to be. #00:47:30-9#

Gwen   No that's the aim right now // #00:47:33-4#

Aeema   // but the challenge is, as long, remember it's like a pack of cards. If you have, if we haven't evolved the right system, but that's, for me that's the exciting part, or the most challenging. If you say, what is the most challenging part? How to have a cost effective system of reaching out to 10,000 members? and giving them, getting them work? Because it's all about communication. Remember, the work goes out. 10,000 members. My goodness. As a buyer I would, and I'm talking as a customer. Can you imagine if imagine if

	my work doesn't come back? My business will collapse. So I have to make sure that we can, that communication product goes in and comes out. #00:48:18-9#
Gwen	So you talk a lot about communication in the infrastructure. I assume that with this you mean how you for example link the buyer with the right artisan, no? #00:48:32-1#
Aleema	I am the buyer. #00:48:33-6#
Gwen	You are // #00:48:33-9#
Aleema	I don't want to be linked. I just want my production on time. With the right quality. That's, the moment I come to SABAH, that is the link. What link are you looking for? #00:48:47-1#
Gwen	No, but then SABAH has to link the buyer with the artisan. #00:48:51-1#
Aleema	No, no, no, no, let me explain this. You see, now this is the problem. This is the idealistic problem faced by these do-gooders. This do-good-attitude, now I have reached a point, that 'm really the moment somebody says that linking it, I'm the customer. What do I'm going to be linked with 10,000 women directly. Do you think I can handle it as a customer? No. Who handles, you think I go into a factory I know everybody who works over there? That's not my business. I am the buyer. All I want is my product. So I want somebody to manage it for me. So I'm going to come to SABAH. They are going to cost it for me. SABAH's responsibility is to ensure that they get paid right. That the right renumeration goes to them. It is SABAH which is going to protect it. So you think 10,000 people I want to get linked to? I don't have time. #00:49:54-8#
Gwen	No, but the communication infrastructure, that is meant for this // #00:49:58-9#
Aleema	// I'm asking you. Do you want 10,000 women to communicate with me? #00:50:03-0#
Gwen	No, not with you personally. That's what I'm trying to understand, how this system // #00:50:08-5#
Aleema	What I'm saying is I'm coming to SABAH. SABAH is my link. I come to the manager, sitting in the SABAH office over here, and I communicate with him. He, and I know, because I know that when I come to SABAH, this is a non-profit, and I will do an audit first. I will go into the village. I will check that they are going to get the right renumeration. I will do an audit. But apart from that I don't want to be linked. I want my order. A customer doesn't want to get linked. This is a misconception which is a social misconception of being linked. Each woman wants to get linked? #00:50:50-5#
Gwen	No, no, this is I think not what I mean. I just try to udnerstand what the route to market // #00:50:54-9#
Aleema	// I explain to you: the route to market is SABAH. SABAH is the one which is going to (nu). A customer is going to come to SABAH. #00:51:02-5#
Gwen	So you are the customer, you go to SABAH // #00:51:08-4#
Aleema	// has to have a system. #00:51:09-2#
Gwen	// looks at the order and says 'ok this cluster or this' #00:51:12-2#
Aleema	Or SABAH has all the products in their office, representing the customers, ehm the members' sort of craft expertise. And SABAH shows it, I select it over there. I say 'no, I want this craft. first make me samples as the first (nu.). It is SABAH, which has a database and profile of each and every member. To a point hat if I as a customer walks in, and this is very important for you to note, if I walk into SABAH I will ask and SABAH will show me 'look at all my members that are going to be working on your project and look, these are their pictures, this is the village, this is where they go'. That's, I'm happy. I go back feeling I have done a very good social responsibility also, and I'm going to get a good product. That's all the time I have. I can only spare two hours a day to go and have that meeting. If I have to spend more time then it is not a financial viable project for me. #00:52:14-1#

2A-25	**Interview with Samina Khan / 3 March 2017 / Min. 04:21 – 07:58**
Gwen	#00:04:21-4# Last year I met Saamia in the SABAH office. She had a few there and she said that these are kind of the rejected Chen One cushions that we now have here. #00:04:26-8#
Samina	Haan. So the thing is, ke you see … because some of them were absolutely ok. But they had been given to Chen One and initially they did, I think initially there were some that sold. But the ones we are talking about were particular ones which were (nu.) by the wool. But others they were sold over there but then we have a lot of them also with us. We had a lot of them with us also. And also what we learned from them was that … for one thing that this is, these are individual women, who are going to be working in their homes and bring the products together when it is completed. So getting, taking an order for thousands of things is not feasible. It cannot be like a mass produced thing. It cannot be. To certain level, but not like this. So we should not even accept something like this. And initially also, the market that we, SABAH should be looking for or for women who are home-based, it should be smaller stores which are wanting to get just the authentic original designs. Not something that is going to be mass produced again and again and again. So maybe that is just because of his, because of our limitations to get the right colours. And there are not so many women that you can get a factory dyed wool. So there are not so many women for that particular embroidery. Of course there can be so many women, but SABAH does not have that many members of the same … so, so that was a learning for us. And so Chen One didn't work out like that. #00:06:13-8#
Samina	We have that you see. It is completely, in every area there is a different (nu.). For instance last year we had we had to do, again there was a sample order from Generation. And that was for Chundri. Now you see when someone comes into SABAH, they see s many different varieties and they like one particular thing. But again Generation wanted a big amount. They gave us time to complete the sample order. And

we did that on time. But the next order they gave us was like again in thousands and so it was not possible because those people, we had a list of you know so many members who can do tie and dye. And so this was in Badin. So and they can maybe do 200 yards in two months time. And not 200 yards of six different patterns. They cannot do that. So they said, Gwen said you know you have to give us like a year for such things. You can't say ke we want it in two months. So they wanted it for Eid, you know, it was silk dye. And their designers also completed their whole dress after the sample was given to them. And I went and saw them and they are looking beautiful. But because we ... #00:07:58-9#

2A-26 **Interview with Samina Khan / 3 March 2017 / Min. 31:09 – 32:34**
Samina
#00:31:09-9# It can become self-sustaining if we have these women who are independent business women, who take over the management. Then it is self-sustaining. Because the shops can sustain themselves. Shops are there, and then there is one centre in Pindi which is also sustaining itself because it has these women who are doing stitching over there. That is also sustaining itself. But if we want to hire someone who will be able to you know write a report, and also be able to get proposals from international agencies, and will be able to give presentations, so that might not be. So if you want people like that. And then what we need because we are registered as a company, we also need an order to be done that means our financial management has to be, so you need a financial accountant who is up to the mark, who will be able to keep accounts at the level that can then always be audited, after a year they can be audited. So that is a bit of money that is needed, which I feel, ke maybe another year of work, they will be able to manage. These two, maybe two jobs which are like management senior level jobs. SABAH would be able to fund itself. But it will not be able to fund a training. For trainings SABH will need to get projects. #00:32:34-2#

Case Set Kaarvan Craft Foundation

2A-27 **Feedback email from Aysha Saifuddin / Response to the description of Kaarvan**
10 July 2017

Description

Kaarvan Craft Foundation was initiated as a spin-off of Kashf Foundation, Pakistan's first micro credit institute[1]. Established in cooperation with the Grameen Bank and Muhammad Yunus provided small its to poor women. Realizing that a) most are trying to do business [...] n a vulnerable position to be exploited by middle men wh [...] ts, the idea emerged to provide support to those microcre [...]

Most possess the skill of embellishment or embroidery and that too of many types (over 50 varieties at least)

Kaarvan Craft Foundation was established in 2004. Aysha Saifuddin an economist working at Kashf had been vital in establishing the enterprise development programme within Kashf, realizing the good skill of the women who were customers of the micro-credit service. A key moment for the programme was when in 2000 the American company Baby Gap ordered a

2A-28 **Interview with Aysha Saifuddin / 11 July, 2012 / Min. 6:12 – 6:51**
Aysha
#00:06:12-7# So in the two years, what I realized was that women in Pakistan have incredible skills. However it's difficult and challenging to link the skills to the market. Why? One because most of the high end buyers or designers don't go to the woman or even if the woman came to them they would not, you know, call her into the office, have her sit down. For instance if a woman with remarkable is supplying, having a really good production process, would even try to walk onto the premises of Chen One, she wouldn't be able to because of the social discrimination that we have here. #00:06:51-0#

2A-29 **Interview with Aysha Saifuddin / 11 July 2012 / Min. 08:19 – 09:49**
Aysha
#00:08:19-8# They do their industrial ... It was a final contract. So this was a contract between Baby Gap, our Enterprise Development Department at Kashf and a textile company, Comfort Textiles. So we were going to work, Baby Gap was gonna sort of facilitate the working relationship between the textile company Comfort, and us (nu.). The panels, the clothes were produced by Comfort, they would cut the panels, give the panels to us, we would do the embroidery on the panels, return the panels back to the factory where they would be stitched and then shipped to the US. And of course a buying house would then take care of that. #00:08:55-6#

Aysha
It was remarkable. Gwen, we, our quality sort of issues were less than 0.5 percent. The quality was very good. Time limits were a little issue but we covered that up, because initially the speed of the women was

slow. But we found that there was such a good sort of spirit that just came out of it. Because we had about 3,000 women coming into local villages, where we had set up centres, and all in compliance to Baby Gap. #00:09:25-1#

2A-30   **Interview with Aysha Saifuddin / 11 July 2012 / Min. 10:29 – 12:54**
Aysha   #00:10:29-7# So we, when Baby Gap exited, I guess the questions we asked ourselves, was that why it take an external body to make us do that? Why does it take someone else to do what we were doing for them? Why can't we try and do it ourselves? So that's when the concept of Kaarvan was born. That there will be this entity that is specialized in providing marketing and business services to women so that they could access buyers in middle to high end markets. At the same time, now Kashf was going a purely microfinance route, and we were more in enterprise development. So the board of directors, and I brought this up, so the board of directors said, well, you know, why don't you split it up in a separate company. Also because in Kashf we would always have been subsidized. In order to show to the women that you can run a business, it is important to also not take subsidies yourself, right? Otherwise it becomes 'you can take a subsidy, and you can run on donor grants'. But talking to a woman, saying 'you do it on your own' is very difficult. You have to live what you speak. #00:11:44-8#
Aysha   So in 2004 Kaarvan was set up. And in 2004 we opened our first shop. We had three product editions. We had candles and we had crafts, and embellished products. And then we dug a little bit in handmade paper. And so the shops, now we have three: one in Lahore, one in Karachi, and in Islamabad. The shops have been running without any donor grants since 2004. That's our Kaarvan Crafts division. #00:12:15-8#
Gwen   So they run basically only on the revenues? Including the rent and sales person? #00:12:25-1#
Aysha   subsidized. #00:12:29-8#
Gwen   I keep wondering about these organizations. Obviously … for office, the payment of staff and so on one does probably require funding? #00:12:39-1#
Aysha   No, you just have to be sure. Look, everything that's subsidized. Subsidy … you see, either there has to be a way the subsidy, you can give a person a subsidy but then you withdraw it. What you are doing actually by introducing the subsidy is actually making the centre not competitive. #00:12:54-3#

2A-31   **Interview with Aysha Saifuddin / 11 July 2012 / Min. 17:59 – 18:56**
Gwen   #00:17:59-4# Ok, that as many middle person or middle actors or something would be eliminated? #00:18:05-8#
Aysha   In the end what happened was that naturally someone has to take the product from the village to the market. Originally what was happening was that this would be man, right? The function that the man was not doing was one he had no local ties to the community. That's his interest to build up the community, to give them a higher wage, to even give them information about design sense would be very little. He would bring back the thing and he would just say: here is the thing, just do it. And the women would do it. he would not transmit any information. Our model was the female sales agents model. We went into the villages. First we conducted market demand to find out what the buyers wanted in terms of embroidery. Which kind of embroidery do they want? Because we have to run on market demand. We just can't look at the supply and then try to force that down. or what … #00:18:56-5#

2A-32   **Interview with Aysha Saifuddin / 11 July 2012 / Min. 24:39 – 25:05**
Gwen   #00:24:39-7# Leaders, which are what you call the women sales agents. #00:24:46-6#
Aysha   Because someone from the community has to take the responsibility for transacting the business. But it has to be a woman who the embellishers have themselves selected, because it is a level of trust. Right? It has to be a woman who is mobile. She can come to Lahore. Because we believe in buyer seller meetings. #00:25:05-1#

2A-33   **Interview with Aysha Saifuddin / 11 July 2012 / Min. 15:15 – 16:39**
Gwen   #00:15:15-4# So these kind of research projects are done maybe in order to complement the crafts work? #00:15:20-7#
Aysha   No, this was done, because what we said was … because from 2004 to 2008 we were not working with any donors, right? We felt that in that time we had built an expertise, that we felt … that alright: the crafts project is actually our laboratory. It is something we have run. It is something we are doing well at. It is something we will expand. But if someone wants to use our expertise, right, and if they want us to do things for them, the pros in doing that would be: one women would get benefit from the way we do things. Right? It's outreach. So Kaarvan would be able to say yes. In Kaarvan in the crafts project I worked with 1,500 women. In the consulting I worked with 8,000 women. So it is economically better for the country, right? Two, Kaarvan would also build its expertise in doing these consultancy services. And we should always look towards growth (nu.). So that's fine. We actually developed the two divisions. So between the two divisions there is actually no subsidization from one thing to the other. The donors are very careful. I tell you a little bit about our value chain project, because the model was so different. #00:16:39-4#

2A-34	**Interview with Aysha Saifuddin / 11 July 2012 / Min. 21:06 – 21:46**
Aysha	#00:21:06-1# A very interesting thing what we did was also, that before entering into this project we developed our exit strategy. Because development, the way it is, I mean I have come to see development, you know. You are doing development to create change. If the change is created, your need should really be eliminated, if you have done a good job, right? Unless you are creating your exit from that project you are actually not doing development. And if you do your exist, and if you ensure that you are not needed, that is true development. #00:21:46-8#

2A-35	**Interview with Danish Khan / 18 August 2015 / Min. 01:30:30 – 01:33:18)**
Gwen	#01:30:30-7# Ok, fine, I think I'm more or less done. One very little question: where is your shop? Do you have shops or outlets or something? #01:30:36-5#
Danish	We are planning to open up a large, bigger shop. #01:30:41-9#
Gwen	Ok. #01:30:42-2#
Danish	Because we are working on value chain. We are strengthening our value chain. And very soon we will be opening our outlet, more formatted, a better, large scale, relatively larger outlet as well. #01:31:02-6#
Gwen	You had a small shop // #01:31:03-8#
Danish	// We had a small shop in Vogue Tower on M.M. Alam Road, yes, yes. #01:31:07-2#
Gwen	But that is closed? #01:31:08-1#
Danish	That is closed. That is closed. We wanted to have first work on our value chain, to have a larger number of high frequency item, which we are currently working on through these, through this institute, through these interventions, to have more product range to offer to the consumers and to work on making it a brand. Primarily earlier there were a lot of candles, that we used to make. We recently closed down our candle operations, because candle is something which is very, it's not a high frequency item. People will not … You see, all these things have to be taken up as a business. They have to make business sense. You see, it will not run if it is not making a profit to the level that it, the shop can sustain itself. Nobody is going to put in, inject money in it for losses, you see? And to make profit out of it, to develop businesses out of it, you have to have some kind of products where, which are high frequency items, for instance clothing, and what we are working on translating the craft into high street fashion. #01:32:24-5#
Gwen	So basically you are addressing the kind of, let's say high priced, urban market? #01:32:28-8#
Danish	Yes, yes, yes. #01:32:31-4#
Gwen	But these, some of the women they would maybe produce something for that, but they also produce something for their local market, which is more low priced // #01:32:38-4#
Danish	// Yes, absolutely. #01:32:39-5#
Gwen	So they have different market avenues? #01:32:40-2#
Danish	Yes, increase the size of the market. What's the harm if I have developed a product and I can sell it to you as well, and I can sell it to my chowkidar as well. Why not? Customers are customers in the end. #01:32:51-9#
Gwen	What happened to the candle makers? They are a trained in a new // #01:32:55-8#
Danish	(laughing) They are working. We just helped them set up their own system for candle making. So they are doing some work on candle making currently (laughing). But … #01:33:09-4#
Gwen	They are not trained in another skill? #01:33:08-5#
Danish	No, they were not trained in other skills. We keep them engaged in, with orders for candles. We keep giving them orders for candles. So … #01:33:18-5#

2A-36	**Interview with Aysha Saifuddin / 11 July 2012 / Min. 18:56 – 20:10**
Aysha	#00:18:56-7# So we conducted market demand. We researched that. We went to about 1,500 wholesalers and retailers. We said if you want to build a supply chain of embroidered products what embroideries would you be interested in? So when they gave us the names of the embroideries then we researched to find out where those embroideries were being done. So that became our point of intervention. Then we went to those areas, we went to the local communities, we would knock on a person's door, and we would say that 'excuse me, you know, this is our project, would you be interested?' And then we would go to another door, and then we would eventually have a meeting with those women. And the model was that the … after two / three meetings, when we had told them about the project, and we had done our sort of social economics filed research then also, they would elect their local leader. Who we would call the female sales agent. And this female sales agent would be our point of entry, that we picked up these sales agents and we trained them on all business principles, including design, marketing, how to do it. #00:20:10-2#

2A-37	**Interview with Danish Khan / 18 August 2015 / Min. 01:06:00 – 01:10:49**
Gwen	#01:06:00-6# This actually connects well to last years event, the, what was the name? #01:06:08-8#
Danish	PPAF #01:06:10-5#
Gwen	PPAF, yes. So what came out of that event? The round table for craft sector development. #01:06:17-4#
Danish	The round table. #01:06:16-7#
Gwen	So has there been any result? #01:06:20-9#
Danish	Ah, the main idea of those round tables was to actually understand first of all as to what the demand side

requires, and what the supply side is offering. These four areas that I talked about, that demand side is not incentivised to actually meet the supply side. Supply side does not know what the demand side ... So the first step is to make them sit on the table, and to make them understand each other. What do they need? And what is it that they ca supply? And then let them come, let them bring, join hands, so that the trust can be bridged. Now expecting that something, the bridge could be developed and then, then some business solution should, could evolve. That is, that should be the second step, and that is where the organizations like PPAF are working to actually have a sustainable relationship and sustainable and a long term relationship with, with this artisan communities and a private sector organization. So there is this public-private partnership has to take a very rough road, but it has to pave the road. You see, so, and it does not only happen in Punjab, we also did it in Sindh, with artisans of Sindh and with the business community (interruption). #01:08:18-1#

Gwen	But I think also in KP, right? #01:08:20-1#
Danish	Yes, in KPK as well, we did it in KPK as well. (interruption) #01:08:23-9#
Pause	#01:08:43-0#
Danish	So, what came out, that demand side was actually interested in working with the supply side, but again some product development aspects which are demand driven are kind of missing, and also some endorsements are missing as well. You see, you make these products a kind of a brand when there is this pull from some celebrity, you see. Making it a brand when some, what you say, some morning show hosts are wearing some craft based products, or some actresses are wearing, or some actors are wearing some craft based products, so then it will have a push to be mainstream. But the demand side, what came out was, the demand side and the supply side when they, in the exercise when they join hands to come up with a product idea, it was such a unique idea, that everywhere, Gwen, it was such a unique idea, that ... There few entrepreneurs that I invited, those who wanted to take this idea further. And something has been worked on, on those lines as well. But primarily the ideas was to actually work out a strategy and to work out the gaps as to what are the gaps between the supply side and the demand side. And the four areas that I have just mentioned. Those came out as the biggest areas to work on. #01:10:49-5#

2A-38 **Interview with Aysha Saifuddin / 11 July 2012 / Min. 20:10 – 21:06**

Aysha #00:20:10-2# Then we facilitated buyer seller meetings beween these women and high end markets. Nu., Bareeze, Generation, lots of wholesalers in Shahalmi, Icchra. A big market of embroidered products is actually going out in containers to Europe, where there are thousands of Pakistanis living there, who prefer to wear embroidered clothes rather than anything else. And then in the buyer seller meeting, we would try and facilitate. So our function was ke is there a problem happening? Does the buyer seem ok with her? Does she seem comfortable with the buyer? We would facilitate her to make production plan for something. She would submit the sample, get the order. So whereby this we were able to extend our outreach to 8,000 women now, primarily in two provinces, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab. And these women are now under their sales agents supplying independently to the shops. #00:21:06-1#

2A-39 **Interview with Danish Khan / 18 August 2015 / Min. 28:59 – 35:00**

Danish #00:28:59-3# Absolutely. In my experience, Gwen, I see that, ehm, why does a product sell? You see, product sells because of two things. One is that the customer sees a value in it, right? And also that there is, and it is a brand. So these are the two aspects that create a demand for a product. Now, have we been able to generate that kind of demand for the crafts that these women are creating? The answer is no. Ok? Neither the product, neither the customer sees value in the products, the end consumer sees value in the products, and neither a brand has been created through them. Now if I have to buy something for myself, I have to, for myself as a consumer for instance, if some consumer needs to buy something, he or she would buy it if it is of utility to them, or if she sees value in it. So what are those crafts that have been able to bridge these two areas, have been kind of a becoming a product that is of utility or becoming a brand. So none of that has happened. And that is the biggest gap. And the question is why? #00:30:54-8#

Gwen I was about to ask you: why do you think is that? #00:30:58-2#

Danish Why doesn't it happen. Why it didn't happen? You see, there are four areas, that are the gaps between the supply end and the demand end, that has prevented the supply end, which is the crafts sector to become mainstream. You see there are four aspects in it. You see everything has to be demand driven. If something has to make business sense for them, economic sense, it has to be demand driven. The demand has to be there. Why hasn't a demand been there? So there are a few gaps. And why haven't they been able to push it as something? There are four aspects to it. I call it a trust deficit between the supply and the demand. It is a trust deficit that is there. The demand says that ok, I get these things from them, provided: Will I be getting it on time? Will I be getting it in the quality that is required? Will I be getting it in the quantity that I require? And will there be any innovation in the designs? So these are four aspects that the demand side thinks that will I be able to bridge, will I be able to get these from them? So they are unsure, the demand side is unsure that whether they are going to bridge those four gaps, whether the supply side will be able to provide them with the quantity that they, the quality that they require, in the time frame that is required and the innovation in the designs. So these are primarily, so what options does, a demand side is left with? They go for the technological replacements for the crafts. They go for easy tech-

nological replacement which is on control, which gives them all four of these things: quality, quantity, time and innovation in design. So they go for solutions, compromised solutions in technology or technological solutions in urban areas. they don't go back for the craft sector. Now what should be done to actually take them forward, the craft sector. So these are the gaps, primarily the gaps, which actually prevent the craft sector to become a brand, because the demand side doesn't have the incentive to actually go back, make it a kind of a brand for themselves, because it doesn't fulfil their economic objectives of, their business objectives. So what should be done? A bridge has to be created first of all. the demand side has to be brought back somehow and also the supply side should have a, some representatives to actually go and showcase their products to the demand side. So it is not an easy job. It is not at all an easy job, but it has to be done, where this gap has to be bridged. Where the demand side sees value, the demand side says yes, where the demand side believes that 'Ok, yes, my design can be produced in volume with this community.' #00:35:00-9#

2A-40	**Interview with Danish Khan / 18 August 2015 / Min. 37:48 – 40:58**
Gwen	#00:37:48-1# Ok. How do you do the product design? How is that developed? #00:37:53-8#
Danish	Haan. We involve designers. We involve designers. Not only involve designers, we actually bring them back to, we take them to the location where the training is happening, ok. And also the curriculum that we designed, that we have designed, we continuously calibrate it with the market, with what the market requires, with what the demand side requires. It is very important, that whatever, and we continuously train our trainers. There is this current training, that trainers did. I myself am involved in training. #00:38:40-4#
Gwen	Ok, what do you train? #00:38:40-6#
Danish	In colour combinations, in textures, in compositions, in whatever we were taught in NCA. #00:38:52-1#
Gwen	Ok, and you employ professional designers on project basis // #00:38:57-3#
Danish	// We, yes! #00:38:58-8#
Gwen	You don't have any in-house designers? #00:39:00-5#
Danish	No, we take, we have a network, where there are people and there are designers who do this pro bono. They do this on voluntary basis, we have few designers, who do this on voluntary basis. They join us, they join hands with us, and then they go back to, and we many of them bring them here to have a training session with them. And on our curriculum side, we continuously improve on our curriculum by 'What do they need?' #00:39:35-4#
Gwen	Why would designers volunteer? Why would you not pay them? #00:39:41-0#
Danish	Ah, you know why do they volunteer? Yes, we have many a times paid designers working with us for a specific project. But then we want to have a variety. We want to have a variety of … and then we do have a set of designers, that are project based that we hire for a specific project to (incomprehensible), but then they are high end designers, who are, who would want to do a voluntary act, for instance Nida Azwer. She would not be interested in a paying job. She would more be interested in her social contribution. So like a, currently we had a discussion and we took him back to Bahawalpur, Rizwan Beyg. Rizwan Beyg was involved with us in a similar kind of a, so we took him back, so he trained few of our trainees or whatever (incomprehensible). This is how it happened. #00:40:58-5#

2A-41	**Email conversation with Danish Khan / 12 July 2017**

19.06.19 10:20

RE: Segment about Kaarvan: request to read and approve
Danish Jabbar Khan <danish.khan@kaarvan.com>
Wed 7/12/2017 9:52 AM
To: 'Gwendolyn Kulick' <gwendolyn_kulick@hotmail.com>
Gwen,
Till date Kaarvan has mobilized , trained and influenced the lives of 15,723 females. 3813 are in the pipeline.
For the impact on their lives, suggest you must go through the impact evaluation reports on http://kaarvan.com/publications/
These will be very helpful.

Met Razia and Mrs Hashmi yesterday at a session at LUMS re the innovation in education. Everyone is also very excited

All the best Gwen.

Kind Regards

Danish

2A-42	**Interview with Danish Khan / 9 March 2017 / Min. 37:48 – 40:58 (Recording A)**
Danish	#00:07:28-4# Yes, it's tough. It's tough the career paths over there are not very black and white I would say. Many of them would want to become … and yes they do become teachers. Many of our, Gwen, many of our trainees from previous programs have evolved into trainers, in our programs as well. So previously they were trainees in SFMs, Skills for Markets programs three years back. Then afterwards they worked in the market for some time. Market, when I say market I not only mean the retail market, I also mean the nearby market as well. Whatever they are doing through that skill that they acquired. They are making some economic use of that. So that is something we consider as important. And also, there is an addition to this gain from the training. It is their ability to decide fro themselves. And that is a very key turning point in their lives, I would say. One is that, the most difficult part, Gwen, is to convince their gatekeepers to let these girls come to the training centres to get trained. #00:09:19-3#

2A-43   **Interview with Danish Khan / 9 March 2017 / Min. 00:01 – 05:02 (Recording B)**

Danish   #00:00:01-7# The frustration with the development sector is there, that many a times – as I mentioned in the focus group as well – that it becomes very project focused. Just because of the fact that the demands of the donors are such in the effort, because we are not per se profit making organizations. So many a times the requirements of the donors, the donors start dictating as to what should be done. For organisations like Kaarvan, we are moving from a project based organisation to a program based organisation. It's not an easy path. It's a transition, where you have to … And when you have to be very outspoken as far as what you believe in. And then you should have the resilience yourself to take that decision to that level and be ready to take challenges and move in that way, be ready to take, to experiment with things, where you make others believe that what you believe in is right. It's the direction that we take. So this is what has happened here as well. And we think that the acceptance would be greater if organizations like ours or of he level of Kaarvan, when they should actually be able to evaluate their work. If they are actually able to tell the world that what they are doing has value in the terms, language that they understand. When I mention that you must understand this, sit with Saad, and he will tell you they went about evaluating things. So we have to actually speak the language that they understand. And I'm not saying that … and we have to do it ourselves. We should be able to evaluate our work. It should not be … And that is the way when the organisation becomes a program based organisation. Then you don't just do, just leave the trainees there but you should keep evaluating them over a period of time, to know as to what is the impact of that training conducted in the previous years: now what are they doing? So this is how. #00:03:00-5#

Gwen   I think many years ago when I interviewed Aysha, and I think you also afterwards said this, Kaarvan also is attempting to be a social enterprise, right? So that model is still there? #00:03:12-2#

Danish   That model is still there. That model is still there. We are … Because of our network in the rural areas. There is this … The market now knows that there is this organisation Kaarvan, which works in a relatively professional way. There is a way of … Because NGOs have a negative connotation all together in Pakistan. But they realize this is an organisation who is not only doing things the right way but also the results are there as well. And the results, by the results I mean the results with more work with the donors as well. Connections developed, more market linkages developed then as well. And also the market, the bigger players in the market have also, are also involved with us to get work from these ladies. We've got connections from one of the largest exporters of home textiles, Crescent Textiles, we have a contract with them. They are the largets, among the largest in Pakistan as far as the exports of home textiles is concerned. So we are under a contract … #00:05:02-5#

2A-44   **Interview with Danish Khan / 9 March 2017 / Min. 00:01 – 05:02 (Recording A)**

Danish   #00:16:17-8# So now, Gwen, what is happening, is that after the intervention that we did with CERP, one of the biggest, I think for anybody in the development sector, the highest point for anybody would be that you do something that convinces the government to change the way that they were doing things. So this intervention that we did with CERP had produced results and evidence that this model has value. So let's take this, Kaarvan's model, and make it a part of the government's program. #00:17:01-7#

Gwen   Ok, the project … so sorry to interrupt, just to confirm. So the project with CERP were these training centres? #00:17:10-0#

Danish   No, no. they were previous. #00:17:16-7#

It was a separate intervention, Gwen. It was a separate intervention all together. Nothing to do with these centres [in Gujranwala and Bahawalpur]. There are new programs being developed which we are starting up from June, from PSDF. It was an experiment with CERP. Now, PSDF is a government body. So they have adopted that model, that Kaarvan's model. I have designed the project together with them. #00:17:43-8#

Gwen   I'm still a bit confused. So what was the CERP model? #00:17:48-0#

Danish   The CERP model was, that we have trained … it was called Randomized Controlled Trial. #00:17:58-6#

Gwen   Randomized Controlled Trial #00:18:07-3#

Danish   This is how research is being done, so for evidence. It was designed in a way, that these are the villages, 54 villages, in Bahawalpur and Bahawalnagar. This is a treatment village. We call it treatment. Treatment villages will be provided the market linkage. Then there are other villages, who have been trained in SFM, the training programs that have been conducted, but these will not be provided the market linkage. #00:18:41-2#

Gwen   Hold on, what are they called? Treatment? #00:18:45-6#

Danish   Yes. They got treatment. You see these 54 villages will be provided market linkage, 54. These are all trained in Skills for Market program, two years back. So 54 villages will be provided a market linkage intervention, and 54 will not be provided anything. #00:19:15-8#

Gwen   So all together 108? #00:19:17-0#

Danish   108. And both will be monitored, to evaluate so as to what is the impact of market linkage. #00:19:27-3#

Gwen   And the treatment villages are those 54 villages.. #00:19:28-9#

Danish   Are these, yes. #00:19:29-4#

Gwen   Ok, now I get it. #00:19:31-0#

Danish   You see, this is a very interesting research. #00:19:35-6#

Gwen	It's a comparison. #00:19:36-2#
Danish	Yes. It's a comparison as to what is the impact. So it produced good impact. So this has a value, and there is a lot of statistical analysis that is being done, very powerful economic analysis being done by economists, which is the CERP body. So this is, now this model, this ML component, because of that research, is now becoming part of the programs that are being offered by PSDF. #00:20:12-7#
Gwen	Ah, now I // #00:20:13-9#
Danish	By PSDF #00:20:14-7#
Gwen	Now I get it. #00:20:15-8#
Danish	Now so this is the high point for us. So we've managed to actually change the way the program is designed by them. #00:20:22-8#

2A-45 **Interview with Danish Khan / 9 March 2017 / Min. 37:07 – 41:58 (Recording B)**

Gwen	#00:37:07-3# So what has come out of the curriculum development with Kiran? I'll ask her also. I met her actually but only for lunch the other day. I didn't know she is working on this. #00:37:16-3#
Danish	We are I think more than half way through. More than half way through. And of the total program it is just this part, the innovation in design. Of the total training that we are partnering with them, for those trainings. #00:37:35-0#
Gwen	So basically the textile department of BNU would work with producers on product innovation? #00:37:40-1#
Danish	Not the producers. They will develop the curriculum. We have a curriculum. They will develop a curriculum, rather they … we ourselves are approaching it in a disruptive way as to: what else can be done? Because so they are developing a curriculum and we are helping them developing a curriculum so that it is closer to the // #00:38:07-0#
Gwen	The curriculum for the BNU students? #00:38:09-8#
Danish	Curriculum for the BNU … No, no, no. For the trainers of Kaarvan. #00:38:15-9#
Gwen	Oh yes, yes, Now I get it. Ok. #00:38:16-9#
Danish	For the trainers of Kaarvan who will get trained in that curriculum how to do that curriculum. And then they will impart their training to them. #00:38:24-5#
Gwen	Ok, now I get it. #00:38:25-7#
Danish	To the community. #00:38:26-8#
Gwen	Now I get it. We talk about so many curricula #00:38:31-2#
Danish	So it would be such that this is the BNU curriculum. This is the trainees and this is the trainers. So these trainers, we will have a continuous loop, where first of all these trainers will be trained in that more evolved curriculum, that I mentioned. And that curriculum, we make sure that it is not a very, and we and I think that Kiran and the team have realized that really well, that it is not for the students of coming to BNU to study. So it is for, so it has to be a more easy, more, intellectually be of that level. #00:39:52-4#
Gwen	Of somebody who has studied art, maybe in Bahawalpur or in Multan or so #00:39:52-7#
Danish	Yes, absolutely #00:39:53-9#
Gwen	Even though it's in art school or in academia but #00:39:56-2#
Danish	The exposure is different. #00:39:57-9# So then we will bring these trainers here. The faculty will train them. Because there is no institute (nu.) so they will train them in that curriculum. They will get back and deliver that training. #00:40:21-3#
Gwen	Ok, very interesting. #00:40:21-0#
Danish	And it will not finish here. We will take them there to see whether this // #00:40:27-8#
Gwen	The faculty? #00:40:30-1#
Danish	Yes, faculty. To see whether it's being // #00:40:35-7#
Gwen	Implemented? #00:40:36-3#
Danish	See you cannot expect that one training would do wonders. So it has to be a continuous loop. So this should become a big lab. Ideally these should be together, but the distance of the artisans and the barriers // #00:40:56-5#
Gwen	It's actually not really a lab. A lab … well, it is maybe a lab. A lab is about experimenting // #00:41:02-7#
Danish	From god's perspective I would say, hahaha. #00:41:04-0#
Gwen	But it is with a specific purpose of training the trainers. #00:41:07-7#
Danish	Yes! And then, not only once but come back, they would come here again, they would go back, go there here. They would come here then would go back. So it's kind of a continuous loop where … you see, strategically, what I'm trying to do is to have something worked around, to have the interest of BNU towards the community. They are already very interested but they realized their barriers as well. So once the work becomes so interesting, and they can remove their barriers easily. Then these ladies. #00:41:58-2#

2A-46 **Skype Interview with Kiran Khan / 19 October 2017 / Min. 00:17 – 17:04**

| Gwen | #00:00:17-6# Anyway, so Gwen, of course, I mean I told you already in spring, right, I got really intrigued by the idea that after the focus group, one and a half years ago, you and Danish continued staying in touch and then working together. Because I think this is kind of what the conclusion of the dissertation will also be. That how important communication is. That people come together and communicate maybe without |

	an objective. That they don't meet in order to write a proposal or so in the first place, but in the first place just come together and have exchange and learn from each other and get inspired and so on. So I thought this was kind of a real life experience, that it works like that. Because I brought you together for the focus group and then I hear from Danish that you are actually working on something together, because you met there. #00:01:10-3#
Kiran	Yes, that was, I mean if you know Danish was also my class fellow at NCA. #00:01:14-8#
Gwen	Yes, yes, I remember. #00:01:16-3#
Kiran	We were there together, but he did architecture. And then he did his MBA, so has been attached to Kaarvan more in itself. Whenever I would meet him, you know, at RA unions (?) or when our class fellows would get together. So even before the focus group there was this interaction between me and him and we would talk about it together. #00:01:38-9#
Gwen	Yes #00:01:40-0#
Kiran	Maybe you know he focus group became the platform where we actually discussed so many ideas. And so after the focus group, after you left, then you know one day he called me and he said 'You know, I want to have a meeting with you about this workshop that we want to do with these women and I need your help in that.' so I said 'Ok, ok.' So first we met informally and he said 'You know it's going to be, we've had many trainings and it's going to be like a three moths training for these women. And so what do you thin we should be doing?' Because he said 'You know, we also do marketing and we do like you know verbal communication skills and we do all of that, but we want one to be design based.' #00:02:24-3#
Gwen	Yes #00:02:25-1#
Kiran	Ok, so he showed the curriculum that they made before and it was in Urdu and I saw the kind of assignments that they were doing with those women. And when I looked at that I thought, you know these women, you know the kind of exposure I had with these women, that they are very reciprocative (?) and if you give them a platform or a chance to learn some of the art or design curriculum, maybe just the basics, they will be able to comprehend. because there was this big question about how difficult the curriculum can be and if they will be able to sort of understand a sort of a formal way of teaching. #00:03:10-6#
Gwen	Yes #00:03:10-7#
Kiran	So I told him 'Achha, let me design something and …' because I became very excited about it. I sad 'let me design something and then you give me your feedback.' Ok, so his team came and we asked them. I said 'For the moment, because initially you wanted me or my team, if we could go and impart some sort of training. But only because we were in the session I told him that will not be possible at the moment because we had our thesis on 21st April and it was just not possible to do that. that we would leave BNU and go, because it was not the summer. So I said 'let me design something and I'll make, I'll give you visuals and I'll give you PowerPoints and you see how you can translate those. And what we can do is that you can …' because they were 150 trainers under them, and those 150 trainers under them there are about 1,500 women. #00:04:07-1#
Gwen	Ok, so these, are these the two training centres that they have in Bahawalpur and Gujranwala? No? It's something different? #00:04:15-2#
Kiran	This is beyond that. This is in other areas as well. #00:04:20-0#
Gwen	Ok, but // #00:04:21-5#
Kiran	This was basically broadly for 1,500 women and those 150 trainers will impart this curriculum who have some sort of idea and are sort of a combination between rural and urban. And the idea was that initially when they translate all this we will have to (interruption by someone coming in) … So we will be able to translate this curriculum into Urdu for these women and even if needed the PowerPoint as well. And then initially Danish asked me that these women, the 150 trainers, there is an option of those trainers coming to BNU and we train them here, or there is an option of us, some faculty or somebody going there, because Pakeeza was willing to and impart maybe this curriculum on how to teach this curriculum. So both ides were open, and they are still open, because I'm not sure what they did with the curriculum, because we had another session with them day before yesterday. So the idea, the main objective was that they told us that these women will be coming to the centres about three times a week they come to the centre. And they usually come Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and they come there and they work or do whatever, share stories and then they go back. So I suggested to them, ok Monday, Tuesday they should have maybe four hours in class, then they should have homework that they take home on Wednesday, then they meet the trainer again on Thursday. So that makes it three days and on the weekend they will again go home and you know do whatever they want to do, not a lot of homework but like a little bit to follow up, because four hours sitting in the centre were not enough. But the ideas was, you know, I asked him, what kind of craft these women were doing because it was important to know which kind of craft. So he told me that these communities re mixed communities. And some will be doing phulkari, and some will be doing gota work or some will be doing rillis. So by and large their objective that their products improved and these women should have some connection of what is happening here in the city, and what is actually sellable and what do designers make so that their practice becomes more sellable. So in three moths that is the main objective. I sent you the curriculum also. Did have a look? #00:07:07-6#
Gwen	Yes, that would be, no you didn't. You wanted to and you haven't. #00:07:11-4#
Kiran	Oh, I didn't? I'm sorry. #00:07:13-7#

Gwen	That would be my next question: what's in the curriculum? But you can send it to me also. #00:07:18-9#
Kiran	Yes, I'll send it to you right now. I'm so sorry. Ok, I'll send it to you right now. It's open in front of me here. But I also made PowerPoints, so if we have like the first class is on line. Different types of line. So hat the studio exercise will be you know that somebody will show them a PowerPoint that I made already on, just to explain to them that how points will combine and make a line. so in Urdu it's called lakki. So somebody will be talking to them in Urdu on how this is also a line and this diagonal line is also a line and this exact line is also a line, and how the … So somebody will be, you know, making a fun exercise of that line class. #00:08:04-3#
Gwen	And how will it work? they will have a PowerPoint presentation in the community centre? #00:08:09-2#
Kiran	Yes. #00:08:09-8#
Gwen	Somewhere. #00:08:10-4#
Kiran	They said that they will be able to provide at least one laptop in each centre for them to see the Power-Points. Because of course that was not possible. And they said we will also try, because I said there are some assignments in which a sewing machine will be required. So they will also be able to maybe provide sewing machines, a few of them. And if we give hem like templates, because there were certain motifs that had to be photocopied, they said we will, if we can't provide a photocopy machine then we will provide photocopies of certain things. #00:08:47-2#
Gwen	Yes. #00:08:46-4#
Kiran	So the idea was that I, we thought myself, Rohma, Iman, we work on this thing. So we divided the content. And the focus was on line, color, texture and then the final product. And the final product meant, the line meant different types of lines and then they would be combining lines … I'll send you the curriculum and you'll understand it. How week wise and (nu.) wise I have divided it. Then when they are going to be shown line, they are going to be shown different elements of design, that you … very basic, because we don't want to confuse them. So we are going to say that you know, like we learn aleph, be, pe or ABC, when you start learning creative things, then you have basic elements which are the ABC of design. And so line is one thing, and then color is one thing, and texture is one thing, and we are not going to touch too many things, but line, color, texture mostly, because that is something that will effect their eventual craft product. so teach them about line and overlapping of lines and then how after overlapping lines you can make, you know, grids and patterns and how lines can combine to make shapes and then how those shapes actually combine to make different motifs. So we, I made a template in which we are going to give them different circles and different triangles, and we are going to ask them to cut those up and then you know arrange them to make a nice composition. And then explain o them that it can be you know spaced out or it can be overlapping, you can use big things and small things. Just to open their mind on how things work. And then at one point after we are going to introduce them to basic color, so that they understand that there is this color wheel in which somebody may arrange these colors somehow, and so color's opposite, the color wheel usually work, and there is a name to that color. So if you close your eyes and you use red and green, it usually works. #00:10:57-3#
Gwen	Yes #00:10:58-1#
Kiran	So that they understand how complementary, so we thought that we will only focus on a few color schemes. Like monochromatic, so that colors next to each other, and analogous maybe, or primary, secondary. Just basic color palettes so that when they are getting the (nu.) about certain colors, and they don't understand their, they are able to refer back to the color knowledge that they have. They are able to some up with sort of new contrast as well. #00:11:31-4#
Gwen	Ok #00:11:32-5#
Kiran	So, and then finally we thought that in texture we will show them, and of course, and of course (nu.) and in texture we are going to show them how fabric manipulation can take place. Like we are going to take them texture in nature, and then we are going to ask them to touch surfaces and things, and touch (nu.) and then we are going to say that ok fabric can also have texture. So if you pleat a fabric, it becomes a textured fabric. And if we have a sewing machine in the centre which they said that they will try to provide, then you know pleating and knotting in itself or taking thread and putting you know an running stitch on it will create texture to give value addition to you product. So that, at one point we are going to ask them to bring one draft embroidery that they do at heir homes on it. That motif we are going to ask them to first sort of make it in black and white, and then that motif will be traced and we will show them how that in itself can go into a block repeat or maybe a overlap, and then we are going to introduce different color schemes on those motifs to make several pieces. There are going to be in the end I think 130 pieces or something like that. Then they are going to ask them to make coordinates with those. So that means that they are going to take fabric and either pleat it, so then they understand and we are going to show them a PowerPoint that look this is (nu.) cushion and it's back we just pleat (nu.) it. Ok, this is a horizontal cushion and it can have buttons on the side and just your motif in the middle. #00:13:10-5#
Gwen	Ok #00:13:10-9#
Kiran	So these are things, these are value additions and we are going to show them lots of images, so that their visual vocabulary, and of course there is no other way except the PowerPoint. #00:13:20-1#
Gwen	Yes, ok. #00:13:20-7#
Kiran	And then in the end the pieces that will be left are all going to be joined together and it's going to be, in the

	end it's going to become a group project. So they are going to have individual pieces that they can craft and sell on their own, and then one will be a group project, where different women in different centres will bring their five pieces together and they will collectively decide where to arrange what, and then have a discussion and interactive dialogue and then maybe make a big rilli or a quilt out of it. #00:13:52-0#
Gwen	Ok. And where will that be? That will also be in the centre? #00:13:55-2#
Kiran	In the centre. it has to be in the centre. We said that, because so far I have just developed the curriculum. Danish said that we will see if … because I told him it would be important if you could actually bring the trainers and a few women, who are leaders in those groups, to at least have some sort of market analysis or what is gong on here. So an exposure to Khaadi or an exposure to other shops, where you find those value addition things. So that they are also to see what they can do with their own products and put value addition to it. #00:14:29-1#
Gwen	Yes. And where in the project are you now? You are saying some steps have happened? #00:14:33-7#
Kiran	I finished the curriculum, and I finished the PowerPoint, and I have handed everything to him. #00:14:38-5#
Gwen	So they haven't implemented it yet? They haven't started to do it yet? #00:14:42-9#
Kiran	They haven't gotten back to us of where the translation is. Because we has then started on Rural Women's Day and so day before yesterday there were 14 women who came to BNU. So the textile department with these women, they had an interactive dialogue, on Rural Women's Day. So 14 rural women and 14 urban women, and the idea was to share their dreams and so we launched another project (laughing) and so this became a little in he background. #00:15:16-0#
Gwen	Ok. So I saw that on Facebook also, and Danish also sent me a long WhatsApp about this thing in BNU. #00:15:22-5#
Kiran	Yes, yes, yes. #00:15:23-2#
Gwen	I saw it on Facebook. I asked him 'What is this?' And so he sent me this long WhatsApp. So what is this dream thing? I never understand it really. #00:15:31-2#
Kiran	They did this Rural Women's Day, one with BNU, with LUMS, PIFD, Kinnaird College and one other place. #00:15:39-2#
Gwen	Yes. #00:15:39-7#
Kiran	So they did this focus group in six areas. And I suggested to him when we met before the focus group, that let's after you have done all these six institutes, let's all get together one platform with the women and you know share our stories that we generated in our studios. Otherwise the exercise will go to waste. #00:16:02-8#
Gwen	Yes, I mean that is the problem with so many of these training sessions. Once it's over, so who is following up? This is also one of my conclusions: how do you keep the momentum up? There is a momentum. Everybody is like really enthusiastic. It was such a nice day. But then, what happens then? How do you keep the momentum? #00:16:22-2#
Kiran	No, I mean if you ask me from my side, I did this out of real passion for these women. I mean, I have told him, this is my contribution for these women. I have, we have not charged a single penny for this curriculum. And that is you know my contribution. It's not for Kaarvan, it's not Danish. Danish is a very dear friend. This is our contribution back to the community. And I hope it gets translated. I still have to ask him where it has gone now, because I was under pressure, I can't do it in Urdu, I will help you but I don't have time to like translate all this. You have to hire somebody to do this in Urdu. #00:17:04-5#

2A-47 | **Interview with Danish Khan / 9 March 2017 / Min. 42:25 – 44:06 (Recording B)**

Gwen	#00:42:25-1# Yes, so that goes into the direction of strengthening networks and so on #00:42:29-3#
Danish	This is a network. See getting the institution involved with the community through … and we are playing a kind of a bridging part, where connecting. Actually this is what we want as well, Gwen, that we should be at a, Kaarvan should be at a place where it should get, it would network people. Network institutions, organizations. #00:42:54-4#
Gwen	Ok, great. #00:42:54-7#
Danish	So this is how it is going // #00:42:56-3#
Gwen	If this is the outcome of the focus group, this collaboration, I would be more than happy to have conducted the focus group. #00:43:03-5#
Danish	Absolutely. You see the ideas come like this only, Gwen. The ideas would spark of somewhere from any … I think this focus groups that you conducted, and then you see, remember that craft based, that with PPAF, that we conducted with // #00:43:26-9#
Gwen	The round table #00:43:27-3#
Danish	The round table that we conducted. Those were also very helpful. And also, this is something that we realized that this is something that is a missing link. We are, people working over here are coming from backgrounds where the realization is there. We are coming from this side, from the demand side. So we know that side of the picture as well. So we are very aware of what is missing. This is the network. So your service delivery model // #00:44:06-4#

2A-48 **Interview with Israr Ud Din / 3 June 2013 / Min. 00:31 – 01:36 (Recording A)**

Israr #00:00:31-7# Yes, I did my MBA from Karachi, IBA Karachi. And I came into this handicraft, you know, because of AKRSP. I was working with AKRSP in the enterprise development section. So it was a project of Shubinak. Shubinak was a project of AKRSP basically. #00:00:50-0#

Gwen Yes, it was the value chain house, right? That was called Shubinak House. #00:00:55-9#

Israr Yes, there was an exit phase. Maybe because the Swiss Development had already funded for the development of this project, this sector, twice before this last funding. So in the exit phase the main objective was to make it an enterprise, Mogh, so that, you know, it should go ahead as a sustainable enterprise. So then I was selected as a team leader or you can say as a project manager for this exit phase. It was 2005 ... 2006 ... 2005 ... something. 2006. #00:01:36-1#

2A-49 **Interview with Raza Ulmulk / 3 June 2013 / Min. 20:04 – 22:23 (Recording A)**

Raza #00:20:04-6# They wrote proposals to different donors. And the SDC, Swiss Development Corporation, came forward to fund for this project. They liked the idea, and they funded it for three years. and the basic idea, as I said, was to improve the quality of the fabric and to make value addition from the cloth. And they, in that project there were three components. One component was working for the improvement of the breed of sheep. The second component was to form village organizations or trustees who are the women shu makers. And the third one was a value addition house. Value addition outlet, we used to call it Shubinak House. where all the value addition was done. We used to purchase the fabric from the women at a reasonable price. And the purchase was done on a criteria to just check the wool, the quality of the wool, quality of the fabric, quality of the colours, and if all those, they all had certain points. If the colour was good, they had given ten points. If the fabric was soft, they had given five points, for example. And if the colour was good, certain points. And according to the points the money was also in accordance to the points. if the points were 100 points then the woman will get 100 rupees. If the points were 150, the woman will get 150 rupees per yard. #00:22:23-5#

2A-50 **Interview with Raza Ulmulk / 3 June 2013 / Min. 04:49 – 05:48 (Recording B)**

Raza #00:04:49-5# But in 2006 one thing happened. When we submitted the proposal to SDC and got the funding for next two years for setting up the business centre, Mogh, at that moment the government was interested. And hey gave us funding. The Pakistan Government, they gave funding. And now we had two. Two funders. And then they called me, and then they said that the management said now what do you want to do? Do you want to run the business side of the component or you want to be again with the developmental part? So I was given the developmental part, I was given the developmental part and business part was given to Israr. And I continued with the developmental part for the next ... #00:05:48-4#

2A-51 **Interview with Israr Ud Din / 3 June 2013 / Min. 2013, 01:42 – 05:11 (Recording A)**

Israr #00:01:42-3# // Yes, exit phase, this proposal was just to make it into a sustainable model, and then with no funding it is running as a business. So when we started that project, my main, the main concept was how to evolve it into a business entity. And what kind of entity is going to be made? Is it going to be a sole proprietor? Somebody ... like I own something as an enterprise and then create opportunities for the women workers here? Or is it going to be a partnership kind of thing, where the previous staff of Shubinak just joins hand to make a company or whatever they call it? And then take care of the value chain, as a business to create opportunities for the women, again. Or to make it some formal business entity. In a private limited company you have the option of 50 people as a shareholder. So the question was 'Who are these 50 people going to be?' Is anyone getting some benefit out of this project activity? So the other option was to make it a public limited company, where it is open to all women artisans to be a shareholder for whatever amount they want to invest. #00:02:58-5#

Gwen So again: what is the difference? The first one would be if a business man wants to invest? #00:03:03-9#

Israr It would be a person best. A person who is on the value chain. So there is a risk, again, there was a risk of exploitation I suppose. If I was the owner of this company, I would try to make money for me. Not to defer sometime maybe, to do a value chain somewhere in a mechanized way, rather than doing it with women (making handicraft gesture). It was a sense of, you know, a responsibility in AKRSP and all that. They wanted to make it a fair play. So the objective at that time ... It was a very difficult at that time because there was no public limited company in the whole of Chitral. So the concept of a company was very new to the people of Chitral. And out of the blue you are coming up with the idea of making a public limited company, which is so (nu.) here in Chitral, comparatively it is so difficult to manage, because you have a lot of shareholders. And you have to do all the formalities of compliances and AGM, Annual General Meeting. You have a compulsory company audit with a reputed firm. And you have all the security exchange commission formalities to comply with. So it is a difficult thing. So that time it caught attention and was started. I was given the task, and so we named this company Mogh Limited. Mogh is the name of a village here on the way to Garam Chashma. We were working with Chitrali patti, Shu. The people believe that this first time this Chitrali woollen fabric was made in Mogh village. So we developed the idea of 'Mountain Operated in Goods and Handicrafts'. Basically it was Mogh and this ... #00:05:11-2#

2A-52	**Interview with Israr Ud Din / 3 June 2013 / Min. 2013, 01:42 – 05:11 (Recording A)**
Gwen	#00:12:26-2# I never really understand how that works. So they are shareholders in what sense?
Israr	They purchase. The minimum amount was 1,000 rupees. So most of the women paid 1,000 rupees to buy 100 shares of the company. #00:12:46-1#
Gwen	So one share is … #00:12:48-6#
Israr	10 rupees. #00:12:49-0#
Gwen	Ok, I see. That is interesting. But it is a nice model, because probably they feel … I don't know, you tell me: what is the benefit of this? #00:12:59-3#
Israr	So far there is no benefit, but there is a big benefit. The benefit will come with the company's success and achievement in the future. This time through the project we had a working capital of about 3 million rupees. We invested it in the company, we developed the company. We since then, we have never got any funding from any donor. #00:13:21-4#
Gwen	But do the women feel more connected to the organization, because they own it a little bit? #00:13:27-1#
Israr	Yes. They invested 1,000 rupees, but every year they come to attend the Annual General Meeting, where we talk about the company audit, report is happening, how much is the loss, how many people were working, how many sales we made, where are the areas where we made bad, where we made good. There are 300 women every year again in the Annual General Meeting. They appoint the auditor for the next year. They approve the audited accounts with raiseing hands, you know. So this is a corporate culture we started developing. #00:14:02-1#

2A-53	**Interview with Israr Ud Din / 3 June 2013 / Min. 2013, 06:24 – 07:04 (Recording A)**
Israr	#00:06:24-3# So the business plan was made but again the business plan was not a sustainable model. Because with the business plan it was clear that it is not sustainable, it is not going to work, because with Shu that contribution margin is not that much, and you have to compete with the local traders, where they have no overheads. Whatever price they purchase, they have no extra cost, just whatever contribution margin they sell, they make a lot of money, enough money. But here we purchase at a particular price, and we have a lot of overheads in the company, and then we compete with those traders in the market, and at the end we get nothing. #00:07:04-0#

2A-54	**Interview with Israr Ud Din / 3 June 2013 / Min. 2013, 11:06 – 12:07 (Recording A)**
Gwen	#00:11:06-9# Ok, so how many women are currently involved with Mogh? How many are benefiting of Mogh? #00:11:13-7#
Israr	We started with only 250 women for embroidery. And in the Shu centers there are already thousands working in the villages. So we started purchasing the Shu. It was not giving us anything. Today even, the Shu we are purchasing and selling in the market, it is not giving us profit. Again like the business plan, because we have to revive (nu.) that, because we are supposed to do that, because it is a social enterprise. If we are not in the valleys with the women, doing the purchasing with them, then the other traders do exploit the women. They just drop the price. And we are there we buy at least small quantities of fabric, but we create a fair play situation there. The other competitor just only to compete us offer a good prices to the women. So we continue with this Shu business as a matter of a social, as good gesture #00:12:07-3#

2A-55	**Interview with Raza Ulmulk / 3 June 2013 / Min. 46:08 – 48:05 (Recording A)**
Gwen	#00:46:08-5# Yes, so when you founded Mogh in 2006, the focus was on shu? #00:46:13-2#
Raza	The thing was when we submitted our proposal to SDC for the formation of the business entity, we focused on shu production, and our higher management also told us that we should focus on you know the shu. And that was because they were doing some embroidery work in Gilgit. And they didn't want to, what you call …? #00:46:49-6#
Gwen	Have competition? #00:46:52-1#
Raza	Have competition, yes. #00:46:53-6#
Gwen	Yes, ok. #00:46:54-4#
Raza	So because of that we started with the shu. #00:46:57-3#
Gwen	That embroidery work in Gilgit, was it that Thread Net Hunza? #00:47:01-1#
Raza	Thread Net Hunza, yes. Because of that they didn't allow us to work in embroidery. This was my own efforts to bring Cathy into it (nu.). And SDC people also came up and they said, you have a done a big step, you have taken a very big step. If you have been failed, then you could have been in great trouble. Well, straight away I told them that you know, no, we were working, you know together for 2001 to 2004, for four years. And we were doing research on different product lines, and we came up with these ideas. And these ladies are really great in doing that. And I was sure that they will make some difference. And they did make a difference. And still you know Cathy is around and doing business with these women. And the women who were engaged no in Chitral Town, there work 2,400 women in town. #00:48:05-4#

2A-56	**Interview with Israr Ud Din / 3 June 2013 / Min. 08:26 – 10:28 (Recording A)**
Israr	#00:08:26-4# So then there was a small amount of business going on with Cath, Caravana Craft. So this was again a partnership with Cath and another lady, Australian lady, Angela, no it was Kirsten, Kirsten

something. Kirsten. So this was a partnership, and this partnership, you know, again, did not continue any more. They broke away. Then Cath, there was no business with us for at least six months or eight months, from that side as well. Then Cath came back, and we had a discussion with her, and she came up with another idea, with a new brand 'Polly & Me'. And she started working with us. So we were already here as a business company to serve, and we were very much willing to earn something for our business. So it was kind of more enthusiastic when we started with Cath with a new brand. So for Cath it was good that we were here to support her with the production side. She was already giving us a lot of knowledge and input. But at some pint the good thing for her was that there was a company taking care of things. The company was investing into threads, textiles and getting things done with our own money that we had, rather than Cath. So Cath was confident to put more orders. So we started working with Cath. The first financial year we had a profit. #00:09:59-9#

Gwen	That was two thousand and ...? #00:10:02-4#
Israr	Seven. 2007 #00:10:03-6#
Gwen	And those were the wall hangings and these textiles? #00:10:07-0#
Israr	No, they were bags. #00:10:07-7#
Gwen	They were also bags? #00:10:08-9#
Israr	Bags. Wall hangings and textiles came later. They were bags. So the first year we had a good profit because some of our original cost was charged to the project. We had a sale of 4.6 million, and we had a profit of around one million and more. #00:10:28-4#

2A-57 **Interview with Moiz Farooq / Sep 17 2013 / Min. 18:00 – 22:41 (Recording A)**

Gwen	#00:18:00-5# Ok. And you got the machinery for stitching? #00:18:03-4#
Moiz	I had the machinery for stitching. #00:18:05-1#
Gwen	And you had the space already or you had to ... // #00:18:07-6#
Moiz	// No, I rented a space also, in a, you know, commercial area. Very small space. And we delivered that. And after that we developed the whole supply chain of organic cotton. We, we developed, we sourced the organic cotton from Turkey and from India. We developed a supply chain with big spinners in Pakistan, Sapphire. And then weaving and knitting and we were the manufacturer, we were the end product maker. So we created a whole supply chain, that how a concept is converted into a product by, you know, engaging other people from, you know, other parts of the industry. And so we get all the chain certified from GOTS, Global Organic Textile Standard. So the whole chain got certified. #00:19:07-4#
Gwen	So organic cotton, it means it is a certain plant or that is has no pesticides ... // #00:19:14-1#
Moiz	// No pesticides. And controlled environment. And it has very strict laws of how it should be grown, and how it should be ... so died and, you know, for industrial it is, you know, there are industrial processes which are certified for organic, organic cotton process. #00:19:32-4#
Gwen	And that is also like for the spinning, for the dying, for the weaving. #00:19:35-3#
Moiz	Yes, yes. #00:19:36-6#
Gwen	So there are different ways of weaving organic cotton than ... // #00:19:38-8#
Moiz	No, it is the same way but the only thing, the only different thing is that there shouldn't be any mixing of organic cotton with conventional cotton. So, so that process is certified, and cotton is certified also. So when you buy organic cotton and you produce it as for the certified process you get the certification of organic cotton fabric. #00:20:02-6#
Gwen	Ok, and the dying? Would it be something like organic dyes? Or in organic cotton it doesn't reach that far? It can be any dye? #00:20:10-2#
Moiz	No, there are ... This is a misconception in the industry, in the normal people also, that vegetable dyes are the only organic dyes. All the dyes are, even industrial dyes are, all those colours are also derived from different, you know, natural products. But to control the standardization they do, they add some chemicals and everything to make it a standard, a standardized thing. And the dyes and chemicals should be properly made to be used in industrial machines. Vegetable dyes are, you know, are ... they are organic, but, you know, they cannot be used in the industrial machines. So for organic dyeing you need to have, you dye in the pots or you dye in the, you know, normal equipment, for which you cannot achieve the industrial volumes. But there is a certification body which even certifies industrial dyes, and per the international law of manufacturing that those dyes, there are dyes which are certified for organic dyes. They are industrial dyes, but they are certified. So each supplier has a set of dyes which is certified for organic dyeing. And similarly chemicals and bleaching agents and all, everything is certified. But that is for industrial dye. So in a way, so vegetable dyeing in a ... So I call this two different processes: organic dyeing through industrial process and vegetable dyeing through conventional manual processes. So that is a manual process. #00:22:03-1#
Gwen	And you set up the supply chain for organic cotton and organic cotton manu ... // #00:22:09-7#
Moiz	// Weaving, knitting ... // #00:22:10-4#
Gwen	// Manufacturing. #00:22:11-7#
Moiz	Manufacturing. #00:22:11-7#
Gwen	In Pakistan. #00:22:12-4#
Moiz	In Pakistan. #00:22:13-5#

Gwen	The first one? #00:22:14-2#
Moiz	The first one. There were end pro ..., there were small processes, you know, individual processes where at that time Sapphire was the only company who got that. The first company. But later on Nishat and other people also got it. But we for the end product, we were the first one. We were supplying the end product from Pakistan, which was GOTS certified. #00:22:41-5#

2A-58   **Interview with Moiz Farooq / 17 September 2013 / Min. 39:13 – 47:41 (Recording A)**

Moiz	#00:39:13-3# // At that time it was AKRSP's project, and he was into the development centre. And there was another guy, some other guy at that time, who was responsible for production house. So at that time development centre worked well, because of the skills of the artisans. But they could not convert it into a production house and brand and everything. And then their project was finished. The project tenure was finished. And you know, some reports were made, that you know, it didn't work, development work and this thing didn't work and so on. But I was not, I didn't go into these details, but I saw the crux that the skill was there. And they were so far away, the language barrier was there, not many people could understand, you know. And they were not, they were basically shy people. They were not, marketing was not in their, you know, expressing themselves was not natural to them. They were very, you know, humble, naive and you know. And they were just looking for some, you know, some honest partnership where whom they can trust. Who can without compromising on the values, you know, somebody could take it further. So and I started talking to them. I bought some samples and you know, we started talking. And I ordered some samples and, you know. And I hired a designer in my office. At that time we didn't have a designer. I hired a designer in my office and we started talking about the possibilities. We bought some Shu stuff, we bought some embroidered stuff, and some other things. We started talking about, you know, what are the possibilities? How can we? and I started thinking on this. #00:41:03-0#
Moiz	How, what will be required (nu.), because ... And then after one year, we kept on talking, we kept on talking and discussing things and after one year we went to, I went to Karachi for some exhibition, and I saw Shubinak's stall there also. And they were again sitting either, they were on the ramp also, somebody. But in summer they presented the Shu products, very big coats and everything, and it was so, it was sweating ... and because they didn't know anything what to do. I said, ok, and then I again bought some products from there, because Hadi was there at that time, and they knew. By that time we had developed that thing, you know, we have to do something. #00:41:49-6#
Moiz	And then I went to Chitral with my wife. We both observed and see what ... the decision was already made during the first meeting, that I have to do something. But it was just how and when and, you know, what will be required? So I went there, I, you know, they showed me around, they showed me all the skills and everything, and what can be done and all. So we decided ok, we will develop the supply chain. We will work out. So we, at that time, Mogh Limited was built, structured, because Shubinak was finishing, contract was finished but still it has to be converted into ... I said, that I don't want to work with any NGO, because it does not go with my values. Because I want to bring the pride, and through NGOs you cannot bring the pride. These are two, you know, because I have to for artisans, because the thought process I enter, for the artisans we need to bring them in a mind frame that they will earn the money from whatever work they will do. And it has to be a supply chain. If it sells, you know, they will get the value for the money, for their labour, upfront, and then, you know, and if they do the good job, the numbers will grow, if they do a bad job it's not, you know, and then the whole supply chain has to work. So that will bring the pride, you know, for the excellence and ... NGOs, I had a disagreement on the system, that you know, they work on certain projects, you know, the tenure of a project, if they develop a skill, skill is developed, and then they will, the project finishes, they are gone. Nobody is there to take care of the skill development, which creates frustration among the artisans and, you know, Or some NGOs give them money for the, you know, for their work, more money for their work, and then they expect the same thing again and again, which, you know, getting more money for less work. Which will happen again and again (nu.). So then again, you know, So I always believe that if I have to do this thing, then it has to be a proper business. So that ... although it is more challenging. But I still believe and that is, we are pursuing this that products, if the whole supply chain works, then the manufacturing, knowledge of manufacturing and developing supply chains will help, you know, work with the artisans and you know, and build, transfer the knowledge over there, where it is required. And then convert those products into more relevant, you know, the experience I got from watching Shubinak first's presentation. When people see it under our supervision, when we are doing a supply chain they should have a different opinion about it. They say 'Oh, this is good.' There might be, still there might be some weaknesses but if I see it in (nu.), it has just been two years to the brand, and everybody is learning. Even artisans are learning. They, you know, if they do, they make one thing, you know, and they do the same thing again, or they have to make 50 of the same thing, you see 50 different things. So sometimes it is aesthetically good, but sometimes it is not. #00:45:31-8#
Gwen	Just let me check on this for a second (checking the recording equipment). Haan, it's running. I just wanted to double check if it is running. And it is. No, it will make a sound when it goes off. Then I put in new batteries. #00:45:49-4#
Moiz	Ok. So it is a great challenge. And we always, I always knew that it is going to take, it is not a three year or five year or six year project that you know, that it will be successful in that. Because the challenge is the

impact. Because it's not only a business. It's a social business, and it brings, you know, a lot of transfer of knowledge, so many things, you know, happening. And it brings a lot of pride to me as person and as an organization. That whatever we do, we have tough times, that's ok. We have, but that's part of the journey. #00:46:33-8#

Gwen So and when did the Mogh joined venture start? #00:46:39-6#
Moiz It happened in 2006 and 2007. We started and then Looptex took the responsibility of all the designing, product development and retailing, all the business side, development and business side of the whole business. And Mogh's responsibility was to get the work done from the artisans and develop new skills in Chitral. So whatever new skills they will bring they will offer, they will tell Looptex in advance, you know, this is the skill we are working on to develop. Let's suppose we develop … When we started we started with Shu. We bought woollen fabric. Then we started with embroidery. Then crochet. Then handknitting. Then now we are working on honey, you know, and now we are working on gems, stones and you know, gems. So … // #00:47:41-8#

2A-59 **Interview with Moiz Farooq / 1 October 2015 / Min. 26:03 – 29:07**
Gwen #00:26:03-6# So, I mean if I observe this, or if I listen to you, to me it seems that it is a bit of a clash of mentalities also. // #00:26:13-1#
Moiz Yes. #00:26:14-2#
Gwen The one is the grassroots development sector. The other one is business. In grassroots development sector often it works as long as it gets funding … // #00:26:22-6#
Moiz Yes! #00:26:23-0#
Gwen It is not really asked to make profit … // #00:26:25-8#
Moiz That's the main process. That's the main reason of Looptex joining with Mogh Limited. Because Mogh Limited was not a NGO. Mogh Limited was a Public Limited Company. So and Israr was a MBA. He was a business graduate. So he should have that mentality. So by book, you know, it was not a, when we started, we did not start with a NGO. Looptex is not a NGO and Mogh is not a NGO. And the purpose of, because we were never interested in working with NGO, because NGOs have limited life, until the funding is there. Once the funding has stopped, then NGO is, that project is stopped. They might be working on other projects but … And NGOs are non profit mostly. They are not commercial organisations, they don't go for profit and loss thing. They have a project definition, and they have project earnings, and their KPIs. So that is the … So yes, starting we thought that was we (incomprehensible) we thought that, because were an independent company and Mogh was independent company. So what they were doing inside, we were not, eh, we were aware of a lot of things, but we were not aware of everything, because each company has their own privacy and all that. But we were not … yes, our mistake was that we, we showed too much tolerance towards the performance of Mogh. And which, which was wrong. And which was more of a, you can say, the emotional behaviour of Looptex. Professional if we say, nobody gives that much, you know, relaxation to any other non-performing partner. So lesson learnt in this thing was, that no matter what kind of project you are doing, even if you have high emotional connection with that project, there should be a, you know, a rationale. There should be strict, performance monitoring, you know, tools. And that should not have any emotions, you know. Emotions should be towards the creativity and the artisan and the policy, but not … So that was a big learning for Looptex, that, you know, we should be strict. And this action should have been taken way earlier. #00:29:07-0#

2A-60 **Interview with Moiz Farooq / 1 October 2015 / Min. 02:43 – 09:17**
Moiz #00:02:43-8# That, em, Shubinak is part of Looptex, so yes, it is for the overall corporation. And whatever we do, we do not have separate philosophies. Our core philosophy is the same: that we have to be an ethical business, and we should be complying to the laws of the land. So in that way, when we observe, you know, two years ago we had a very clear understanding that Mogh Limited is an independent company, which we developed. I was one of the directors also, but not the operational director. But, like I had shares, and I was a board member, for one year only, but the management of Mogh, you know, they could not manage the company the way it should have been managed. So we were facing, like, being the marketing and manufacturing partner of this supply chain. Or the responsibilities we had that, you know, designing, retailing, branding, marketing, manufacturing, assembling of the embroidered products, and then creating idea. That was the responsibility of Looptex. And execution, executing the embroidery part and the artisan part was the responsibility of Mogh Limited. So you can say 80% and all the investments in the marketing and everything, retail shops and … was on Looptex' responsibility. And unfortunately Mogh Limited could not develop the HR resources or the management systems in their company. To service the needs of, you know, manufacturing, you know, a brand, like Shubinak, where consistent delivery, quality, and communication and time can be managed, which, you know, are the basic tools. Basis KPI, Key Performance Indicators of any business that … So we were continuously facing delays in production. We were not able to, you know, launch the products in the right season. Artisans were also not happy because of the mis-management of their management. They were not getting the work on timely manner, and the quality, and the training of the workers was not happening. There were still rejections coming out, and, you know, artisans were not told properly, or they were not trained properly to minimise the mistakes

Moiz	and all. So week on receiving faulty products, and so we decided that either we stop working, or we take the charge.So we talked to the people, and they were also not happy, because Mogh was not making money, because of their mismanagement. Like they had the orders but they were not able to deliver. So they were not … they projected revenues and everything was not as per their plans. #00:06:25-6#
Moiz	So Looptex, there were other customers like Polly & Me and others, they stopped working, because there were … Polly & me could not sell, the prices they were. So Polly & Me, so they, actually the brand got, you know, diminished. So there was no work from Polly & Me. And probably for the same reasons: the delays and the quality, you know. #00:06:56-5#
Moiz	Mogh used to take a very long time, in delivering, and there were issues of threads and … So the management, basically it was a, you know, lack of management. And continuous improvement in the management which caused, you know, total inactivity or running a company without any performance. So Shubinak, Looptex taking care of Shubinak did not have the opportunity or, you know, we never thought about quitting. Because principally and philosophically we have a promise with the artisan and with ourselves and with the company, that we have to run this artisan based company, because we have already invested a lot in HR. We have trained the people, you know, the designers, the supply chain. We have invested in products and in product, product. And we have developed a brand and created brand awareness in the market. We have invested in Fashion Week and also, you know, we put a lot of money, and brain and our blood, you know, towards, you know, developing this. we cannot say that, you know, it did not work. So we, it was a very tough decision, but keeping in mind the tense (incomprehensible) barrier, the language barrier, the communication between Chitral and Lahore, we, you know … But we took that decision that we will not let Mogh Limited close, we will take the responsibility. So we, so instead of blaming or, you know, telling an unsuccessful story, we decided that we will be (Pause for tea being served) so we will take care of that, should Mogh Limited. So we said, Looptex will buy the company, whatever is the work and all that. So we took the responsibility of the liabilities of Mogh and bad ends (incomprehensible) and all. And we have hired the management, so the, Israr had already left a year ago // #00:09:17-0#

2A-61	**Interview with Moiz Farooq / 1 October 2015 / Min. 11:36 – 12:00**
Moiz	#00:11:36-8# We kept the same people, and we started training them. We changed responsibilities, and we have developed a situation of accountability, where people, Mogh, they are reporting more frequently. We are providing them tools, we have increased their salaries, we have … and we will be training them. #00:12:00-8#

2A-62	**Interview with Moiz Farooq / 28 February 2017 / Min. 08:28 – 14:43**
Moiz	#00:08:28-3# Yes, The last one and half years was quite a turmoil for the whole thing. Especially because of the weather and you know, and even recently there is a major snowfall in Chitral. And before that, during last one and a half years there was a earthquake, there was you know the floods, and there was now you know this snowfall. So it's been you know, for Chitral it's been a very tough year for // #00:09:03-3#
Gwen	But are the weather conditions not like this every winter? I mean snowfall in Chitral is // #00:09:07-6#
Moiz	No, no. Snowfall in Chitral, this year there was, you know, it was a record. It was, there was land sliding also. There was … and you know a lot of people died on the border of Afghanistan and Chitral. And this, but this is recent. but before that people were getting out of those floods situation, where their houses were, and because of the earthquake there were a lot of damages to the houses, and a lot of houses were washed out during the floods. A lot of. Our artisans' houses and you know one of the … and the walls were cracked and so they spent a lot of … even our shop was, you know, gone. #00:09:47-7#
Gwen	Yes. The shop in Chitral? In Chitral City? #00:09:50-8#
Moiz	Yes, we have a shop in Chitral. Because of the earthquake we had to vacate the shop, because it was not safe to stay in that shop. And it was all back (nu.). It took six months for the landlord to fix it. #00:10:05-3#
Gwen	Oh god. #00:10:06-1#
Moiz	Because the first priority of the workers, labour, all the labour in Chitral … so all the workers, the labour force of Chitral was busy fixing their own houses before they could go for commercial properties and all. So labour was not available. And then there was snow. Snowfall. So it's a … it's kind of a, you know, big challenge. But you know, we kept on going. And during the floods we went there, we had some you know rehabilitation work done with people over there. we arranged you know solar lights and you know those things for the people. #00:11:15-5#
Gwen	Where? In their houses? #00:11:18-3#
Moiz	In the, yes. People were dislocated in the villages, where our work was done. So went there to see how the were doing but they were but they were living in you know they were not living in their houses, they were living in temporary (nu.) You know the flash flood, coming from the top it took everything away. And they ha, where the fabric is and wehd a flat line. All the houses were buried under the you know stones and // #00:11:47-8#
Gwen	Oh my god #00:11:49-0#
Moiz	Yes. So it was severe. And it was devastating for the whole thing and for people and everyone. So when we went there, we saw, oh. then We realized oh, we should forget about our work right now. Where the fabric is and where the embroidery is. We have to work on, you know … So we lost our fabric, our embroi-

deries and a lot of things, so but we can't ... people have lost their houses, so why ... we couldn't talk about our fabric or embroideries. So we worked with our team, and we provided solar lights and those for the, whatever we could do do help. And we sent some garments and, from the bags and whatever we could for winter season and all. So we did our, you know, share. And then, you know, now they are settling in after winter, so we are expecting this summer there'll be a lot of work again. #00:12:52-5#

Gwen	Like you mean a lot of work for Shubinak will be done? Embroideries // #00:12:56-3#
Moiz	Yes, yes, yes. Our art work will be done. #00:12:58-8#
Gwen	When again was the earthquake? #00:13:01-7#
Moiz	It was last in, it was last, 2016, and then floods in the summer, and then you know in the beginning of the winter, you know for last two / three months heavy snow. So road is blocked and all those things. And it's not // #00:13:22-7#
Gwen	And the airplane crash ... #00:13:23-7#
Moiz	Ha? (indicating 'what?' #00:13:24-3#
Gwen	And the airplane crash // #00:13:25-6#
Moiz	Yes, airplane crashed, but that was not, it didn't effect those people, but it was again a sad thing for the whole community and all that. But the issue is that evils come and go but rehabilitation of those people, those who are in the villages. It's a long time taking process. Because they don't have enough money to hire labour and all, so they do it by themselves. If they have to rebuild the house, they will do it, they will take their time, ... they will live with their family. Their you know male family members will construct the house or you know, or. So this kind of, so they, a lot our artisans, they had moved from their, because the didn't have their own house, they moved to their relatives, in a different valley or different ... Thank god there was no life loss, but you know those crops, they lost their crops, they lost their homes, they lost their you know valuables, but ... One of our salesmen he lost his house. Issa, the guy in the shop, you know that little guy with a ... he is from Chitral. He lost his home. #00:14:43-4#

2A-63	**Interview with Moiz Farooq / 28 February 2017 / Min. 14:44 – 19:42**
Moiz	#00:14:44-8# Yes, and ... but that's a part of life. But sometimes, this is the, you know, this is them this is one of the challenges. You know if you see from business point of view, you cannot sustain shops with no supply for one year. You know, you have to have ... but fortunately we had some stocks and we kept our shop running. And it was not easy. I was not here. I was not well. And then still ... so it's a you know. But we are still moving on, because this is our believe and this is our part of DNA. And we did some changes in the shop also. We took our handloom over there, and we started making life fabric. #00:15:30-6#
Gwen	I went there, yes, yes. I saw the handloom also. I went with a friend and he thought Oh what's going on, is it a mela or so. But then we realized it's always there now. #00:15:40-0#
Moiz	Yes, because people are ordering fresh. We created the concept that it's just like a bakery, a fresh baking, like a fresh bakery, you can order, you are seeing your fabric, and we have, you can order the same fabric. You say 'ok, four yard, I will get it tomorrow or day after tomorrow' So you can get the fabric from us. And yesterday a lady bought, she said, ok we had other colours also, she said, she bought four colours and said 'you complete these four colours and call me and I'll pick them up.' Now people are buying. So now we know, she needs four colours. so she will have four colours or four shirts for her. And then, you know, it is an interaction, people are talking about 'oh, handloom, and how it is made. People are standing there, watching how it is done. So it is a live example of how the product is made. #00:16:43-8#
Gwen	Yes, it's great #00:16:44-6#
Moiz	So, our embroidery women will also be sitting there, and they'll be doing embroidery. So our shop will be a whole, craft thing. So where people can, we are doing. So we were just planning that every month there will be some activity going on. #00:17:01-2#
Gwen	So this is in the Lahore shop only, or also in the Islamabad shop? #00:17:05-7#
Moiz	No, only in Lahore. Islamabad shop was closed almost three years ago. #00:17:09-4#
Gwen	Really? I somehow didn't know #00:17:10-8#
Moiz	Yes, we have only one shop, in Lahore. #00:17:12-7#
Gwen	So but when you are saying you bought Mogh, it means Looptex is also taking care of the production and the quality assurance and everything? #00:17:21-6#
Moiz	Everything #00:17:21-8#
Gwen	So now since all these hassles, since you have navigated the ship through all these hassles of weather and earthquake and so on and so forth, and disease and everything. So what's the plan now? How to go about it? #00:17:34-5#
Moiz	We are taking it international. We are making customized products also. I'll show you one of the things. We are collaborating with global. There is Edmonton. Edmonton is a city in Canada. They have a Edmonton Heritage Council. Islamic, there is a Islamic Family and Social Services, it's and organization. They and Heritage Council joined together to create a prayer mat for celebrating Islamic history in Canada, in that province. So that Heritage Council has adopted that prayer mat for the province. So you know. I'll show you that. #00:18:24-9#
Gwen	Ok #00:18:24-9#
Moiz	So and Shubinak has made that, their mat. All hand woven and hand printed. #00:18:31-6#

Pause	Phone #00:18:38-5#
Moiz	So we are, we have started taking customized orders. We have started selling fabric, previously we were selling only garments. So now we have started fabric, selling fabrics. #00:18:51-2#
Gwen	The ones that he is weaving there, or some other? #00:18:53-2#
Moiz	The weaving and also the fabric of life and shu. Because this year we have made a lot of custom orders. #00:19:01-9#
Gwen	What is fabric of life? #00:19:04-2#
Moiz	Fabric of life is, shu is one fabric of life, and then the fully embroidered fabric is fabric of life. Because that fabric is creating, so instead of making garments we are now selling that fabric also, Shubinak, made by Shubinak. #00:19:26-2#
Gwen	Basically you can buy by yard? Embroidered fabric? #00:19:29-3#
Moiz	Yes, those are one yard pieces. So you can buy per yard. #00:19:33-4#
Gwen	Ok. Very interesting. So one could buy it and get and made a little piece on ones own shirt. #00:19:39-7#
Moiz	Yes, yes. Yes, you can make … we will be selling … #00:19:42-8#

2A-64   **Interview with Nuria Rafique Iqbal / 18 March 2016 / Min. 0:21 – 1:59**

Nuria   #00:00:21-6# Yes, sure. Well, my name is Nuria Rafique Iqbal. I'm a British born Pakistani. I lived in England until I was 29. I'm a lawyer by profession, so I actually specialized in corporate finance. I used to work with different international law firms in London and Paris and then London again and then Moscow. And we shifted here in 2004, and I wasn't working at the time, because I just had my eldest son. And we've come here and it was a big settling thing, you know building the home and everything. So I wasn't working, and when I did want to start working I got involved with some, an NGO, which does education and whatever, and I was working with them until I had the birth of my second son. So I took some more time out. And then, what I used to find, what I used to notice a lot was, like the women for example, actually it was my cook, because my cook he has his family here and in their quarters they have their whole family there, whatever. And I just used to think about his wife the whole time, because I thought, you know: where does she go? Like, and he would be the one who drops the children to school. He would be the one who would do the shopping for the house. And I used to think that, you know what about this poor woman? Mean does she even get out of this house? You know, this, and I mean I (incomprehensible) in that sense. You know, you have lived here: they are not large rooms, you know. And I don't know if that just used to weigh on my mind, that you know … I mean what does she do with herself? And you know … #00:01:59-2#

2A-65   **Interview with Nuria Rafique Iqbal / 18 March 2016 / Min. 41:45 – 44:36**

Nuria   #00:41:45-9# Because, ok, how it effect 'Labour & Love' is for example so much is then driven by myself, so for delegating things which are of the more managerial things, then I can't delegate. So that is where, that becomes problematic, you know. I mean thank god there is, I mean luckily, because then I, for example like Salma, you know, and I keep telling her 'Please can you learn? You know, for yourself. And like for yourself it'll be so, it'll just open so many doors for you yourself, you know.' And for example like Razia, this woman who does read and write, that has helped me a lot. because otherwise I would be writing down all the work, you see. So then a lot then gets delayed, because then if I am, you know, busy or I can't quickly make it to the centre because there is something else happening at home or whatever, then that becomes delayed, noting down their work and all of that, you see. So that, now that has become less of an issue because now I had Razia, but in the beginning that was, my biggest problem was the fact that, you know, Salma could read and write, you know. And so then, but then you get, you get around it, so if it would be drawn, you know, drawn and explained and you know, like that. At least measurements, you know, she would be able to work that out. So that was ok, so I explain it: this is inches this many or whatever. But I think that was the, that's the biggest thing, but otherwise in terms of the women, I haven't found them at all difficult, at all. You know I am blown away by the ability, you know, and that quickness of getting things as well, you know. And so much is just to show them, you just need to show them something. So with lots of things, you know, you have to show them a sample. You have to give them an idea of what you are looking for, because for example for a lot of them in the beginning like when we were doing these designs, you know, and also if they, if they, if they are not literate, you know, sometimes, you know, if you have something where you are writing text, you know, then sometimes you know, they don't understand, they are not understanding what it is that they are writing. So, you know, that's something that you have to think about, and you have to tell them 'No, you have to follow it. Like see which letter. Don't … because this is actually saying something.' You know there is actually, it's a word. So sometimes, you know, they would come back and I'm like 'What have you done? That's not, that's the wrong letter, you know.' So there is some, because for them it probably looks like some weird scribble, that you have written, you know. So that's the only thing, like where you are, you just have to, just be aware of it and then just say 'You know, you have to follow it really carefully, because this is actually the name of somebody or you know. Because we do a lot of stuff which is bespoke, so you know, we will do cushion covers and you know, we'll have, you could put your name on anything, because we could just embroider it on. So we make products and then embroider it. We do beautiful, like pyjama suits, that we do for children. I'll show you one. #00:44:36-9#

2A-66	**Interview with Nuria Rafique Iqbal / March 18 2016 / Min. 49:14 – 51:02**
Gwen	#00:49:14-8# You mean to give them constant orders // #00:49:16-7#
Nuria	// Yes, to give them constant order. I'd love them to be flood out working all the time. That's what I would love. #00:49:20-8#
Gwen	So as you describe it, some of them are now temporarily only // #00:49:25-9#
Nuria	// Yes, some people may not be, because, depending on what work is coming through at the time, you see. And I try very hard to like also give some work here, some work there, you know. And also because you don't know what they are good at. Like crochet I don't give it to the Mehmud Booti women, because they are not good at it. So it doesn't work (laughing). They've tried it and it doesn't work, and I just waste my time. So I'm like 'I don't even …' And they said to me that 'Why don't you give us those, for example the Christmas decorations, because we pay them, they get paid very well for them. Because it is a lot of effort that goes into it. The women in my stitch centre get very upset, that 'Why are you not giving it to us?' And I said 'Because you can't do it. When I asked you to do me a sample and you can't do it.' And it has to be beautifully done, you know. Otherwise you loose the whole beauty of the piece, and no one is gonna wanna buy it, you know. And also like our Christmas decorations, for example we do a lot of exhibitions in Islamabad, because all the embassies, and you know, they celebrate Christmas more than, you know, over here. So and people know us, and they get, they are like 'Oh yes, you are here again! Great, I need to get my Christmas …!' We try every year to do like some more new decorations and stuff. So in terms of women: so Sheikhupura we must have like about fifteen to twenty women at least. And if we have big orders we can bring in more women, especially if it is stitching, because that is something that most women can, you know, do. If it is more of the like sequencing and stuff like that, then sometimes some women can't do that. And then in Mehmud Booti we have about fifteen, sixteen women again over there. In Mominpura we have one woman, who we deal with, but she has under her probably, like when it's Christmas stuff, they are probably around like eighteen women. #00:51:02-1#

2A-67	**Interview with Anuradha Kumra and Smita Mankad / Fabindia** **18 April 2014 / Min. 49:14 – 51:02**
Smita	The last six years, again from 2008 onwards till the end of 2013 I managed the supply chain for Fabindia. And that was the part where we set up community owned companies, which was a very unique model where across our supply chain across the country we set up 18 community owned companies where we made crafts people and artisans and weavers shareholders in the companies. So we took the relationship beyond just a buyer-seller relationship. And these were independent companies, so 18 companies were set up under the umbrella. And each one had an office and a warehouse and a professional team. And they connected with all the crafts and craftspeople in that geographic region. #00:19:21-1#
Gwen	Ok, so the craftspeople became shareholders or the people working in the administration of the // #00:19:26-2#
Smita	// Both. Both, but we had reserved a much larger percentage of the shareholding for the craftspeople. #00:19:34-1#
Gwen	How much is one share? Because there is a similar case in Pakistan. #00:19:37-9#
Smita	100 rupees // #00:19:36-3#
Gwen	// There is a similar case in Pakistan where one share was ten rupees and producers bought like hundred shares or something. And then they don't own much of the company but the whole connection, the whole ownership // #00:19:50-7#
Smita	// Yes, with the parent company. #00:19:52-2#
Anuradha	And how many shareholders do we have across // #00:19:54-7#
Smita	// 23,000 across the country. Across the 18 supply companies. #00:19:59-6#
Gwen	And those 23,000 shareholders, is that equal to the number of producers that you have? #00:20:06-5#
Smita	No, we work with about … so through these 18 companies we were working with about, I'd say about 1,000 producer groups and through them about 80,000 artisans, directly and indirectly about 80,000. #00:20:19-3#
Anuradha	80,000 to 90,000 I would say. #00:20:20-2#
Gwen	How do you find the craftspeople and the artisans? #00:20:24-5#
Smita	Well, this is a, it's a 50 year journey. The thing is, Fabindia is 50 years. It started in 1960 or even a little before that, but Fabindia was formed in 1960. So there are relationships with craftspeople that go back that far. Now some are in the second or even third generation. But there are others which are new. The thing is that every region, every craft, we are constantly reaching out to new people. It doesn't matter whether it's an NGO or it's a master craftsman or it's a self-help group or it's a large, it's a enterprise. It's a company, that's doing work. So as long as it's a craft based product and it is being made by craftspeople and it fits into the Fabindia look and feel, we bring it into the range. And we reach out to them. #00:21:19-5#
Gwen	Have you also lost some on the way? #00:21:20-7#
Smita	Yes, yes. It's a constant, I mean it's a very dynamic situation. So there are constantly new people coming and other people moving out, you know // #00:21:30-7#
Anuradha	// And so if I can add that little story from Hyderabad of where you asked how people find us. And the typical story goes for what you are wearing, the lovely Ikat that you are wearing from Andhra. That, there

was this weaver who wanted to supply to Fabindia. And every time he would want to know whom to contact, who would never be able to get the right person's contact. So one day what he did was, he knew that this big curt (? Van?) could only be going to Fabindia from his village. So he followed the truck, and when it came to Hyderabad to this particular location which wasn't called Fabindia because it was a regional supply chain company, which had a independent name of Krishna Weavers Limited, he came in, looking a little surprised, you know: 'This is not Fabindia, and I was very sure this truck was supplying to Fabindia.' And only to go inside and discover that this is independent company supplying into Fabindia, partly owned by Fabindia. And that is how he discovered us. So you have stories like that that go all the time. #00:22:27-8#

2A-68	**Interview with Samina Khan / 11 February 2014 / Min. 42:52 – 47:28**
Samina	#00:42:52-2# So in Pakistan what we did was that we registered under the Companies Act, which is sort of more business oriented. But also Companies Act, but a not-for-profit. Because the thing is to have a company that is for-profit, then you can't get a grant, then you have to take loan. So otherwise we were initially wanted to to do a for-profit company, because had realized when we were in Sungi, a not-for-profit organization, there were limitations: you could not do more than a certain amount. You had to, you know, because you are not supposed to be making profit. So it // So we wanted to (unv.) but then again under the Companies Act there were more, it was better than what we, what Sungi was registered under, which was absolutely, purely a Societies Act, so it was not-for-profit. So over here // #00:43:45-5#
Samina	Actually the best would have been if we could have been registered under a Cooperative Act, but, but in Pakistan for the last I think ten years, since the early 90s it was stopped. Registration as a cooperative was stopped, because of some scam that had happened with that, and so the government had stopped registration. So that would have been the best thing, because that is how we were actually coming about as, as a cooperative. But in this thing what was happening was that we could not, it could not be shares that they had, they had membership. So the membership would be each person became a registered member by giving 100 rupees, and then agreeing to the terms and conditions, where they were going to // And the only thing that we could do is, we could give work to them, according to our constitution and according our legal requirement. We could, the company could give work to the members, and work get compensated, but not just shares or profit. That we could not do. #00:44:53-3#
Gwen	And when you say there were, you wanted to give them the chance to control also how the company runs. What were the mechanisms that they had to control how the company runs? #00:45:08-7#
Samina	So here is the // Because they were becoming members, so they were like becoming the general body. Then, so initially when we registered with our Companies Act with the government, at that time there were seven members that were, we had registered as the founding members. #00:45:40-0#
Gwen	And those were home-based workers ... // #00:45:42-9#
Samina	// They were home-based workers also, and also technically people who had technical skills, like you know, marketing skill, sales skill, and people like us who had worked with the development work, so. And also women who had been active on ground who were themselves home-based workers, but had been, you know, been with us during the embroidery work. So, so initially we got seven people registered like that, and then we started taking membership. So first few years were getting membership of women who were, you know, already doing some work. And to get that membership we also got them to do small patches of whatever embroidery they could do. So, so we had that as a sample from what they were, so to become a member they were also showing what work they can do. Because a member meant ke that the person is going to get work. And that work had to be something that we can sell. So it was all sort of resolved. So once they became members then they were part of a general body. But I think after about a year or two, two years we realized that the same members have to be registered with the registration body also to become general body members. So to do that they have to have ID cards, identity card numbers. And a lot of them didn't have identity cards. So then we had to again restart the process of registration. So then there were two categories of members: the ones who had the ID card could be registered with the registration body, the government body, and the ones who didn't have, had to be the // So only those could vote in a general body meeting, the ones who had the ID card. #00:47:28-3#

2B-1   First workshop with women and children of Tarogil village and students of the School of Visual Arts and Design at Beaconhouse National University in March 2011

2B-2   **Examples from the sample book prepared on the initiative of the women of Tarogil village for the first follow-up meeting in June 2011**

2B-3   **Workshop proceedings in July 2011**

2B-5   **Questionnaire for individual interviews / 25 November 2014**
Translated into Urdu by Abdal Jafri, Coordinator of SVAD at the time

2B-6 **Student assistants**

Ebaa Khurram, Haseeb Samee Khan, Maria Faisal, Meher Nawaz Shah, Minahil Butt

2B-7 **List of women who attended the individual interview session**

1. Shehnaz Tariq
2. Basheeran Bibi
3. Kaneez
4. Kiran Shehzad
5. Tehmeena
6. Rani Bibi
7. Yasmeen Shareef
8. Saima Abdullah
9. Shameem
10. Razia Sardar
11. Farzana Bibi
12. Surriya Bibi
13. Sakina Bibi
14. Marium Bibi
15. Mukhtayar Bibi
16. Bushra Bibi
17. Parveen

2B-8 **Individual interview results: age, income, and household situation**

INTERVIEW GROUP

TOTAL NUMBER	17	

NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE HOUSEHOLD	
4-5 people	5
7-11 people	10
12-14 people	2

AGE
- 10-12 2
- 13-19 1
- 20-29 3
- 30-39 5
- 40-49 4
- 50-60 2

NUMBER OF EARNERS PER HOUSEHOLD
1 Earner	9
2 Earners	3
3 Earners	1
4 Earners	3
5 Earners	0
6-7 Earners	1

MARITAL STATUS
- Married 13
- Unmarried 4

MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD BUDGET
No answer	6
8,000-15,000 / Month	4
20,000-30,000 / Month	4
42,500 / Month	1
500-2,000 / Day	2

CHILDREN
- No children 4
- 1-3 children 4
- 5-8 children 9

2B-9 **Individual interview results: Educational background**

YEARS OF SCHOOLING

NO SCHOOLING	9
• Did not attend school	8
• Did not attend but can read Urdu	1

PRIMARY SCHOOL	5
• Until 3rd grade	1
• Until 4th grade	1
• Until 5th grade (Primary school complete)	3

METRIC	3
• Until 8th grade	1
• Until 9th grade	1
• Until 10th grade (Metric complete)	1

Individual interview results: Opinion on the earlier projects

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT WAS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE EARLIER PROJECT?

RELATED TO SUPPORT OF THE WOMEN	13
• Creating an opportunity to earn money	9
• Gwen wanted to help us, the poor	3
• Gwen wanted to empower us, the women	1
GENERAL WORK RELATED	2
• Start the work	2
RELATED TO GWEN'S BENEFIT	1
• Gwen wants to make money	1
NA	1
• Has not participated	1

Individual interview results: Motivation to participate in the project

REASON FOR JOINING THE PROJECT

ECONOMIC	10
• To earn money	10
AMBITION RELATED	3
• To work	2
• To learn new things	1
ALTERNATIVE TO CURRENT LIFESTYLE	2
• To spend time when otherwise free	1
• To interact with others	1
GWEN RELATED	1
• Loves Gwen	1
NA	1
• Has not participated	1

Individual interview results: Intensity of project engagement

NUMBER OF TIMES PARTICIPATED		NUMBER OF PRODUCTS MADE	
ca. 10 times	1	• 2	1
8-10 times	2	• 5	1
7-8	2	• 5-6	1
5-6	1	• 5-7	1
4-5	1	• 8	1
3-4	2	• 8-10	1
3	1	• 10-12	1
2-3	3	• 15-20	1
0	2	• 40	1
Doesn't remember	2	• Few things	1
	17	• doesn't remember	4
		• 3-4 items every time	1
		• None	2
			17

2B-13 **Individual interview results: Challenging aspects of the projects**

DIFFICULTIES FACED IN THE PROJECT

NEGATIVE	11	■■■■■■■■■
• None	11	■■■■■■■■■
PRODUCTION RELATED	3	■■■
• Thinking what to do with the embroidery was hard (product design)	1	■
• Copying children's drawings was hard	1	■
• Drawing	1	■
RELATED TO INFRSTRUCTURE	1	■
• Getting material	1	■
PERSONAL CHALLENGE	1	■
• Weak eyesight made it difficult	1	■

2B-14 **Individual interview results: Reasons for discontinuation of the project**

REASONS FOR DISCONTINUATION OF THE PREVIOUS PROJECT

SELF-REFLECTIVE	6	■■■■■■
• Diffuse blames amongst themselves for 'ruining the project'	3	■■■
• Fights over different issues (leadership, quality of work)	2	■■
• Misbehaving and fighting	1	■
REFLLECTING ON GWEN'S PERSEPCTIVE	2	■■
• No benefit for her	1	■
• Thought we stole the fabric	1	■
DON'T KNOW	7	■■■■■■■
• Don't know & waited for Gwen to call again	4	■■■■
• Doesn't know	3	■■■
NA (NOT APPLICABLE)	2	■■
• Has not participated	2	■■
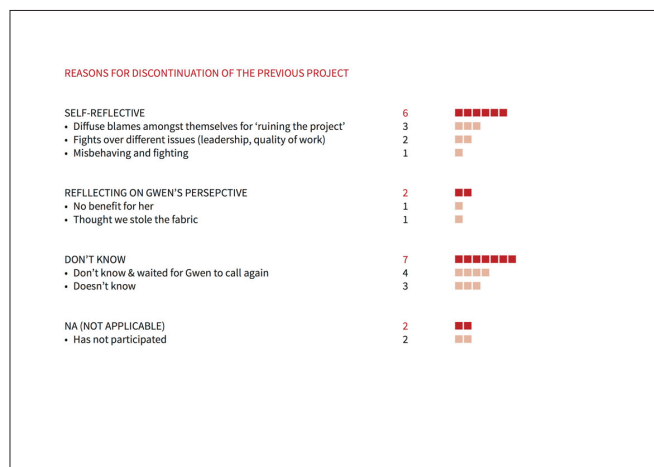
2B-15 **Individual interview results: Motivation to come to the interview session**

WHY DID YOU JOIN TODAY'S INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SESSION?

SELF-MOTIVATED	9	■■■■■■■■
• Hope to work and earn again	8	■■■■■■■
• Good reputation of previous projects, so wants to be part of it	1	■
GWEN CENTRED	7	■■■■■■
• Gwen called	5	■■■■■
• Gwen wants to find out how to do this project better	2	■■
NO REASON	1	■
• Probably doesn't know & was brought by mother or relative	1	■

DO YOU WANT TO CONTINUE THIS PROJECT?

POSITIVE	17	■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■
Yes	12	■■■■■■■■■■
Yes, because nothing else to do	3	■■■
Yes, in a proper way	1	■
Yes, but is indifferent	1	■

Individual interview results: Motivation for re-starting the projects

WHY DO YOU WANT TO START THE PROJECT AGAIN?

ECONOOMIC REASON	12
• Earning money	12
PERSONAL WORK RELATED REASONS	2
• Wants to work	1
• Possibility to work near home	1
OTHER PERSONAL REASONS	6
• Liked it earlier	4
• Possibility to pass time	1
• Everyone else does it	1
GWEN CENTRED REASON	2
• Possibility to work with Gwen	2

2B-17

Individual interview results: Wishes

WHAT DO YOU WANT TO DO?

CRAFT SKILL RELATED	8
• Embroidery	2
• Stitching	1
• Crochet	1
• Embroidery & stitching	3
• Embroidery, stitching & crochet	1
RELATED TO LEARNING SOMETHING NEW	3
• Something different than embroidering animals	1
• Different techniques & embroidery	1
• Anything new	1
INDIFFERENT & UNSPECIFIED	7
• Anything given	5
• Same as before	2

2B-18

Individual interview results: Suggested next steps

WHAT SHOULD BE THE NEXT STEPS?

RELATED TO PREVIOUS CONFLICTS AND GROUP DYNAMICS	7
• Gwen should deal with each one individually	3
• There should be no fights / people who fight should be left out	3
• Material should be divided equally	1
RELATED TO THE PRODUCT RANGE	2
• Wish to stitch clothes	1
• Wish to make full sets, e.g. for beds	1
INDIFFERENT & UNSURE	4
• When time comes we will know	1
• Not sure / No answer	2
• Anything there is	1
BUSINESS RELATED	3
• Making something that sells	1
• Gwen should profit too / give products and we help to make business	2
UNSPECIFIC WORK RELATED	3
• Start the work again	2
• Work well	1

2C-1   **Planning and inviting participants**
An email together with an invite was sent to potential focus group participants to find out if they are tentatively interested in joining.

Email sent to potential focus group participants

Dear XY,

I hope you are well.

I'm in Lahore for a short while with the aim to conduct two focus group discussions regarding my PhD research about collaborations with marginalised craftspeople such as for example home-based women workers, but others as well.

For one of the focus groups I would like to invite you, and hope that you are interested and able to join. The dates will both be between 15th and 25th March. The venue will be in Tarogil, either in BNU's Textile Studio or in the BNU Chilly Factory, simply because I will invite representatives from the women group of Tarogil village and they won't be able to come anywhere else.

I anticipate it to be difficult to find a date and time on which different participants are available, and therefore I would like to suggest dates, and ask you to let me know on which one you are available. I would then take the date for which most people opt, but would be grateful for the others to still perhaps try to arrange for being able to join. For the first focus group I suggest one of these days:
• Wednesday, 16th March
• Thursday, 17th March
• Friday, 18th March

*The timing would be 10.30 / 11am for about two to three hours.*

The focus groups are based on the analysis of case studies that I have been conducting over the past five years – as you know, because you were one of my interview partners. Other interview partners were different actors involved in the field, mainly project managers and program coordinators of organisations, social activists, entrepreneurs, designers, design educators and individuals. All have engaged with projects supporting marginalised craftspeople and continuously made efforts to try out different methodologies. Additionally I have attempted one project myself with women of Tarogil village, located next to the BNU campus, where I taught until October 2015.
Through analysing these different experiences expressed in interviews and observed in the field I identified a number of similar approaches and concerns, some successful, some though remain unresolved and might not be easy to resolve entirely.

With these focus groups I aim to continue the debate in a productive way and hope that with the results it is possible to develop promising future scenarios.

I would be delighted to get a positive feedback for your participation.

Many warm regards,
Gwen

2C-3   **Consent agreement**
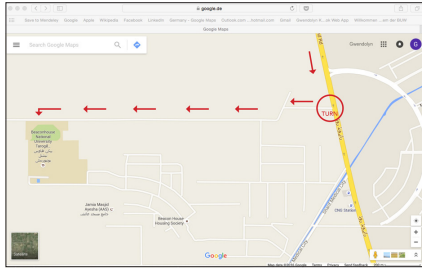
Dipl.-Des. Gwendolyn Kulick	gwendolyn_kulick@hotmail.com gwendolyn.kulick@uni-wuppertal.de	Phone Pakistan: +92 (0)300 482 7338 Phone Germany: +49 (0)176 2401 2161

- -

Consent Agreement

- -

All content discussed during this focus group is treated with greatest confidentiality by the focus group participants, the assistants who are present and Gwendolyn Kulick. All audio recordings, video recordings, photographs and produced material serve as documentation for Gwendolyn Kulick's academic research purposes only.

Venue: BNU Tarogil Campus, SVAD, Textile Design Studio

Date:

Wish to anonymise identity:

Name in block letters or Urdu:

Signature or finger print:

Signature Gwendolyn Kulick:

فوکس گروپ کے اس عمل میں شرکاء سے حاصل کی گئی تمام معلومات کو انتہائی پوشیدہ رکھا جاتا ہے، اور
حاصل شدہ تصاویر، آڈیو، ویڈیو ریکارڈنگ اور دیگر مواد صرف گوینڈولین کیولک کی تعلیمی تحقیق ہے۔

محلِ وقوع: بیکن ہاؤس نیشنل یونیورسٹی، تاروگل کیمپس، ٹیکسٹائل سٹوڈیو

تاریخ:

معلومات پوشیدہ رکھی جائے: ہاں   یا   نہیں

نام:

دستخط: نشان انگوٹھا

دستخط: (گوینڈولین کیولک)

Slides guiding the focus groups

1.

A DIALOGUE ON
CRAFT BUSINESS MODELS

FOCUS GROUP A
17TH MARCH 2016 | TAROGIL CAMPUS

FOCUS GROUP B
24TH MARCH 2016 | TAROGIL CAMPUS

CONDUCTED BY GWENDOLYN KULICK
DOCTORAL CANDIDATE AT WUPPERTAL UNIVERSITY

2.

Introduction

What is your name?

What do you do?

How are you involved with
craft production?
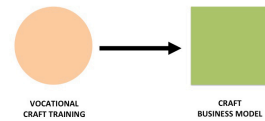
3.

What is your motivation
for engaging with crafts?

4.

5.

TRANSITIONS TOWARDS
CRAFT BUSINESS MODELS

6.

VOCATIONAL
CRAFT TRAINING → CRAFT
BUSINESS MODEL

7.

VOCATIONAL
CRAFT TRAINING → CRAFT
BUSINESS MODEL

Why do you aim for a transition
towards craft business models?

8.

Think back:

What are successful steps in
this transition so far?

9.

Think back:
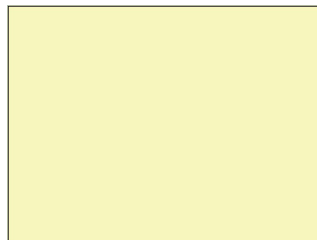
What are problems in this transition
so far?

10.

Think back:

What role does external funding play?

• How was it supportive?
• How was it a problem?

11.

12.

DIFFERENT ACTORS AND ROLES
IN CRAFT BUSINESS MODELS

13.

Designers

Managers
of the value chain

PRODUCER   Managers   Customers
of the marketing strategy

Owners
Others

14.

WHO ARE THE ...

Designers

Producers   Managers
of the value chain

Managers   Customers
of the marketing strategy

Owners
Others

15.

What are each ones

• Needs
• Joys
• Duties

?

16.

What products are made?

What is their character?

17.

How important is it that the
products feature traditional craft
techniques?

18.

What does each actor need to learn?

• Customer
• Producer
• Designer
• Value chain manager
• Marketing manager
• Owner
• Others

19.

How important is it that the products feature traditional craft techniques?

20.

What does each actor need to **learn**?

- Customer
- Producer
- Designer
- Value chain manager
- Marketing manager
- Owner
- Others

21.

How would such an education look like?

22.

23.

SUGGESTIONS
FOR THE TAROGIL PROJECT
(AS AN EXAMPLE)

24.

What are the expectations for this project?

25.

How can this project become a craft business?

26.

Who would be the key actors / partners?

27.

What would they need to learn?

28.

What product would this craft business make and offer?

29.

How would it work without external funding?

30.

What could funding be utilized for?

31.

32.

What do you take from today's discussion for yourself?

33.

THANK YOU!

2C-5   **Participants / Introduction and Motivation to engage with craft projects**

Focus Group A / 17Min. 07:34 – 18:45

Parveen   #00:07:34-6# She says that she works for her children. She is learning embroidery and passes it on to peers. She also works with women. #00:08:50-3# …

Iman   #00:14:05-5# I think it is pretty much giving back to the society as a responsible citizen, especially being aware of what is craft, and the importance of it. And I think it's also how it is a big part of our identity and our culture. So that's my motivation. #00:14:28-9#

Kiran   You know here, if I like to add, at BNU we think that design students have to be thinker designers, and not just design individually for the industry. So this thinker designer as part of his or her social responsibility has to give back to the community in some way. … That has been the focus for a few years. And as part

	of that our thinker designer approach, it is important that the student is able to do something for the community. So either we do it jointly as a craft community and we form sort of a link between academia and people who are either working with NGOs, you know like Danish, or we directly involve these artisans. So making them ore aware, and also making them aware of kind of work they are doing is important. Some of them don't even realize the value of their craft, and what they are producing and how amazing it is. So as part of the intellectual sort of group that forms the academia, it is our responsibility to give back to the community, in a positively. And so we try to not only educate our own students, but also form this link between the craft community and the academia. #00:15:57-9#
Komal	And also I would like to add, in the world in which we live in, everything is digitalized. We are kind of forgetting the importance of handicrafts, and the importance of how, you know, something done with hand is a, has a different value than something that is digitally printed. The motivation for me is to remember or to bring back the value of something that is handcrafted. #00:16:37-3# …
Rohma	#00:18:21-5# Motivation is something that usually has a story. The story behind my motivation is my trip to India where I saw that the craft was reweared and was given so much importance. And again, the rich culture that we have here, I did not see craft translated as much over here into the kind of products that we look at in India and in other parts of the world. #00:18:45-8#

Focus Group B / Min. 00:00 – 48:00

Ume-Laila	HomeNet has an outreach in 70 districts in Pakistan. Office in Lahore, Liaison office in Islamabad and office in Karachi. Tenth year working in Pakistan. Links across South Asia #00:03:15-9# Repeats it in Urdu towards the Tarogil women #00:04:59-1#
Amjad Ali	Is from another village, knows much about handicraft, and has heard that M'am (me) made the women come together to work, which is really good. #00:07:42-8#
Hamida	Has previously worked with Sheherezade Alam, Nazish Ata Ullah and Salima Hashmi #00:10:52-0# Describes the difficulty of keeping up with changing fashion trends #00:11:51-9# Arfa Siddiqui ordered costumes for her drama #00:12:16-6#
Shameem	Works since two to thee years with Gwen in the project. She knows embroidery and stitching. She mostly knows katcha tanka.
Parveen	Salai (stitching), karhai (embroidery), shirt, shalwar (trouser), varaira (etc) #00:14:40-2#
	Men also come and get work done from me. Even if someone who I don't know comes to order work, I don't mind doing it. I've taught a lot of girls how to stitch and how to do embroidery. They come to me to learn. Now I I want someone to help me to open an institution, where I can instruct and teach these girls. #00:15:41-5#
Sahr	#00:16:47-1# started the jewellery department on invitation of Salima Hashmi #00:18:34-2# Works with Labour and Love #00:19:30-9#
Hina	#00:25:11-0# Board of Directors at AHAN; tells her experiences with PFD and work with gems and stones in the northern areas, also textiles and pottery, mostly blue pottery #00:26:35-7#
Pakeeza	Fashion department #00:26:45-0# Works with Aleema Khan on some embroidery project for SABAH #00:28:10-7#
Rafiq	Lives in Tarogil, works at BNU (?) !!! #00:30:06-0#
Amjad Ali	He is from a nearby village, his 'sister' lives in Tarogil. He saw his mother doing embroideries, and helped her selling them in the market. shop keepers used to keep the products, and paid him whenever something was sold. Saw trends changing, a lot of products came back unsold. Then I switched to machine made products, but whenever I needed something done by hand I came to the Tarogil women and got it done. Sells products in Azam Block Market. Now the business has improved, first the business was not so good. It's better now. #00:33:24-0#
Gwen	What motivates you to be engaged in crafts #00:33:52-3#
Rafiq	The younger generation of girls can learn, and it will help them in the future to empower themselves. #00:34:12-7#
Parveen	Works for the needs of a household #00:34:33-9#
Hamida	She started to work, because her husband got jobless, and she had six kids to take care of. A friend recommended to see a woman who sometimes gets stitching done. The woman got angry because some other women had taken work with them and were not doing good work, but then she did give her something and dropped her home, so she does not run away with her work. Hamida thinks it was a bad sign, that she went there without the permission of her husband. She completed that samle, the woman liked it and ordered more, then she pushed her to give her more work, so that she can afford her children's education. All of them did and are married now. Now she is so used to work that she cannot live without work. Now it is part of her life. I can also make pouches for Nikkah bids. #00:35:09-1#
Amjad Ali	A lot of women in Pakistan work from the home, and men don't like them to go out. He saw his mother working like that. It's a good thing if jobless people can find work that they can do from home. A lot of people have children, or cannot travel far and have difficulties. #00:37:27-6#
Hina	Craft has a lot of value and identity in a society and beauty, it's not only about a source of income generation. Quotes examples like blue pottery, ajrak … #00:39:41-6#
Sahr	There are lot of talented people, and they don't know how to share that talent and share it with people.

	#00:41:28-2#
Pakeeza	We should not teach them, but let them do the craft as they do it, we should rather learn from them #00:42:35-8#
Ume-Laila	It's beautiful, it's our heritage, we have to to do it, and we have to preserve it. That is one angle. Being a Pakistani, being a human being, preserving these hand making skills is a good thing. But my motivation is ... ? ... This is a holistic scenario ... #00:45:42-7#
My motivation is rights (?)!!! #00:46:10-9#
74 % informal sector hain, out of which 65% are these people who make crafts #00:46:30-6#
Their situation is that they don't have : no social protection, they don't count in the national statistics: they don't have access to opportunities #00:47:06-2#   #00:47:18-7# Awareness program, rights program #00:47:37-5#
Collaboration with the government #00:47:50-7#
Gap between workers and the market. Workers have no knowledge regarding their rights, they are not protected. Craft traditions finish also because the producers don't get anything out of it, like the appropriate wages.

Focus Group B / Min. 01:37:50 – 01:55:43

Sahr	#01:37:50-6# We never teach how to give back to the community. There is no class or no course which teaches community engagement or giving back. #01:42:13-2#
Salima	I think that is the one thing that Indus valley has done. It's in the curriculum. they have to do a community work. #01:42:20-7#
Gwen	What have you taken before, that you have to give back? #01:43:11-7#
Salima	I think that we, because in Pakistan we live in a society which is deeply exploitative. Anybody who earns a decent salary, earns it, you know, because there are so many millions who don't. We are a very exploitative society. So I mean if we understand that then we do feel ... And I also feel that young people are idealistic. You give them half a chance and they will be idealistic. But it has to be spoken about. It can't be expected that they come with it. I mean it is not there as an instrument in their education system. A very, very long time ago, a million years ago, when Benazir Bhutto was a prime minister, first time. ??? So mein ne soja ke, let me talk to the guru who is Subramanian sitting in retirement ke what did they do in Baroda that was so interesting in the art school. ??? Because their graduates have a great interest in crafts. ... Yes, what you are saying, giving back to the community, if you are learning a craft, you are taking from that community, giving back to the community, that is easy to understand. Magar as a rule, every student should do some community work. That is the incorporation into the syllabus. #01:46:41-4#
Sahr	In every school there is an art period and an art teacher. Unfortunately ... art and craft analysis #01:47:20-5#
Pakeeza	... now in schools they don't even teach crafts any more #01:47:33-4#
Hina	I think there is a lot of hope. Am I wrong? Aaj ka dialogue, I think there is a lot of hope. it has to be chanelized. And I think the thesis of Gwen will shed a little more light on the value chain and also guide us you know. But I got good points for myself today during this discussion. What we are not doing. Or where AHAN is loosing the focus. #01:52:12-4#
Traditional techniques preservation #01:52:28-8#
Salima	??? !!! #01:53:12-6# I think some kind of an index is required of things that are important ??? !!! #01:53:55-0#
Income generation projects #01:53:58-8#
#01:54:12-1#
Salima	Transformation, so that the exquisiteness of the work is not so difficult to sell. But then as we know the buyer is also very ? #01:54:30-4#
Regarding weaker prodicers and differences: Then you have simpler products for them #01:54:42-7#
Sahr	I think that goes for a national ... #01:55:07-4#
Pakeeza	We should document our craft. #01:55:43-1#

2C-6   **Donor relationships and CFIPs' impact between poverty allevation and cultural awareness**

Focus Group A / Min. 58:29 – 1:07:22

Gwen	#00:58:29-7# What role des external funding play in this scenario? Or if you think back? Has it been supportive? Where has it created problems? #00:58:45-6#
Taha	In the case of SABAH it helps to start the organization. But the problem is, now we feel to achieve that sustainability, maybe we need to have that successful business model. But at the same time we don't want to let go of that funding that we are receiving from SAARC, because obviously we have run into problems when we tried that transition to that business model. So in a way yes, it helped create this whole idea of cutting out the middle man and bringing these products to the high end markets, but at the same time now it's high time that we move away from that. (nu.)so it's a two sided thing. It helped create that but at the same time it's time to // #00:59:31-6#

Gwen	So you are saying it's difficult to exit it also? Or it is difficult to let go of it. #00:59:36-5#
Taha	In a way yes, because we have not been able to create that successful business model. So yes, its hard to move away from // #00:59:44-2#
Mariam	I feel I'm speaking too much. But this is a classic example of a bad marriage. It's a Pakistani marriage. You can't divorce and you have to live with it. So we are in this relationship with funding, which is coming from abroad. We need it. And then the amount of control that is exercised upon us is not in our benefit. Having said hat, money is coming into the wrong hands, which means that it is not in the hands of people who understand design, who understand the process of design and who understand the business of design. So consequently I have been desperately approached by an organization wanting to do these trainings. But the process to go through, and the amount of … it's just too much. And consequently you are having to answer to people who don't know the question. #01:00:50-0#
Kiran	Even I think bureaucratic procedures. I mean we dropped that PPAF Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund project linked between the craftsmen and academia because the way they were going to provide funding was just so vage. And we wanted a proper MOU. And we wanted to know how we are going to do it. And procedures. It was just offense: Ok, so you go next week to that craft village. We didn't want it that way. It has to be proper thing and you know, and effective procedures. I remember that during the Humnawa project she went crazy making budgets and organizing all the receipts. It as just too much to handle. And when we took our students to this place where they were supposed to stay, and it was just very, very badly organized. And in the end we had this DID's daughter with us who of course rescued everybody and then we had to make alternate arrangements. #01:01:53-2#
Everyone	Talking at the same time #01:01:56-0#
Kiran	Despairing episodes. Security issues. I mean this is all part of the larger picture of funding and developing linkages. So it was just so bureaucratic that I mean as design academics it became very frustrating. #01:02:08-5#
Danish	Kiran, is mein (in this) you are absolutely right. Hum ne business ki baat ke bare mein (When we talk about this business aspect) The unfortunate part is, that we are talking about business aur (and) development sector … In big organizations you find people with a business background, banking background. … (in Urdu). they feel offended if you … Dousri baat (secondly) We are an external funded organization. We are in a transition actually. The problem with external funding is, they are project based. So organizations … if that organization truly would really truly believe in creating an impact, then we have to be beyond external funding. Then you have to believe in something that you want to do and that is what your theory of change should be. External funding is project based. Your own thinking has to be program based. Otherwise you would just be another organization doing work and something which is actually doing, creating an impact if truly wnat to create an impact in the lives of people so apko (your) program, what is your own program. What is your own thinking? Instead of … So in short, the organization doing a funded project, it should be thought differently. Your program should be funded by them, what you believe in, what you are doing. They should actually fund it. So from there on the balance shifts. That they actually … you have your own program of doing things. This is how you want to empower or work on things, and then they are funding us. It is not we are doing there project. And that thinking is something that has to be there, when business people come in this system. Otherwise jo hena project based people continue to do projects. #01:04:34-7#
Mariam	And one of the biggest damages it does is that it is project based. Everyone is just concerned about that one report that has to be submitted to make sure, that yes, we did the project right. And that what's happened at PFDC. They sent me to Muzzafarabad, we did the embroideries, we did the runway show, but then what ratification of the problems, of creating a product you know so that it can sell. PFDC gave me a platform, Kashmiri kahai bej saktai hai (to sell Kashmiri embroidery), us kebad mujhe kissi nahin kahan se (after that I heard nothing). Kyunki project khatam hogea (because the project was finished). // #01:05:07-6#
Kiran	Exhibition, fotos #01:05:11-3#
Mariam	Bureaucrats bohut khush hain (the bureaucrats are happy) #01:05:11-4#
Danish	… I'm not very much for the word beneficiary. It is their right. It is not something that they are benefiting from. The terminology is 'who are the beneficiaries'? So who are the people that we work with actually? The people we work with … once you are off, they are off. Everybody is off. #01:05:43-8#
Rohma	I think again, I'm sorry. At the core of this, at the core of all these things for the business man who is providing the funding, and for the artisans who are involved in the training and for the designer who is facilitating or helping. The core of all of this is I think the mindset of each one of those people involved. And I think that is, the mindset, by mindset I mean, a designer would obviously keep feeling frustrated if the mindset is to generate income or money out of it. But if your mindset is kind of believing in this (?) that you are enjoying this process. For example I got to speak about this project with Munib Nawaz who is a successful designer. And he kept asking me 'What were the quantitative gains of your project in Muzaffargarh? #01:06:37-6#
Rohma	Now I said, everything does not have to be about quantitative gains. There are qualitative gains as well. as an academic we were completely looking at those qualitative gains, and we completely saw the qualitative gains within the lives. The 200 lives that we briefly touched upon. And that was enough satisfaction

	and success for us. So again, it also depends on how you define success. What is success? Is it having a strong business model? Or is it changing somebody's life? And, yes, these things are only for us, as designers to understand and market these stories like that. #01:07:22-8#
	Firstly that. And then, secondly … #01:07:25-4#
Rohma	… talking about quantitative and qualitative gains, and how the Humnawa project winning of the Tallories Netwok Prize also provided quantitative gains. But doens't mention the quantitative gains.
Gwen	#01:08:49-0# What are the qualitative gains that you are talking about? #01:08:55-3#
Rohma	Again the lives that these women, who had not their homes, had come out into the villages, come out of the villages, come out into the city, got this kind of exposure, saw their products being sold. The kind of stories were beautiful, I mean. #01:09:16-7#
Kiran	They were overwhelmed when they came to the exhibition. And they were giving interviews, and so confident. #01:09:22-3#
Danish	These are the women of strength actually. #01:09:22-6#
Kiran	You know and for us, sitting and working and enjoying what they were doing in those centres was enough qualitative gain. They are enjoying what they are doing. They come out of their houses. #01:09:33-5#
Rohma	I mean, of course eventually it would with that mindset, again if you have that mindset to recognize all of this, it would translate into maybe successful business models also. But it starts from that kind of recognition. And again you will … We were talking about all these frustrations and the failures and all that also, ke nahin kam kartey hain, yeh nahin hota, voh nahin hota. Istra frustration nahin hogi if we go with a different mindset. #01:10:04-2#
Zaeem	#01:11:46-5# I have a slightly different take. You see, quantifying, I'm sorry speaking as a business person. Quantify actually helps to sustain a record of efforts. #01:12:31-4#
Rohma & Danish	#01:12:31-4# Talking about Muzzafargarh and Bunyad's role, Sungi's role
	Danish talking about the Punjab Skills Development Funds projects
Gwen	#01:23:06-9# No, but I think this is something else. I just actually thought of that we list down, who are you working with. Who are the different professions, for example in your daily life, in your projects? For example you are a project manager at Kaarvan, right? So you work with Komal who is a designer for the public relation material mostly. So who else are you working with in these kinds of projects? If you just name the professions?#01:23:34-7#
Danish	Right, right, right. so we have the program managers, who the various programs, various interventions that we take on. Then so niche (under them) project coordinators. Then regional coordinators, wherever this intervention is taking place, the place or the region. Then we have the trainers, who are the trainers for both the business skills as well and the vocational skills as well. So this is the hierarchy that generally is there for a project. And on the top side, who I negotiate with is organizations who are primarily ready to work with us, like for instance Punjab government. They have the Skills Development Fund, and then they have some economists who are engaged with the government as well, advisers. So then there is involved (unv.) which is City & Guilds. They are also engaged with us. Then there are many donors, that we … or projects to. #01:25:11-3#
Gwen	What about the producers? #01:25:13-4#
Danish	Yes, they are the trainees #01:25:20-6#
Rohma	How many trainers do you have? #01:25:21-4#
Danish	Trainers?#01:25:20-0# Number of trainers: for an intervention of 500 we have 25 trainers #01:25:36-6#
Kiran	These people are from design background? #01:25:38-0#
Danish	This is where the gap is: for instance we get people from Bahawalpur Islamia University #01:26:46-7#
Danish	We connect them to the buyers, and then we facilitate. That is our selling. #01:28:18-2#
Mariam	If you want to do it, do it alone. just get rid of all the bureaucracy. #01:28:40-6#
	Now I'm less worried about where my money is coming from, because that is a very serious concern. I have now decided, I'm getting LUMS faculty, PIFD faculty, as many people as I can sort of convince, to come for the training, and come for two hours. I would ask M'am Kiran if she would come for two hours. And then, because I feel that the private education that I received, the private education that I give to my children or I teach at. For us to contribute two hours is nothing, but to give them the whole 360 of design to market, from the concept to the consumer. And that is going to be a very private venture, where I don't need as many approvals. Yes, there is an organisation that is jumping into it, and they are saying they will send me people. But then after this, we are ready to do it on our own. #01:29:29-0#
Iman	Differentiation between individual effort and the need to integrate such engagement into institutional practices, in the curriculum #01:31:49-3#
	Like for example I'm doing my MPhil research right now, #01:31:54-6#
Iman	And I'm actually trying to understand what as a design academic, me and a lot if us sitting on this table can do to make people like them understand what they are doing. They have forgotten what are they even doing. Does it have any value? That's why they are so demotivated. It's not just about the money. Forget the money. It's about the fact that they don't even know ke jo yeh main bana rahi hoon. Yeh mere dade our mere nane mujhe se kaia the. … In ko yeh nahin pata. Empowerment, yes, is extremely important, but all of this will add to the empowerment. #01:32:37-2#
All	Discussion on money: Parveen quote to translate #01:34:01-2# #01:34:11-7#

Iman	We all need to come together. There needs to be a platform. All institutions need to come together. #01:35:10-9#
Danish	Biggest customers are micro-entrepreneurs like middle men, we work with female micro-entrepreneurs. They are community based leaders. #01:38:26-9#
Rohma	There is a niche. The typical customer is the NGO type who buys such products to spread awareness. I have Najji for example in mind. #01:40:00-6#
Saamia	Najji types, tourists, people who travel abroad and need presents #01:42:32-5#

2C-7   **Suggestions for supporting the Tarogil village women's group**

Focus Group A / Min. 2:29:25 – 2:30:31

Zaeem	Not only the proximity. Because of your initiative in the past we already have a relationship. The other thing is here are so many people from the village. Their families are working with the university. So probably it is easier, the numberdar has been coming very frequently to the university. So they understand what is the benefit. An then the access part, that we spoke about the other day. I think we have to make the university more accessible for people who are otherwise not privileged enough to have access to it. Through formal or informal ways. So one of the informal ways is to actually start going, which we have done from various departments … The other is to actually make the university more accessible in terms of skill enhancement, skill training or informal training, all of that. But again the thing is that we need to have a faculty stakeholder, because if there is an academic backing in whatever we are doing, in the courses, then we have a regular intervention … (nu.) … #02:30:31-7#

Focus Group A / Min. 2:19:24 – 2:24:01

Rafiq	in Urdu: Translated by Samreen Azam Rafiq highlights the intergenerational aspect of learning embroideries, because it is a tradition to sit with aunts, mothers and grandmothers and learn it."
Parveen	In Urdu: Translated by Samreen Azam Parveen says that she made products, and relatives or people who knew her would come to her house and take those products and give her money for them. She doesn't know though where they took it and if they sold them further or kept them themselves. She stopped the work at some point, but then started again because she needed money. She also explains how she was asked to use machines for stitching and embroidery, but the customer, a lady, did not like that. Parveen told her that she works better by hand, made samples and the woman liked them better."

Focus Group A / Min. 2:32:56 – 2:35:08

Gwen	#02:32:56-1# So, maybe we can also ask Rafiq and these three embroiderers or these three women, where they see a way forward for this project.
Zaeem	#02:33:21-1# In Urdu asking women and Rafiq about their ideas forward #02:33:25-8#
Rafiq	Suggests a place in the university where the women can come for certain hours per day and work. He suggest that they don't take work home, but work there, because at home they are not that serious and the quality suffers. Also it provides a possibility of regular feedback. Through this process it becomes possible to assess each woman's skill and quality of work better. #02:33:45-4# (Translated by Komal): There should be a place in the university where the women could come and the students could come. And then you should recognize the women who are good and who are bad. And they work together. The women who don't produce good quality should be taken out, and you (me) should decide. #02:35:08-8#

Focus Group B / Min. 2:06:23 – 2:22:27

Salima	#02:06:23-5# I think if we are putting in the academic institution, then collaboration and learning from one another. Like I do feel that Indus Valley has done some valuable thing.
Salima	#02:06:36-4# So I feel collaborations between institutions, so they share their pool of experience. Because I think we have been doing things in isolation from one another, and in some case doing them very successfully, in other cases not doing it at all. I don't think NCA has done very much recently. And I think that if we all say 'Kyu nahin kar rahe hain?' (Why are we not doing anything?') So pir maybe they will feel 'ke kutch karna chahiye' (that we should do something). So I think maybe a forum of institutions, so that we share our experiences, share the models that have worked or haven't worked. And then each take away from those experiences. We can have, I mean twice a year only if necessary, but pool all these examples, communities … We can say 'Achha, Tarogil community hamari careem hai' (Ok, we take responsibility for the Tarogil community). Does fashion design people want to work with them? Can we facilitate? You know this kind of a thing. So that we have a possibility ke cross fertilisation ho jahe (for cross fertilization to happen). And of course if you have, you know, an institution from Sindh, from Karachi like Indus Valley coming in, to voh nationwide torassa … (this could also nationwide be a bit …) #02:07:54-1#
Pakeeza	About focusing on Punjab ??? #02:08:50-3#

Hina	PIFD is more market oriented. lacking social capacity #02:11:19-4#
Salima	Suggestion to start collaboration informally #02:12:07-8#
Salima	Suggestions for Hamida & Tarogil #02:16:00-0#
Ume-Laila	Since Hamida is already making some exquisite products she could connect with Homenet Pakistan. We can support her free of cost. We have stalls. #02:18:43-1#
Salima	Actually what we are suggesting is a kind of a triangle. There is a kind of a triangle there. I think HomeNet is a very good possibility, aur hum log for the design walli intervention, aur HomeNet should be a place where it can nest, the work can nest, and the third part of the triangle is the institution. #02:19:15-2#
Gwen	There could also be a connection between producers: Hamida could go to the village. #02:19:33-9#
Parveen	I have difficulties working in this envrionment, I have family constraints. I want to work for the needs, which I have. I want to work in an improved environment. #02:21:31-9#
Rafiq	#02:21:53-1# Repeats his idea of a collaborative space in he university, because everyone can learn from each other (mutual learning) #02:22:27-2#

Focus Group A / Min. 2:35:17 – 2:38:59

Mariam	That is first income generation. On the side you have to divide these women into A, B and C grade arti-sans. Ke kiska kam bohut achha hai? (Whose work is very good?) ... (nu.) #02:35:28-9#
Zaeem	The thing is that when we think of something like that, you see, the university cannot just move from its own business, which is academics. Having said that the university cannot become the only stakeholder. We need to work with several stakeholders: the village people being one, the university being the other, but nevertheless the ... And then you see, again, the sustainability question is 'Why would we commit to something that we do not see sustainable without different stakeholders?' #02:36:08-4#
Gwen	And who would be the market? Who would be the customer again? The university is not the customer as such, so // #02:36:15-4#
Kiran	I have suggestion. I have been thinking about. We have been discussing this a lot of times, and recently we just hired ... (nu., mentions a name). He is a weaver. He is on board. And as part of indicting craft into the curriculum we are going to start sussi weaving, and (?) as part of Weave III. And I was discussing with him the other day, and we have been thinking about this for a long time. There should be a craft shop on campus. And Gwen encourage and we allow two of our craftsmen, Ustad ji and his son, who are weavers, to work on the looms free of cost if they want to. And they can just work and sell their products if they want to. so which they have been doing. There is no restriction. #02:37:01-6#
Zaeem	From the policy point of view the university has absolutely no issue in having a craft shop. #02:37:07-7#
Kiran	Yes, so If we have a craft shop, we were thinking you know that even students' work can be put in that craft shop and we have so many foreign delegations coming, and we can present some sort of gift, which is a product of the textile department, or for that matter any department, which has been produced at BNU. In addition we were also discussing that people from the Tarogil village, we could facilitate that you know they could bring products to us in which, kinds of products that we are willing to keep in our shop. And we take no profit from that. That would be maybe, you know, our contribution as being part of the Tarogil village community. So this something that we can start with. And then of course, there are lots of students who can work, and could put their products on display, and there are many who are in need of a lot of money, you know, to sustain the materials and the cost of things at BNU, you know. So that would be, so we have been discussing this. #02:38:14-7#
Danish	I think this is the way forward. We have to have some kind of display of the ... #02:38:21-6#
Kiran	And a permanent one. And then you know, ... #02:38:24-4#
	... discussing how students display (half in Urdu) #02:38:40-3#
	At least two times we have a huge display. Ek to thesis ke time per. Bohut siada ek hum media bhi kartay hai (One during the thesis, when we also work with a lot of media). We advertise it so much. You know how much we do it with Zaeem. That is a forum where products will sell. And you know we can gear to-wards the thesis display and having like a huge product show. #02:38:59-1#

Focus Group B / Min. 1:25:10 – 1:27:38 (In Urdu: Summary, translated by Samreen Azam)

Ume-Laila	Locally crafts need to be supported, so that it is not necessary to have donors come in, because they are temporary. Large companies like Chen One or Generation should form these links with students. Design students developed products for Chen One in a craft area, and then crafts people received recognition and orders valuing up to 26 lakh rupees. Engagement of large companies is a sign of appreciation, and others should do that too. Producers need awareness and consultancy regarding the market demand like trends in Karachi.

2C-8   **Repercussions of the focus groups that left an impact on my research direction**

Skype interview with Kiran Khan / 19 October 2017 / Min. 00:00 – 17:04 (see 2A-46)

Conversation with Pakeeza Khan and Danish Khan / 3 May 2019 / Min. 12:36 – 19:20

Pakeeza	Another project I'm working on, which I will be doing next semester, because this semester we didn't

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	have time. So once we do these workshops, and then these artisans will be attached with one students. And then those two become a team. And they work like in a classroom. They work like a team. They correspond with each other. They make friends. They have to work, devise a way to work together and maybe the student has to go for a few days there. And the artisan, as I have thought, can actually live with the student. You know, they become friends. They have to become friends and the artisan also has o have the feel of the university. And they also need to have that respect because that is one of the most important things in that … in every segment of society. That you have to get that leeway because they get overwhelmed. Or what I felt when these artisans come here, the trainees, they become to overwhelmed by the personas of us, you know? They get into an aww … that oh my god, they are this, you know? So I want to break that, and I just want to tell the student that actually you are the trainee here. And the artisan is the one who is going to train you. So don't think it's vice versa! #00:13:57-0#
Danish	Absolutely! #00:13:59-2#
Gwen	It's really interesting that you are saying this because one of the outcomes of my research is that it is empowerment for the producers but it is alos empowerment for everybody who is involved. #00:14:09-7#
Pakeeza	Yes! #00:14:10-2#
Gwen	It is also empowerment everybody else, who manages projects, who designs, who works with the artisans #00:14:18-1#
Pakeeza	// Because Gwen, you know … #00:14:18-1#
Gwen	// Because at the end of the say, the empowerment is about making like, like having knowledge and making decisions based on this knowledge.And that is also important for students #00:14:30-5#
Pakeeza	// For students … #00:14:32-3#
Danish	And this myth, actually this myth needs to be broken, hat we are doing somethingf or them. So the very having us and them type of thinking … it has to be one. That we are one and … #00:14:50-9#
Gwen	I'll show you the dissertation. it's all written there already … #00:14:54-0#
Pakeeza	Ok, and then my second goal is that they have to design the project with them for the next semester. I have told them that it s going to be teamwork where you help each other to enhance each other's qualities. First you need to identify each other's strength. maybe your strength is to design, and her strength is to execute. So you need to bring that chain together as a team, as how to come up with a better product. So both of them will make a product. Then this product can be sold or put somewhere. So in the process the goal of the students are to train them the language of design the way … because when I go and talk for two hours in a workshop, that's you know, like a lecture. The attention span is a little less, they take me for while, then they think it's gonna … the way we all when we are students act. When they are working together and they are developing something ownership comes in. Because anything you lern when you take the ownership. And the student has to take the ownership of the artisan, and the artisan has to take the ownership of the … I did a pilot project for this. I had the craft women I have, upstairs, who … I got her, I asked her to come to the class to teach them different stitches. And students were responding to her well, better than they would respond to me actually. You know the way she was telling them. Guards off … (nu.) with each other. And then she came after two months for anther visit. For the design summit she had come, and the students actually came actually up to her saying 'do you remember …?'. So they had a bond. And I thought this bond they can never have under my … you know, if i#m standing on their heads, they don't want to have that bond. So, when they are together, that bond has to be created. That wall, which we have just made ourselves has to be broken. Actually it's not there between the students and the artisans. It's just that when we go out into the professional world, only then we create that we are this and your are this. So that has to be dealt with within the university life. So that it is much better. #00:17:24-7#
Gwen	Yes, that's great. It's an observation that I have written very much about. Somehow it's interesting that some of the things have matrialised that I am conceptualising. And I want to ask one thing: when was there an eye-opening moment? Was there any particular moment when you realised that this myth has to be broken? Who is learning from whom? And so on? #00:17:48-7#
Pakeeza	Yes. When I went to Thar actually. #00:17:50-6#
Gwen	That was recently? #00:17:53-0#
Pakeeza	That was in March. I mean it was there, I knew that this … you know, I was very sensitive about this thing that I need to … Because last year when I went to Bahawalpur and met all these artisans, and I used to say 'I need to learn from …' Because they would get into this aww, the designer is here. And I said, 'no, I know nohing, Interviewer: have to learn from you.' It was there but it wasn't broken. but when I went to Thar and the way these women were talking to me, that was actually an eye-opener for me to realise that I'm nothing. They know much more. You know these women know so much more and they are going through a much arder time and are still surviving. And doing things. And I actually started respecting them much more. You know we go into the dilemma of 'poor me. Interviewer: work so hard. And then I looked at their lives and thought 'Thank god, i'm so privileged.' And that wa sthe time I realised and started to respect them much more. #00:18:51-7#
Gwen	Because I think this notion is very different from three years ago when we had the focus groups. If I listen to them, there was a lot of … or, the tone was more like 'We are so privileged. We have to give back something to the community and so on. There seems to be a change now in the perception. #00:19:12-1#
Pakeeza	Yes, because I think that exposure has come in.

Appendix 3A   **Generating and Understanding the craft for empowerment system**

3A-1   **Original picture of GIGA-mapping drafts**
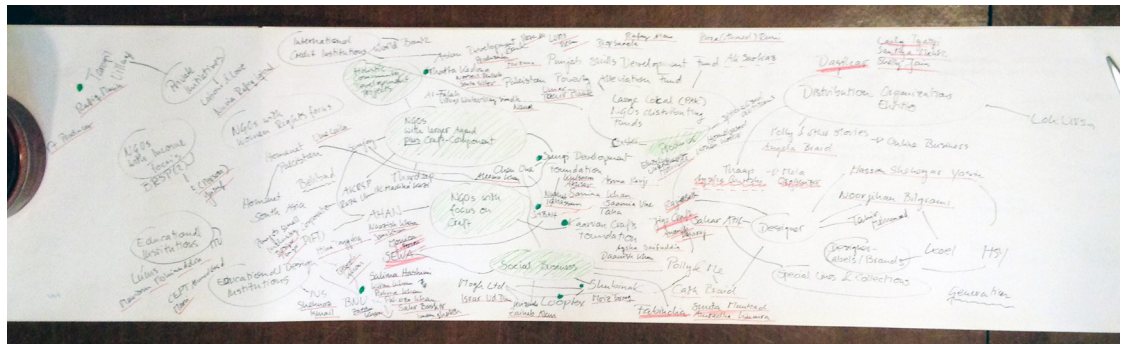
First draft

Second draft

List of publications and presentations

Parts of this doctoral research project have already been presented and published with the approval of the chair of the examination board of the School of Art and Design at the University of Wuppertal.

Kulick, G., 2022. Musings on vocabulary choices when proposing design towards profound systems change. Proceedings. *Design Research Society Conference 2022*. 25 June-3 July. Bilbao. Available at: <https://www.drs2022.org/> Publication approved by Prof. Dr. Jochen Krautz.

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Short CV

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Declaration

I herewith declare that this dissertation is the result of my original research work, except where otherwise acknowledged. I state that I am the sole author of this dissertation, that has not been submitted, wholly or in part, for an academic award or degree to any other university or institution.

Gwendolyn Kulick

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